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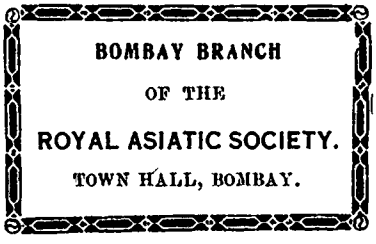

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THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

Building of *Rome* to the Ruin of the *Commonwealth.*

Illuſtrated with Maps and other Plates.

VOL. I.

32231

By N. HOOKE, Eſq;

LONDON:
Printed by *James Bettenham,*
And Sold by A. BETTESWORTH and C. HITCH in *Pater-noſter-Row*, and G. HAWKINS at *Milton*'s Head between the two *Temple-Gates* in *Fleetſtreet.*
M.DCC.XXXVIII.

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TO
Alexander Pope, *Eſq;*

SIR,

THE diſplaying your name at the head of theſe Sheets, is, I confeſs, like hanging out a ſplendid Sign to catch the Traveller's Eye, and entice him to make tryal of the Entertainment the place affords. But when I can write under my Sign, that Mr. POPE *has been here, and was content, Who will queſtion the goodneſs of the Houſe?*

You ſee, SIR, *and I had no deſire to hide it, my intereſted view in this Epiſtle. Perhaps I ſhould find it difficult, on ſuch an occaſion as the preſent, to addreſs you in any terms, which might not be conſtrued into Self-love, more or leſs refined. Will not this be the caſe, if I ſay, as with truth I can, that I was glad to ſeize the only opportunity I may*

ever have of ſo publickly teſtifying my juſt Eſteem for a worthy Friend, to whom I have been long and much obliged? Yet allow me to add, that I imagine I do give a Proof of that Eſteem, when I inſcribe to You this Attempt towards a Hiſtory of Roman Virtue *and* Patriotiſm. *No conſideration, I hope, could engage me to it, if I was not perſuaded that you really are, what your Writings declare you to be, a Friend to Virtue, to your Country, and to the Liberties of Mankind.*

I am with ſincerity and affection,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful

Humble Servant,

GRAY's INN,
Feb. 6. 1737.

N. Hooke.

The PREFACE.

WHAT is here offered to the Publick with the pompous title of ROMAN HISTORY, in one reſpect like the ſubject of which it treats, had a beginning extremely low and contemptible. It owes its origin to nothing nobler, than the bare deſire of prefixing to the *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the *Roman* Hiſtory, written in *French* by the Learned *Jeſuits* CATROU and ROUILLE, a more correct and more connected ſummary of the events therein recorded, than what is placed before their original. In this view thoſe *Contents* (too ample indeed for that name) which have been printed at the head of the four firſt volumes of the Ingenious Dr. BUNDY's Tranſlation before mentioned (in the publication of which I had ſome concern) were inſenſibly produced.

This performance, ſo unlabour'd, becauſe ſo very free from ambition, being however ſwell'd to a conſiderable ſize, a ſize much larger than that of Mr. ECHARD's Account of the *Roman* affairs (during the ſame ſpace of time) it was afterwards thought, that with ſome corrections and additions it might be ſo far improved, as to deſerve at leaſt to be called an *Abridgment* of the *Jeſuits* Work.

But upon a cloſer attention to the matters contained in their numerous volumes, and upon comparing ſome paſſages in them with others, and alſo with the antient Hiſtorians, it was judged expedient, in caſe a *Roman* Hiſtory in a new form ſhould be undertaken, to do ſomething more than barely abridge what thoſe Learned Fathers have compiled.

This is not ſaid with a view to depreciate their labours, to which the publick is ſo much indebted, and eſpecially the Author of the preſent attempt, an attempt which he would never have had the courage to think of, without the aſſiſtance of their forces and treaſure.

Some miſtakes, ſome inconſiſtencies, I conceive, there are in that copious Hiſtory of the *Roman* Kings and Commonwealth, which they have given us in ſixteen volumes in *Quarto*. But is this to be wonder'd at in a work of ſuch vaſt variety and extent, and of which the materials are taken from a multitude of authors, who not only in many particulars contradict one another, but are ſometimes inconſiſtent even with themſelves? A writer muſt have

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an excellent memory, and muſt have that memory always upon the ſtretch, who, in forming a General Hiſtory of *Rome* out of all theſe, ſhall never ſuffer any one part of his relation to claſh with any other. Mr. VERTOT, in treating of only the Revolutions in the *Roman* Government, has not always eſcaped this danger; nor has even Mr. ECHARD, in his very ſhort account of the Regal and Conſular States of *Rome*, been entirely happy in this reſpect.

But my intention, as I juſt now declared, is not to ſet up for a Critic and Cenſor, and if I hint at any imperfections I have diſcovered in the writings of learned men, it is only to aſſign ſome reaſon for not wholly confining my ſelf to their collections, and at the ſame time to beſpeak the Reader's candour and indulgence, as often as he ſhall find me in ſuch faults as I have endeavour'd to ſhun. This leads me to give ſome account of what has been the chief deſign in the following ſheets, and of the helps by which that deſign has been executed.

The only General Hiſtories we have in *Engliſh* of the *Roman* State (unmixed with foreign matters) from its birth to the ruin of the Commonwealth, are that which Mr. ECHARD has compriz'd within leſs than the compaſs of one moderate *Octavo* volume, and that lately publiſhed in ſix volumes *Folio*, being a Tranſlation of the ſixteen volumes ſpoken of above. The firſt, though very uſeful for ſchool-boys, has been thought by perſons of riper age and more curioſity, too dry, too brief and unſatisfactory. The ſecond is ſometimes complained of, as too diffuſe and circumſtantiated in matters of ſmall importance, and too much crowded with ſpeeches, in many of which are but little ſpirit or inſtruction.

My deſign therefore was, to form a General Hiſtory of the *Romans* (during the above mentioned ſpace of time) which ſhould be full without being diffuſe, and ſhort without being dry.

In the purſuit of this deſign I have been chiefly aided by the labours of the Learned *Jeſuits* CATROU and ROUILLE, and by the amuſements of the Ingenious Mr. VERTOT, whoſe ſeveral Collections I have compared with the antient Writers, governing my accounts by what I obſerved upon that collation. I muſt at the ſame time frankly confeſs, that I have not always had this caution in ſuch parts of the Hiſtory as are of little moment, but have ſometimes given the facts as I found them in their text, and with the authorities referred to in their margin.

The labour of abridging has been applied chiefly to the long ſpeeches in *Dionyſius* and *Livy*, and to their accounts of the ſtrug-

gles which the *Romans* had in the early ages of their Government, with the petty States in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Sir WALTER RALEIGH (whoſe help I have ſometimes uſed in this volume, and ſhall often uſe in the next) ſeems to have thought their Battles and Stratagems in thoſe days ſcarce worthy to be recorded; the Art of War being then at a very ſhort growth, and their Military Expeditions more like the Incurſions of Robbers, than Campaigns made by regular Armies, and Soldiers trained to Diſcipline. The wars with the *Sabines*, *Latines*, *Hetrurians*, *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and ſome other nations, are therefore related as conciſely and rapidly as was conſiſtent with the deſign of giving a General Hiſtory, and of leaving no year quite void, to which the Hiſtorians have fixed any action of the *Romans* Civil or Military. When a Battle has been won, or a Town taken by any new ſtratagem, or extraordinary ſkill of a General, or remarkable bravery of any one man, or ſmall number of men, I have been careful to touch theſe things: at leaſt it was my intention ſo to do, and I hope I have ſeldom fail'd.

LIVY himſelf will juſtify the being very brief upon the *Roman* wars to the time of *Pyrrhus*. That with the *Samnites* is certainly more intereſting than any of the preceding ones: The beginning of it is uſually conſidered as the commencement of the *Roman* Greatneſs: It opened to the *Romans* a large field for conqueſt, and the ſucceſs they had in it, compleating the reduction of all antient *Italy* to their obedience, put them in a condition to cope with the power of *Carthage*. Nevertheleſs, the *Latine* Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of that war when it had laſted * forty-ſix years, *Who is there*, ſays he, *but muſt be tired with writing or reading the accounts of thoſe frequent Battles which the Combatants were not weary of fighting?*

THE Civil affairs of the *Romans*, and the Revolutions in their Government, are more amply related than their Wars. Monſieur VERTOT has ſo agreeably, and with ſuch general applauſe treated thoſe ſubjects (and this within the compaſs of my plan) that it was impoſſible to reſiſt the temptation of ſeizing the product of

* It would be hard to forbear mentioning what *Livy* ſays in this place to the honour of the *Samnites*. After ſpeaking of the frequent and terrible defeats they had ſuffered, both when truſting to their own forces, and when aſſiſted by their confederates, he goes on thus: *They had loſt their ableſt General; they ſaw their allies in the ſame adverſe fortune as themſelves; they were unable to maintain their ground either by their own ſtrength or by foreign aid; yet they did not deſiſt from the war. They were never weary of fighting, even unfortunately, in the defence of Liberty; they choſe rather to be vanquiſhed, than not ſtrive for Victory.* [Adeo ne infeliciter quidem defenſæ libertatis tædebat: & vinci, quàm non tentare victoriam, malebant.] *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 31.

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his Wit, thereby to avoid the painful employment of attempting, after him, what I could never hope to execute with the like ſucceſs, and to render theſe volumes, in part at leaſt, ſecure of a good reception. I muſt obſerve however, that upon comparing his relations with the authorities quoted in his margin, it was found neceſſary entirely to retrench ſome paſſages in his book, and to alter many others before I could make uſe of it; for Mr. VERTOT is certainly more to be admired for his Manner of writing Hiſtory, than for any ſcrupulous Exactneſs in following his authors. Indeed the liberty of ſupplying out of his own invention, what he thought would improve or embelliſh his narration, ſeems to have been frequently practiſed by him; but, I hope, nothing material of this kind has eſcaped my notice.

I ſhould farther obſerve, that in what is taken from Mr. VERTOT's book ſuch additions are interwoven as were neceſſary to the nature of this more General Hiſtory of *Rome*.

As to the Notes inſerted in the margin of the following ſheets, they are chiefly extracted from the *Jeſuits* Work, and from Mr. KENNET's *Antiquities of Rome*. The name of the latter is put to what belong to him. The Obſervations I have added, of my own, are *principally* thoſe on Sir ISAAC NEWTON's Objections to the Chronology obſerved by the antient Writers of the *Roman* Story, on a few paſſages in Mr. VERTOT, and on ſome in the Text of the *Jeſuits* Volumes.

I am ſenſible I ſhould make an apology for the enormous length of the *Arguments* prefix'd to ſome of the ſhort Chapters, into which the Books of this Hiſtory are divided. But when it happened, that one Chapter contained ſeveral Conſulates or Military Tribuneſhips, and a great number of events, I found it difficult even barely to mention them all within leſs compaſs than I have done in the *Summary*. And perhaps the Reader will overlook the diſproportion, in conſideration of the ſatisfaction he may find in refreſhing his memory, after he has peruſed the Hiſtory, by running over all the *Summaries* by themſelves, which for that end are brought together, (with the dates in the margin) and where hardly any thing of moment is entirely omitted.

N. B. When the pages of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* are referred to, they are thoſe in Dr. HUDSON's Edition.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

FIRST BOOK.

THE REGAL STATE of *ROME.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Original of the *Romans*, and the Building of *Rome.*

SECT. I. *The firſt* Romans *were of* Trojan *extraction.* §. II. Æneas's *voyage to* Italy. §. III. *The ancient inhabitants of that country.* §. IV. Æneas's *reception by* Latinus, *King of* Latium. *He marries* Lavinia *the daughter of* Latinus, *and builds* Lavinium. §. V. *He ſucceeds to the Kingdom of his father-in-law.* §. VI. *The death of* Æneas, *who is ſucceeded by his ſon* Aſcanius. §. VII. Aſcanius *founds* Alba Longa, *and yields* Lavinium *to* Æneas Sylvius, *the ſon of* Æneas *by* Lavinia. §. VIII. *The* Latines *upon the death of* Aſcanius *unite* Lavinium *and* Alba *into one* DOMINION, *which they decree to* Æneas Sylvius, *but give the ſovereign power in affairs of* Religion *to* Iulus *the ſon of* Aſcanius. §. IX. *The ſucceſſion of the Kings of* Alba *from* Æneas Sylvius *to* Amulius, *who dethrones his elder brother* Numitor. §. X. *The birth, education and adventures of* Romulus *and* Remus. *They dethrone* Amulius, *and reſtore their Grandfather* Numitor. §. XI. Numitor *ſends his two grandſons to plant a colony. They quarrel about the ſpot of ground where the new city ſhall ſtand.* Remus *is ſlain.* §. XII. ROME *is* BUILT. Bef. *J. C.* 753.

CHAP. II.

ROMULUS.

§. I. Romulus *is choſen King of* Rome. §. II. *He puts on a robe of diſtinction, and appoints* 12 LICTORS *to attend him.* §. III. *He divides his colony into* 3 TRIBES, *and theſe into* 30 Curiæ. §. IV. *He diſtinguiſhes the people into* *Y. of R.* 1.

to PATRICIANS *and* PLEBEIANS, PATRONS *and* CLIENTS. §. V. *He conſtitutes a* SENATE. §. VI. *He appoints himſelf a guard of* 300 *horſemen called* Celeres. §. VII. *He ſettles the reſpective prerogatives of the King, Senate, and People.* §. VIII. *The religious laws of* Romulus. §. IX. *His civil laws.* §. X. *To augment his colony, he opens an* Aſylum *for fugitive ſlaves and outlaws.* §. XI. *The rape of the* Sabine *women.* §. XII. *The* Sabines *endeavour to recover their women by a treaty. In the mean time* Romulus *defeats the* Cœninenſes, *ſlays* Acron *their King in ſingle combat, and decrees himſelf a* TRIUMPH *for his victory. He reduces* Cruſtuminum *and* Antemnæ, *and gains other advantages.* §. XIII. Romulus's *war with the* Sabines. §. XIV. *He concludes a peace with them, and admits* Titus Tatius, *their King, to be his partner on the throne. The followers of* Tatius *are tranſplanted to* Rome, *and become one people with the* Romans. §. XV. Tatius *creates* 100 *new Senators choſen out of the* Sabines. *The creation of the firſt* ROMAN KNIGHTS. *The feſtival of the* MATRONALIA *inſtituted.* §. XVI. *The Death of* Tatius. §. XVII. Romulus *defeats the* Camerini, Fidenates, *and* Veientes. *He renounces the kingdom of* Alba *upon the death of* Numitor. §. XVIII. *The murder of* Romulus *by the Senate, and the artifice of* Julius Proculus *to appeaſe the people.*

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CHAP. III.

NUMA.

§. I. *The death of* Romulus *is followed by an* Interregnum. *A deſcription of that ſort of government. The people grow weary of it; whereupon it is unanimouſly reſolved to chuſe a* KING. §. II. *The character of* Numa Pompilius, *a* Sabine *philoſopher.* §. III. *He is elected to ſucceed* Romulus; *but is with difficulty perſuaded to accept of the kingdom. He conſults the will of the Gods by augury.* §. IV. Numa *is no ſooner upon the throne, than he applies himſelf to quiet the diſſentions at* Rome, *and to moderate the warlike ardor of the* Romans *by the impreſſions of Religion.* §. V. *He divides the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes. The* Curiones, Flamines, Celeres, Augurs. §. VI. Veſtals. §. VII. Salii. §. VIII. Feciales. §. IX. Pontifices. §. X. *He directs an eſpecial reverence to be paid to the God* Janus; *and makes a Goddeſs of* Bona Fides. §. XI. *He introduces a new ſort of Gods, called* Termini *or* Boundaries. §. XII. *He amends ſome of* Romulus's *laws; and makes new ones.* §. XIII. *He ſends away the idle ſoldiery to cultivate the lands conquered by* Romulus. §. XIV. *He diſtributes the citizens into diſtinct companies, according to their trades.* §. XV. *He reforms the calendar.* §. XVI. Numa *dies, and his books are buried with him.*

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CHAP. IV.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

§. I. Tullus Hoſtilius *a man of a generous and martial diſpoſition is elected by the* Romans *to ſucceed* Numa. §. II. *The rivalſhip between* Rome *and*

83.

Alba *for ſuperiority.* §. III. *The diſpute is decided by the famous combat between the three* Horatii *and the three* Curiatii, *in which the latter are all ſlain, and two of the former.* §. IV. *The ſurviving* Horatius *in his return to the city, in triumph, ſtabs his own ſiſter, for reproaching him with the death of her lover. He is tried by the* Duumviri, *and condemned to die. He appeals to the People, and they mitigate the ſentence.* §. V. Tullus, *in conjunction with the* Albans, *engages in a war againſt the* Veientes, *and defeats them. The treachery of the* Albans. Tullus *demoliſhes* Alba, *and tranſplants the inhabitants to* Rome. §. VI. *He vanquiſhes the* Fidenates, Sabines, *and* Latines; *and inſtitutes the* Saturnalia. §. VII. *In his old age, he falls into ſuperſtition, and ſtudies magick. He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace.* 113.

CHAP. V.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

§. I. Ancus Marcius, *the grandſon of* Numa, *is choſen to ſucceed* Tullus Hoſtilius. *He declares war againſt the* Latines *in all the forms preſcribed by* Numa. *He vanquiſhes the enemy in ſeveral battles, and takes many of their towns.* §. II. *He ſtrengthens* Rome *by new fortifications, and builds* Oſtia *at the mouth of the* Tyber. *He defeats the* Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes *and* Volſci. §. III. *He dies, leaving two ſons under the tuition of* Lucius Tarquinius, *a foreigner from* Hetruria, *who had ſettled at* Rome. 114. 139.

CHAP. VI.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

§. I. *The politick management of* Tarquinius *to obtain the kingdom. He is elected King, and adds to the Senate* 100 *new Senators choſen out of the* Plebeians. §. II. *The* Latines *renew the war againſt the* Romans. Tarquin, *by repeated victories over them, reduces them to ſue for peace. At his return to* Rome, *he builds a* Circus *for the* Roman *games.* §. III. *He totally ſubdues the* 12 Lucumonies *of* Hetruria. §. IV. *He applies himſelf to cleanſe and beautify* Rome. §. V. *He renews the war with the* Sabines. *He increaſes the number of the* Roman *Knights. The adventure of* Navius *the* Augur. §. VI. Tarquin *ſubdues the* Sabines. §. VII. *He marks out the area of a temple to* Jupiter, Juno, *and* Minerva, *on the hill* Tarpeius, *afterwards called the* Capitol. §. VIII. *The ſons of* Ancus *conſpire the death of* Tarquin. *He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace. The ſtratagem of Queen* Tanaquil, *to ſecure the kingdom to her ſon-in-law, who takes poſſeſſion of it, without being legally elected to the throne.* 174.

CHAP. VII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

§. I. *The birth and education of* Servius Tullius. *The honours he pays to the*

Goddeſs Fortune *upon his elevation to the Throne.* §. II. *The* Patricians *conſpire to diſpoſſeſs him. He gains the People to his intereſt, is legally elected King by the* Curiæ, *and tho' the Senate refuſes to confirm this election, keeps poſſeſſion.* §. III. Servius *defeats the rebellious* Hetrurians. *He enlarges* Rome, *and adds a fourth Tribe to the three old ones. He inſtitutes the* Compitalia *in favour of ſlaves. He divides the* Roman *territory with its inhabitants into* TRIBES. *He marries his two daughters to* Lucius Tarquinius *and* Aruns, *the grandſons of the late King. He ſubdues the* Hetrurians. §. IV. Servius *divides the* Roman *citizens into ſix* CLASSES, *and theſe into* CENTURIES. *He inſtitutes the* CENSUS *and the* LUSTRUM, *and coins money.* §. V. *He gives the* LIBERTI *or* Freedmen *the privilege of* Roman *citizens.* §. VI. *He reforms the regal power and executes a ſcheme for ſecuring to the* Romans *the fidelity and friendſhip of the* Latines *and* Sabines. §. VII. *The wicked intrigues of* Tarquin *and the younger* Tullia. Tarquin *accuſes the King of uſurpation before the Senate.* Servius *pleads his cauſe there, but appeals to the People, and is by them confirm'd on the throne.* §. VIII. Tarquin *regains the King's favour by ſubmiſſions, but ſoon after*
219. *cauſes him to be murdered and uſurps the Kingdom.*

CHAP. VIII.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

§. I. *The tyranny of* Tarquin *who gets the ſurname of the* PROUD. *His haughty treatment of the* Latine *Deputies and treacherous contrivance to deſtroy* Turnus Herdonius. §. II. *The* Latine *aſſociation, and the inſtitution of the* FERIÆ LATINÆ. Tarquin *aſſiſted by the* Latines *defeats the* Volſci *and ſubdues the* Sabines. *He finiſhes the* COMMON-SEWERS *and* CIRCUS MAXIMUS *at* Rome. §. III. *His war with the People of* Gabii, *and the cruel ſtratagem whereby he becomes maſter of that city.* §. IV. *The adventure of the woman with the* SYBIL's BOOKS. *The riſe of the written civil law.* Tarquin *builds the temple of* JUPITER CAPITOLINUS. §. V. *He ſends two of his ſons with* Brutus *to conſult the oracle at* Delphos. §. VI. *The rape of* LUCRETIA. *The* Tarquins *are baniſhed,*
243. *and a* COMMONWEALTH *eſtabliſhed at* Rome.

SECOND BOOK.

From the eſtabliſhment of the ROMAN COMMONWEALTH in the year of *Rome* 243, to the re-building of the City in 365, after the burning of it by the *Gauls.*

CHAP. I.

244. SECT. I. *The ſtate and condition of* Rome *on the abolition of the regal power.* §. II. Tarquin *prevails with the Magiſtrates of* Tarquinii *in* Hetruria *to ſend an Embaſſy to* Rome *in his favour, with a letter from him to the*

Roman *People.* §. III. *A ſecond Embaſſy from the* Tarquinienſes *to the* Romans. *The Ambaſſadors engage ſome of the young* Patricians *in a plot againſt the new Government. It is diſcovered by* Vindicius *a ſlave.* Brutus *condemns his own ſons to death and ſees the execution.* §. IV. Collatinus *is forced to abdicate the Conſulſhip; and* Valerius *is choſen to ſucceed him.* §. V. Tarquin *having ſtirred up the* Tarquinienſes *and* Veientes *to take arms in his cauſe, they come to a battle with the* Romans, *in which* Brutus *is ſlain.* §. VI. *The People entertain a jealouſy of* Valerius's *ambition, but ſoon after give him the name of* Poplicola *or Popular, on account of the laws he makes in their favour, to the diminution of the Conſular Authority.*

CHAP. II.

§. I. Poplicola *is choſen Conſul a ſecond time, and* T. Lucretius *appointed to be his Collegue.* Porſena, *King of* Cluſium *in* Hetruria, *ſends a threatening embaſſy to* Rome. *The* Romans *chuſe* Poplicola *Conſul a third time, and give him* Horatius Pulvillus *for a Collegue.* §. II. Porſena *in conjunction with ſome of the* Latine *ſtates, marches an army into the neighbourhood of* Rome. *The remarkable bravery of* Horatius Cocles. §. III. *The deſperate enterprize, and wonderful reſolution of* Mucius Scævola. Porſena *intimidated by the courage of the* Romans, *deſiſts from his demand of having the baniſhed King reſtored. He makes a truce with the* Romans, *who refer it to his judgment, whether they ſhall reſtore to* Tarquin *his paternal eſtate or not. The adventure of* Clælia *during the pleadings.* Porſena *renounces the cauſe of* Tarquin *entirely, and makes a peace with the* Romans. §. IV. *The temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus *is conſecrated.* Sp. Lartius *and* T. Herminius *choſen Conſuls. The* Romans *ſhew their gratitude to* Porſena. 245. 246. 247.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *The* Romans, *in the Conſulſhip of* M. Valerius, (*brother of* Poplicola,) *and* P. Poſthumius, *make war againſt the* Sabines, *and twice defeats them.* §. II. *The* Sabines *unite in a national body againſt* Rome, *where* Poplicola *is choſen Conſul a fourth time.* Appius Claudius *leaves the* Sabines *and comes over to the* Romans, *with all his followers and dependants. The* Sabines *are again defeated.* §. III. Poplicola *dies. The* Sabines *upon his death take courage, and renew the war, in the Conſulſhip of* P. Poſthumius *and* Menenius Agrippa, *who obtain a ſignal victory over them.* §. IV. *An* OVATION *only is decreed* Poſthumius, *but a* Triumph *to* Menenius. §. V. *The* Sabines *are* ſubdued *in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip of* Sp. Caſſius *and* Opiter Virginius. 248. 249. 250. 251.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. *The* Latines (*in the Conſulate of* Poſthumius Cominius *and* T. Lartius) *declare for King* Tarquin *againſt the new Republick; but, before they take the field, ſend an Embaſſy to* Rome *with propoſals for an accommodation.* §. II. *A conſpi-* 252. 253.

conſpiracy is there formed by ſome of Tarquin's *Emiſſaries, who accompany the* Latine *Ambaſſadors. The plot is diſcover'd and prevented, by the Conſuls* Servius Sulpitius *and* Manius Tullius; *and the Ambaſſadors are diſmiſſed with a*
255. *refuſal of their demands.* §. III. *The* Latines *diſpatch a ſecond Embaſſy to* Rome *with offers of peace, upon new conditions; theſe are alſo rejected by the Senate. The* Romans *prepare for war: but when the Conſuls* Titus Lartius, *and* Q. Cloelius, *would make the neceſſary levies, the poorer citizens refuſe to ſerve.* §. IV. *The cruelty of their creditors is the cauſe of this mutiny. The debtors demand an abſolute remiſſion of their debts. Great diſputes ariſe in the Senate on this occaſion. In ſo dangerous a ſituation of affairs they judge it neceſſary to create a* DICTATOR, (*a ſovereign uncontroulable Magiſtrate*) *and to this they get the People's conſent.* §. V. Titus Lartius *is appointed to that ſupreme dignity. The levies for a war are now carried on without difficulty. After very little acti-*
256. *on in the field, a truce is made with the* Latines *for a year; during which the* Roman *women married into* Latium, *and the* Latine *women married at* Rome,
257. *have leave to return to their reſpective countries.* §. VI. *The truce being expired,* Poſthumius *one of the Conſuls is named Dictator, and has the ſole conduct of the war. He gives the* Latines *an entire overthrow in the battle of* Regillus; *after which the whole Nation ſubmits.* Tarquin *being obliged to quit* Latium, *retires to* Cumæ *in* Campania, *and there, in a few months after, dies.*

CHAP. V.

§. I. *The peace concluded with the* Latines *is followed by domeſtic broils at*
258. Rome; *where the Senate get the Conſulſhip for* Appius Claudius *and* P. Servilius. §. II. *The* Volſci *encouraged by the civil feuds among the* Romans, *prepare to fall upon them. The* Plebeians *at* Rome *refuſe to liſt themſelves for the war.* Servilius *with an army of volunteers, who follow him out of perſonal affection, enters the territory of the enemy, and terrifies them into a ſubmiſſion for the preſent; but he has no ſooner led back his army, than they renew their preparations to attack the Republic.* §. III. *While the Senate are conſulting about the levies to be made on this occaſion, a ſudden accident occaſions an inſurrection at* Rome. Servilius *appeaſes the tumult. News comes that the* Volſci *are approaching.* Servilius *by fair promiſes in relation to the debts engages the People to liſt themſelves.* §. IV. *He defeats the enemy, and tho' the Senate refuſe him a triumph at his return, on account of his indulgence to the ſoldiers, he triumphs in ſpight of their oppoſition.* §. V. *After this he takes the field again, and defeats the* AURUNCI. §. VI. *The debtors at his return from the war claim the performance of his promiſes.* Servilius, *not having power to make them good, is treated by the People with contempt. He thereupon becomes their enemy and the ſedition increaſes.*

CHAP. VI.

259. §. I. *The People refuſe to obey the ſummons of the new Conſuls* (A. Virginius *and* T. Veturius,) *to liſt themſelves for a war againſt the* Sabines, Æqui *and* Volſci. *The Senate after ſome diſpute among themſelves, agree to create a Dictator.*

tator. Manius Valerius, *a brother of* Poplicola, *is named to that dignity.* §. II. Valerius *prevails with the People to ſerve, by promiſing them full ſatisfaction in relation to their complaints when the war ſhall be over, and by ſuſpending in the mean time all proſecutions for debt. Three armies are raiſed, to be commanded by the Dictator and the two Conſuls. The enemy are defeated on all ſides.* §. III. *The Dictator at his return home demands of the Senate to diſcharge his engagements to the debtors. His demand is rejected. He excuſes himſelf to the People and reſigns the Dictatorſhip.*

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *The diſcontent among the People augments. The Conſuls, to give the mutineers a diverſion, lead their two armies which they had not yet disbanded, again into the field. The ſoldiers deſert their Generals, and by the advice of* Sicinnius Bellutus, *retire to a hill three miles from* Rome. §. II. *The Senate diſpatch a deputation to them to perſuade them to return; but in vain.* Poſt- 260.
humius Cominius, *and* Spurius Caſſius, *are choſen Conſuls. Warm debates in the Senate. A ſecond deputation is ſent to the mutineers in ſpite of the remonſtrances of* Appius Claudius. §. III. *The artful management of* Sicinnius Bellutus, *and* Junius Brutus, *the two heads of the ſedition, in their conference with the Deputies.* §. IV. Menenius Agrippa, *by ſoft words and by his famous apologue, overcomes the obſtinacy of the mutineers; but when they are juſt ready to go back to the city,* Brutus *puts a ſtop to their march till the Senate have agreed to the creation of ſome new officers choſen out of the* Plebeians *to be the future protectors of the People. Theſe officers, ſtiled* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE, *being elected, and their perſons declared* ſacred, *the mutineers return to* Rome.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *The* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE *are no ſooner created than they endeavour to enlarge their authority. With the Senate's permiſſion they create two new officers, to be their Miniſters and Aſſiſtants, who are afterwards called* ÆDILES. §. II. *Theſe conceſſions to the* Plebeians *keeping all quiet at home, the war is renewed againſt the* Volſci. *The* Roman *arms prevail.* Caius Marcius Coriolanus *ſignalizes his courage in this war.* §. III. T. Geganius 261.
and P. Minucius *are choſen Conſuls.* Rome *ſuffers extremely by a famine, and this calamity revives the civil diſſentions. The Senate, to diſburthen the City, ſend away great numbers of the People to plant two Colonies, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Tribunes. And becauſe theſe latter refuſe the Senate levies regularly made to act againſt the* Antiates, Coriolanus *at the head of ſome Volunteers takes the field and ravages the enemy's territory, ſharing all the ſpoil among his ſoldiers.* §. IV. *The Tribunes more angry than ever give out, that the dearth of proviſions is owing to the malice of the Senate. The Conſuls convene the People to undeceive them. The Tribunes diſpute with the Conſuls for the right of ſpeaking in the Aſſembly. A law is paſſed by the People in favour of the Tribunes, and it is made penal to interrupt them when they are ſpeaking in the* Comitia. *The*

Senate after ſome oppoſition conſents to this law; and then the People bear the famine patiently.

CHAP. IX.

262. §. I. *Plenty of corn being brought to* Rome *from* Sicily (*in the Conſulate of* M. Minucius *and* A. Sempronius) *freſh diſputes ariſe in the Senate about the diſtribution of it.* Coriolanus *is for taking advantage of the people's diſtreſs to get the Tribuneſhip aboliſhed. The younger Senators applaud the motion.* §. II. *The Tribunes who had been preſent at this debate go away in a fury and ſtir up the people to revenge. They cite* Coriolanus *to appear before them. He refuſes. They endeavour to ſeize him as he comes out of the Senate-houſe, but are repulſed by thoſe who attend him. The Conſuls appeaſe the tumult.* §. III. *Early the next morning the Tribunes hold an Aſſembly of the People on this affair.* Minucius *the Conſul by gentle words diſpoſes the multitude to peace; but* Coriolanus *ſpoils all by a freſh declaration of the ſame ſentiments which had before offended them. The Tribunes condemn him to death. The* Patricians *oppoſe the execution of this raſh ſentence, and the People ſeem not to approve it. The Tribunes therefore reſolve to proſecute* Coriolanus *in a legal way, and to convene the People by* Tribes *for his trial. The Aſſembly is adjourned.*

CHAP. X.

§. I. *The Conſuls endeavour by remonſtrances to allay the heat of the Tribunes, and bring them to conform to the ancient uſages, which did not allow the People to take cognizance of any affair till it was referred to them by a decree of the Senate. The Tribunes conſent to obſerve this rule, and deſire they may be heard by the* Fathers *in relation to their charge againſt* Coriolanus. §. II. *The Tribune* Decius *makes a long ſpeech in the Senate, inveighing bitterly againſt the accuſed, and contending for the People's right to judge him.* §. III. Appius Claudius *in very ſtrong terms oppoſes this pretenſion.* §. IV. *But* Valerius *in terms no leſs ſtrong, urges the expediency of the Senate's compliance. He exhorts* Coriolanus *in the moſt pathetic manner to ſubmit himſelf to the People's judgment; and he adds a diſcourſe in behalf of a balance of power between the* Patricians *and* Plebeians. §. V. *It is carried by a majority of votes that* Coriolanus *ſhall be tried by the People.* Coriolanus *having aſſurances given him, that the Accuſers charge ſhall be confined to the ſingle crime of Tyranny, conſents to the drawing up of the decree. The Senate fix a day for the trial.*

CHAP. XI.

§. I. *The day being come for* Coriolanus's *trial, a diſpute ariſes between the Conſuls and Tribunes, whether the People ſhall give their ſuffrages by* CENTURIES, *according to the ancient cuſtom, or by* TRIBES, *which had never yet been practiſed. The Tribunes who are for the latter prevail.* §. II. Coriolanus's *cauſe is heard. He is condemned to baniſhment, and leaves* Rome.

CHAP. XII.

§. I. *The* Plebeians *exult upon the victory they have gained over the* Patricians *in the affair of* Coriolanus. *The* Romans *having now no war abroad, nor ſquabble at home to employ them, turn their minds wholly to ſuperſtition, during the Conſulate of* Q. Sulpicius *and* Sp. Lartius. §. II. *The Tribunes from a view of ſelf-intereſt perſuade the People at the next election of Conſuls to chuſe men of mean talents and little credit in the Senate. Their choice falls upon* C. Julius *and* P. Pinarius Rufus. §. III. *In the mean time,* Coriolanus *retires privately to* Antium, *one of the principal cities of the* Volſci, *diſcovers himſelf to* Attius Tullus, *General of that Nation, offers him his ſervice againſt* Rome, *and is nobly received by the* Volſcian. §. IV. *Theſe two Generals concert a ſtratagem to ſtir up the* Volſci *to renew the war with the* Romans. Coriolanus *is introduced by* Tullus *into the Aſſembly of the* Volſcian *States, and there makes a ſpeech, which is highly applauded. They reſolve upon war, and to commit the conduct of it to* Tullus *and* Coriolanus; *but firſt, by the advice of the latter, ſend an embaſſy to* Rome, *to make ſuch demands of the Republic, as they are ſure will be rejected. The* Volſcian *Ambaſſadors are diſmiſſed by the* Roman *Senate with a haughty anſwer.* 263. 264.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. Coriolanus *at the head of a* Volſcian *army recovers from the* Romans *all the towns they had taken from the* Volſci; *carries ſeveral cities in* Latium *by aſſault, and then leads his troops within five miles of* Rome; *where new Conſuls are choſen,* Sp. Nautius *and* Sex. Furius. §. II. *The People terrified at his approach cry out to have the ſentence of his baniſhment reverſed. The* Patricians *oppoſe it. He marches to* Rome *and inveſts the place. The Senate and People agree to ſue to him for peace. Three Deputations are ſent to him ſucceſſively, to perſuade him to deſiſt from his demands in favour of the* Volſci; *but all in vain.* §. III. *The Mother and Wife of* Coriolanus *go attended by all the* Roman *Ladies of diſtinction to make a fourth attempt upon his reſolution.* §. IV. *The interview and conference between* Coriolanus *and his Mother, who prevails upon him to raiſe the ſiege of* Rome; *after which he is aſſaſſinated by the* Volſci. 265.

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *Two brave and able Captains,* Aquilius Tuſcus *and* Sicinius Sabinus, *being promoted to the Conſulate, they recover the reputation of the* Roman *arms by the victories they obtain over the* Volſci *and* Hernici. §. II. *They are ſucceeded by* Sp. Caſſius (*now a third time Conſul*) *and* Proculus Virginius. Caſſius *concludes an alliance with the* Hernici *upon terms which diſpleaſe the Senate.* §. III. *He aſpires to make himſelf King of* Rome; *and to gain the People, propoſes for the firſt time the* AGRARIAN LAW (*or the law for dividing the conquered lands among the citizens of* Rome) *and that the* Latines *and the* Hernici 266. 267.

(newly become allies of Rome, *and admitted to the rights of citizenſhip) may ſhare with the* Romans *in that diſtribution.* §. IV. *The oppoſition of the Nobles to the paſſing of this law, with the reaſons of that oppoſition.* §. V. *The Conſul* Virginius *and even the Tribunes oppoſe it.* §. VI. *The artful conduct of the Tribune* Rabuleius *to draw an advantage to the People from the diſpute between the Conſuls.* §. VII. Caſſius *to get his law paſſed brings great numbers of* Latines *and* Hernici *to* Rome *to vote for it. His Collegue orders them to leave the city.* §. VIII. *The Senate to quiet the contention decree a* Partition *of the conquered*
268. *lands, but poſtpone the execution of their decree till the Conſuls elect (*Q. Fabius *and* Serv. Cornelius*) ſhall have entered upon their office.* §. IX. Caſſius *is arraigned before the People for treaſon, condemned and executed.*

CHAP. XV.

§. I. *The People regret the death of* Caſſius. *The Senate find means to divert*
269. *them a while from the affair of the* AGRARIAN LAW. §. II. L. Æmilius *with* Cæſo Fabius, *and* M. Fabius *with* L. Valerius *are ſucceſſively choſen*
270. *Conſuls. In the Conſulſhip of the latter the war with the* Volſci *breaking out afreſh, the Tribune* Mænius *proteſts againſt any levies for the ſervice, till ſomething effectual be done in relation to the* Agrarian Law. *The Conſuls by a ſtratagem get the better of his oppoſition.* §. III. *The Senate at the next Aſſembly for chuſing Conſuls endeavour to obtain that dignity for* Appius Claudius (the ſon of the firſt *Appius* ſo often mentioned.) *The Tribunes to hinder it excite ſuch a tumult, that there is no poſſibility of proceeding in the election. The Republic falls into an* Interregnum. Sp. Lartius *being* Interrex *quiets the contention between*
271. *the two parties. They agree to give the Faſces to* C. Julius *and* Q. Fabius, *the firſt a creature of the Tribunes, the ſecond a man zealous for the Senate. Theſe Conſuls take the field againſt the* Veientes; *and for a while all is quiet at* Rome.
272. §. IV. *The next election raiſes new diſputes.* Sp. Furius *and* Cæſo Fabius (*a ſecond time*) *are choſen, each party having a Conſul to its liking. The Tribune* Icilius, *in imitation of* Mænius, *oppoſes the neceſſary levies for a war with the* Æqui *and* Veientes. Appius Claudius *ſuggeſts a ſtratagem to the Senate by which they carry their point againſt* Icilius. *The Conſuls take the field.*

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. *The Troops commanded by* Cæſo Fabius, *not liking their General, will*
273. *not ſuffer him to gain any honour in the campaign.* §. II. M. Fabius (*a ſecond time*) *and* Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus *are elected to the Conſulate. They obtain a ſignal victory over the* Hetrurians, *chiefly by the bravery of the* Fabii, *who from*
274. *this time become popular.* §. III. Cæſo Fabius (*a third time*) *and* T. Virginius *are choſen Conſuls.* Cæſo *defeats the* Æqui *and* Veientes. §. IV. *The* Fabian *family undertake alone to guard the frontiers againſt the* Veientes. Cæſo *as*
275. *ſoon as he has reſigned the Faſces (to* L. Æmilius *and* C. Servilius*) joins the reſt of his family in quality of* PROCONSUL, *a new invented dignity.* §. V. *The* Romans *carry on the war againſt the* Æqui, Volſci *and* Veientes. Æmilius *af-*

ter a ſucceſsful campaign againſt the laſt is refuſed a triumph. He ſeeks to revenge himſelf on the Senate. §. VI. *In the ſucceeding Conſulſhip* (*of* C. Horatius *and* T. Menenius) *all* Hetruria *declares war againſt* Rome. *The miſerable fate of the* Fabii. *The* Hetrurian *arms prevail. But the next year's Conſuls* (A. Virginius *and* P. Servilius) *give the enemy an entire overthrow.* 276. 277.

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. *The Tribunes not being able to carry their point in relation to the* AGRARIAN LAW, *turn their rage againſt ſome Conſulars, who when in power had oppoſed them.* Menenius, *the laſt year's Conſul, is accuſed before the People, and condemned in a fine.* §. II. *His ſucceſſor* Servilius *is maliciouſly proſecuted as ſoon as he has reſigned the Faſces to* P. Valerius *and* C. Nautius, *but he is honourably acquitted. In this and in the following Conſulſhip* (*of* Aulus Manlius *and* L. Furius) *war is carried on with ſucceſs againſt ſeveral of the neighbouring States.* §. III. *The ſucceeding Conſuls,* L. Æmilius (*a third time choſen*) *and* Vopiſcus Julius, *are publickly called upon by the Tribune* Genucius, *to name the Commiſſioners for the* Partition of the Lands. *Finding that the Conſuls ſhun meddling in that affair, he begins a criminal proceſs againſt their predeceſſors* Manlius *and* Furius, *for having neglected the naming of thoſe Commiſſioners. The trial is prevented by the ſudden death of* Genucius. 278. 279. 280.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the Conſuls after the Death of* Genucius, *in relation to* P. VOLERO; *whom, tho' he had been an Officer, they would oblige to liſt himſelf for a common ſoldier. The People riſe, and the Conſuls hide themſelves.* §. II. L. Pinarius *and* P. Furius *ſucceed to the Conſulate, and* VOLERO *is choſen a Tribune of the People.* VOLERO *propoſes a Law for electing the Tribunes in the Comitia by Tribes. The Diſputes on this head are interrupted by a plague.* §. III. *The Senate get the Conſulſhip for* Appius Claudius *and* T. Quinctius. *The two Collegues differ about the means to defeat* VOLERO's *project.* §. IV. VOLERO *renews the propoſal of his Law in an Aſſembly of the People.* Quinctius *by ſoft words diſpoſes the People to reject it: But* Appius *by a Speech full of pride and heat, ruins the effect of what his Collegue had ſaid. The Tribune* Lætorius *commands* Appius *to leave the Aſſembly, and even orders him to be led to priſon. A ſcuffle enſues. Night puts an end to the Diſorder.* §. V. *The Tumult is renewed the next morning.* Quinctius *by prudent management quiets it, and prevails with the Senate to let* VOLERO's *Law paſs.* 281. 282.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *The Conſuls lead two armies into the field againſt the* Æqui *and* Volſci. Appius's *troops, that he may have no claim to a* TRIUMPH, *refuſe to fight the enemy. He puniſhes them with the utmoſt ſeverity, and returns to* Rome. §. II. *The affair of the* Agrarian Law *being revived in the Conſulſhip*

283. *of his ſucceſſors* (L. Valerius (*a ſecond time Conſul*) *and* T. Æmilius) *he oppoſes the Tribunes with more heat than ever. They cite him before the People, as an enemy to the public liberty. He kills himſelf.* §. III. *The Tribunes reſume the affair of the* Conquered Lands, *but drop it again till the cloſe of the next Con-*
284. *ſulſhip* (*of* A. Virginius *and* T. Numicius) *when no* Plebeian *appears in the*
285. *Comitia, where* T. Quinctius (*a ſecond time*) *and* Q. Servilius *are choſen to that dignity. Theſe Conſuls, to keep things quiet at home, buſy the People in various*
286. *wars.* §. IV. *The domeſtic diſſentions begin afreſh in the Conſulſhip of* T. Æmilius (*a ſecond time Conſul*) *and* Q. Fabius. Æmilius *favours the People in relation to the* Agrarian Law. Fabius *without promoting that affair falls upon an expedient to ſtop their complaints.* §. V. *He then takes the field, and reduces*
287. *the* Æqui *to aſk peace; who nevertheleſs in the next Conſulate of* Sp. Poſthumius *and* Q. Servilius (*now a ſecond time Conſul*) *begin to ſtir again; and in the fol-*
288. *lowing year, when* T. Quinctius (*a third time*) *and* Q. Fabius (*a ſecond time*)
289. *are Conſuls, the war breaks out anew; it is continued by their ſucceſſors,* A. Poſthumius *and* Sp. Furius, *to the advantage of the* Romans. §. VI. *In the ſuc-*
290. *ceeding Conſulate of* P. Servilius Priſcus *and* L. Æbutius Elva, *a moſt dreadful plague rages in the city. The* Æqui *and* Volſci *appear before* Rome, *but ſoon retire; and the* Romans *the next year, under the command of the new Con-*
291. *ſuls* (L. Lucretius *and* T. Veturius) *give them an entire overthrow.*

CHAP. XX.

§. I. *During the abſence of the Conſuls from* Rome, Terentius Arſa, *one of the Tribunes, propoſes to the People, that there ſhould be an eſtabliſhment of* FIXED LAWS to be the RULE to the Magiſtrates in deciding cauſes between man and man. §. II. Q. Fabius, *Governour of the City, warmly oppoſes it, and ſends to the Conſuls to return to* Rome. Terentius *on their arrival ſuſpends the purſuit of his deſign.* §. III. *But the affair is revived in the ſucceeding Conſulate*
292. *of* P. Volumnius *and* S. Sulpitius. *Great conteſts about it. A ſtop put to it by prodigies and ill omens.* §. IV. *The Law is again propoſed. The contending parties come to blows.* Quinctius Cæſo, *the ſon of* Quinctius Cincinnatus, *is cited before the Commons for the violent part he had acted in thoſe ſcuffles.* §. V. *He has not courage to appear on the day appointed for his trial. His uncle* T. Quinctius *appears for him.* Cæſo *is falſly accuſed of murder. The deciſion of the cauſe is deferred to another day; before the coming of which,* Cæſo *baniſhes himſelf.*

CHAP. XXI.

§. I. *Notwithſtanding the violent proceedings of the Tribunes againſt* Cæſo, *the* Patricians *keep ſteady in their oppoſition to the* Terentian Law; *and the bet-*
293. *ter to maintain their ground, they get* C. Claudius (*brother of that* Appius Claudius, *who killed himſelf*) *into the Conſulſhip.* (P. Valerius, *now a ſecond time Conſul, is given him for a Collegue.*) *The Tribunes deſpairing of victory in a fair open conteſt, combine together to deſtroy the better part of the Senate; and in order thereto, pretend to have diſcovered a Plot upon the public liberty.* Claudius *expoſes*

expoſes their malice and forgeries before the People, and thereby quaſhes their wicked deſign.

CHAP. XXII.

§. I. *Theſe civil broils among the* Romans *encourage one* HERDONIUS *a private* Sabine *to attempt the conqueſt of* Rome. *At the head of* 4000 *men he ſurpriſes the Capitol. The Tribunes take advantage of this public diſtreſs, and before they will conſent to let the People arm, inſiſt upon a promiſe from the Conſuls, that they will no longer oppoſe the paſſing of the* Terentian Law. Claudius *rejects the condition, but* Valerius *makes the promiſe required, and prevails with the People to march againſt the enemy, and take an oath not to lay down their arms without the Conſuls leave.* Valerius *is killed in the attack of the Capitol. Nevertheleſs the* Romans *carry the place, and* Herdonius *is ſlain.*

CHAP. XXIII.

§. I. C. Claudius *is cited by the Tribunes to perform the promiſe of his deceaſed Collegue. He defers it under various pretences, and at length refuſes to do any thing in the affair, till a new Conſul be elected in the room of* Valerius. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus *is choſen to that dignity in his abſence, to the terror of the People who had ſo lately baniſhed his ſon* Cæſo. *The Deputies from the Senate who carry* Quinctius *the news of his election, find him driving the plough.* §. II. *He comes to* Rome, *convenes a general Aſſembly, reproves both Senate and People for their paſt behaviour, and threatens the latter (whoſe oath of obedience to the Conſuls was ſtill binding) to lead them into the field, and make them paſs the winter there. By this and other arts, which he employs, he makes the Tribunes deſiſt from their purſuit of the* Terentian Law. §. III. Virginius, Volſcius, *and the other Tribunes, get themſelves continued in their employment for another year, notwithſtanding a Decree of the Senate expreſsly made to hinder any citizen from ſtanding two years together for the ſame office. The Senate hereupon are for continuing* Quinctius *a ſecond year in the Conſulate, but he rejects the motion with indignation, and reprimands them for ſhewing ſo little regard to their own Decrees. The Faſces are transferred to* Q. Fabius *and* L. Cornelius ; *and* 294.
Quinctius *returns to his plough. The Quæſtors commence a proſecution againſt* Volſcius, *for having born falſe witneſs againſt* Quinctius's *ſon* Cæſo ; *but the Tribunes put a ſtop to it, and the Senate make this a pretext for continuing their oppoſition to the* Terentian Law.

CHAP. XXIV.

§. I. *The Conſuls of the preſent year are ſucceſsful in war againſt the* Æqui *and* Volſci. *But the next year, when* C. Nautius *and* L. Minucius *are Conſuls, the latter having the conduct of the war againſt the* Æqui, *ſuffers himſelf* 295.
to be ſo ſhut up by the enemy in a valley, that his whole army is in danger of periſhing by hunger. His Collegue being employed againſt the Latines, *and therefore unable to aſſiſt him, names* Quinctius Cincinnatus *Dictator. This great man being fetched again from his plough, puts himſelf at the head of a ſtrong army,*

ny, expeditiouſly marches againſt the Æqui, *blocks them up in their camp as cloſely as they had blocked up* Minucius, *and reduces them to ſurrender on his own terms. He then degrades* Minucius *from the Conſulate, and refuſes to let the ſoldiers, whom he had reſcued from danger, have any part of the enemies ſpoils. They nevertheleſs in gratitude to him, make him a preſent of a crown of gold. He has a triumph at his return to* Rome ; *and the* 16*th day after his promotion to the Dictatorſhip, reſigns that office, and retires once more into the country, his ſon* Cæſo *being firſt recalled from baniſhment.* §. II. *The Senate in the next Con-*
296. *ſulate (of* C. Horatius *and* Q. Minucius) *recal* Quinctius *again to* Rome *to ſet him up againſt the Tribunes, who refuſe the neceſſary levies for a war with the* Æqui *and* Sabines, *unleſs the* Terentian Law *be firſt paſſed.* Quinctius *adviſes the Senate and the whole body of the* Patricians *to take arms: They accordingly repair all armed to the Forum, where* Horatius *convenes an Aſſembly of the People, and reproaches them with their baſeneſs and cowardice. The Tribune* Virginius *ſeeing the multitude moved by the Conſul's ſpeech, conſents to drop the affair of the Law, and to wave his oppoſition to the levies, provided the Senate will ſuffer the number of the Tribunes to be augmented to ten.* C. Claudius *oppoſes this motion, but* Quinctius *declaring that he thinks it may turn to the Senate's advantage to comply with it, his opinion prevails, and the People are allowed to chuſe* TEN TRIBUNES.

CHAP. XXV.

§. I. Icilius *chief of the Tribunes propoſes that mount* Aventine *may be yield-*
297. *ed to the People. The Conſuls* M. Valerius *and* Sp. Virginius *looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the* Agrarian Law, *and deferring therefore to convene the Senate for the hearing and debating it,* Icilius *ſends an Officer to them, commanding them to aſſemble the Senate forthwith, and to repair to it themſelves. The meſſenger, by order of the Conſuls, is chaſtiſed for his inſolence by one of their Lictors. The Tribunes cauſe the Lictor to be ſeized, and the Senate to ſave his life, are obliged to yield to the People the ground they demanded.* §. II. *The conceſſions of the Senate make the Tribunes ſtill more pre-*
298. *ſumptuous.* T. Romilius *and* C. Veturius (*Conſuls for the next year*) *attempting to force the citizens to liſt themſelves for a war in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Tribunes, the latter order the Ædiles to ſeize thoſe ſupreme Magiſtrates and lead them to priſon. The* Patricians *hinder by force the execution of this order. The Tribunes hereupon cite the Conſuls to appear before an Aſſembly of the People. Their citation being diſregarded, they apply to the Senate for a Decree, empowering the People to try the Conſuls.* Romilius *anſwers them with reproaches and menaces, and nothing is determined that day.* §. III. *The Tribunes without any further ſoliciting a* Senatus-conſultum, *reſolve to get the Conſuls condemned by the People in a fine ; but when the day for the Aſſembly comes, they drop that deſign, and propoſe anew the* Agrarian *and* Terentian Laws. Sicinius Dentatus, *an old ſoldier, makes a notable ſpeech in relation to the former. The Aſſembly is adjourned to the next day ; and then the* Patricians *by violence hinder the ſuffrages from being collected. The following day the People being again aſſembled,*

empower

empower their Tribunes to make enquiry after the Authors of the tumult. The miſdemeanour is charged upon three eminent Patrician *families, and the Senate to pacify the People, ſuffer the eſtates of the delinquents to be confiſcated without oppoſition.* §. IV. *During theſe contentions, the Conſuls are obliged to lead an army into the field againſt the* Æqui. Sicinius Dentatus *ſerves as volunteer in this war at the head of* 800 *Veterans.* Romilius *orders him with his company upon a deſperate enterprize.* Sicinius *remonſtrates againſt it, but nevertheleſs obeys, and he ſucceeds ſo well, as to occaſion the total defeat of the enemy by the Conſuls; afterwards he marches to* Rome, *complains to the People of the General's tyranny, and prevails with them to refuſe him a triumph. And in the following Conſulate (of* Sp. Tarpeius *and* A. Æternius) Sicinius *being choſen Tribune,* 299.
Romilius *and* Veturius *are accuſed before the People for miſconduct during their Magiſtracy, and fined. A Law is alſo paſſed empowering any Magiſtrate to impoſe a fine for diſobedience.*

CHAP. XXVI.

§. I. *The Tribunes finding they cannot by any means bring the Conſuls to hear of the* AGRARIAN LAW, *return to the purſuit of the* Terentian. Romilius, *whom the People had lately fined, takes part with them on this occaſion. At his motion both Senate and People agree to ſend Deputies to* Athens *to copy out the Laws of* Solon *and of the other Law-givers of* Greece, *in order to form thereby a body of* Roman *Law, to be the future rule to the Magiſtrates in all the parts of their adminiſtration. The next year (when* Sextus Quintilius *and* P. Horatius *are Conſuls) there is neither war abroad, nor contention at home, but* Rome 300.
is dreadfully afflicted by a plague. §. II. *In the following Conſulate of* P. Seſtius *and* T. Menenius, *the Deputies return from* Greece. *The People preſs the nomination of the ten Commiſſioners or* Decemvirs, *who are to compile the new Laws. The Conſuls, to avoid proceeding in this affair, inſiſt upon a previous election of their ſucceſſors, under whoſe adminiſtration it is to be ſettled.* Appius 301.
Claudius (*ſon of that* Appius *who killed himſelf, and grandſon of the firſt* Appius) *is choſen with* T. Genucius. *After this* Menenius *pretends ſickneſs. The Conſuls elect, to pleaſe the People, offer to forego their pretenſions to the Conſulate, rather than hinder the immediate nomination of the* Decemvirs. Seſtius, *the Collegue of* Menenius, *aſſembles the Senate, where it is carried by a majority, to create* Decemvirs, *and the* Tribunes, *after ſome ſtruggle, conſent to let them be all* Patricians. §. III. *The election is made in the* Comitia *by* Centuries, *where* Appius *is the firſt named. The* Decemvirs *having entered upon their office, be-* 302.
have themſelves much to the ſatisfaction of the People. They compoſe TEN TABLES OF LAWS, *which are approved by the Centuries aſſembled.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Fragments of the TEN TABLES *of Laws beforementioned, as they have been collected and digeſted by the learned Jeſuits* Catrou *and* Rouillé, *and alſo of the* TWO TABLES *of Laws ſoon after added to the* TEN.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

§. I. *The People and Senate agree to have the ſame ſort of government continued for another year, in order to the adding two tables of Laws to the ten already eſtabliſhed. The Collegues of* Appius *ſuſpecting him of ambitious views, declare him Preſident of the Aſſembly where the ſecond election of* Decemvirs *is to be made, thinking thereby to hinder him from being one of the candidates. But* Appius *in ſpite of all decency names himſelf the firſt, and not only gains the voices of the Aſſembly in his own favour, but in favour of nine men (three of them* Plebeians) *all devoted to his will; to the excluſion of all his late Collegues, and of*
303. *the beſt men in the Republic.* §. II. *The new Decemvirs privately agree to make their authority perpetual. They exerciſe an abſolute and cruel tyranny.* C. Claudius, *the uncle of* Appius, *would reprove him for his conduct, but cannot get admittance to him. Two new tables of laws are drawn up.* §. III. *The*
304. *year of the Decemvirs Government being expired, they continue themſelves in office by their own authority. They convene the Senate in order to obtain a levy of troops to oppoſe the incurſions of the* Æqui *and* Sabines. Valerius, *an avowed enemy of the Decemvirs, in the warmth of his zeal, riſes up to ſpeak before his turn.* Appius *commands him ſilence, and not being obey'd, threatens to puniſh him as an incendiary.* Horatius *anſwers the Decemvir in a bold ſpeech, which makes him ſoften his tone and manner.* Appius *deſires his uncle* C. Claudius *to give his opinion. The uncle with great frankneſs reproves his nephew for all his vices and tyranny, and exhorts him to diveſt himſelf of a power which he held only by uſurpation, and which in the end would prove fatal to him. He concludes with declaring againſt any levies of troops till the Conſulſhip be reſtored. The* Quinctii, *and all the other eminent members of the Senate are of the ſame opinion. The majority is nevertheleſs for empowering the Decemvirs to raiſe troops and to command them; which* Appius *perceiving, then calls upon* Valerius *to ſpeak his opinion.* Valerius *declares for naming a Dictator, and moves to have the queſtion put, and this motion is ſeconded; but the other party cry out that the affair is already determined, and the care of the war given to the Decemvirs. A Decree to that effect is accordingly drawn up.* §. IV. Valerius *and* Horatius *to ſecure themſelves from being inſulted by the Decemvirs, keep guards about their perſons. Many of the Senators and other principal citizens retire into the country.* Appius *confiſcates their eſtates.* §. V. Fabius *with two other of the Decemvirs leads an army againſt the* Sabines. *Five other Decemvirs lead five legions againſt the* Æqui. Appius *and* Oppius *ſtay with a body of troops in* Rome. *Nothing ſucceeds in the two camps, the ſoldiers being reſolved not to conquer.* Sicinius Dentatus, *that old ſoldier, who had been in* 120 *battles, publickly gives out at* Rome, *that the misfortunes of the campaign are owing to the incapacity of the Generals.* Appius *hereupon contrives, in concert with the Decemvirs who command againſt the* Sabines, *to get him treacherouſly murdered. The diſcovery and report of ſo deteſtable a villany, diſpoſes the ſoldiers to a revolt.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

§. I. Appius (*at* Rome) *falls in love with* Virginia, *the daughter of a* Plebeian *named* Virginius, *a centurion in the army employ'd againſt the* Æqui. *To get her into his power, having in vain tried to corrupt her nurſe, he concerts a ſtratagem with* M. Claudius *one of his clients.* Claudius *ſeizes the girl as a ſlave belonging to him, and leads her before the Decemvirs Tribunal, there to have his right legally confirmed to him. He pretends that* Virginia *was born of one of his ſlaves, and that* Numitoria, *the wife of* Virginius, *had (in concert with the mother of the girl) impoſed her upon* Virginius *as her own child, ſhe herſelf being barren.* §. II. Numitorius, *the uncle of* Virginia, *demands that the deciſion of the affair may be ſuſpended, and his niece left under his care till her father can be fetched from the camp. The Decemvir finds reaſons for refuſing this requeſt: But* Icilius *to whom* Virginia *had been promiſed in marriage coming into court juſt in this inſtant, ſpirits up the People to ſuch a pitch of fury, that* Appius *thinks fit to comply.* Virginius *is ſent for, and arrives at* Rome, *notwithſtanding the ſecret meaſures taken by* Appius *to intercept him on the road.* §. III. *The cauſe is heard, and the impoſture of* Claudius *made manifeſt to all preſent.* Appius *nevertheleſs making himſelf a witneſs in the affair, and pretending conſcience, decrees* Virginia *to his client. The father hereupon, to hinder his daughter from being diſhonoured, ſtabs her, and then haſtens back to the army, leaving the city in a great commotion, which* Valerius *and* Horatius *take care to augment.* §. IV. *The ſoldiers upon hearing the tragical ſtory from* Virginius *revolt from their Generals, return to* Rome, *and encamp on mount* Aventine. §. V. *The Senate being convened by the Decemvir* Oppius, *diſpatch three of their body to them, to queſtion them upon their deſertion. The ſoldiers unanimouſly cry out, to have* Valerius *and* Horatius *ſent to them, and they give no other anſwer. This army is ſoon after joined by all the ſoldiers of the other, who are equally incenſed againſt the* Decemvirs, *by the complaints of* Icilius. *The Senate is for ſending* Valerius *and* Horatius *to the mutineers; but thoſe two Senators refuſe to go unleſs the Decemvirs depoſe themſelves. The latter reject this condition, 'till they hear that the armies are marched to the* Mons Sacer; *they then promiſe to lay down their authority.* §. VI. Valerius *and* Horatius *repair to the* Mons Sacer, *and prevail with the army, upon a promiſe of the ancient Government's being reſtored, to return to* Rome; *but the ſoldiers before they ſeparate chuſe their Tribunes; and ſoon after* Valerius *and* Horatius *are named Conſuls.* §. VII. *Theſe popular Magiſtrates get ſeveral new laws paſſed in favour of the People.* §. VIII. Virginius *being now one of the Tribunes, impeaches* Appius *for his conduct as a Judge in relation to* Virginia; *and inſiſts upon his making his defence immediately, or being impriſoned till the day of trial.* Appius *appeals to the People, but in vain. He is carried to priſon. His uncle* C. Claudius *ſollicits for his enlargement without ſucceſs.* Appius *dies in priſon. His Collegue* Oppius *being tried and condemned dies alſo in priſon the day of his commitment. The other Decemvirs all baniſh themſelves.* Claudius *the client and miniſter of* Appius *is condemned to death, yet ſuffers only baniſhment. The*

Tribune Duilius *puts a ſtop to all further proſecutions, relating to the tyranny of the* Decemvirs.

CHAP. XXX.

§. I. *The Conſuls take the field.* Valerius *defeats the* Æqui *and* Volſci, *and* Horatius *the* Sabines. *Nevertheleſs the Senate, being diſſatisfied with their too popular adminiſtration, and being eſpecially moved by a ſpeech of* C. Claudius, *who inveighs bitterly againſt them, reject their petition for a triumph. Hereupon they apply to the People, and obtain of them, by means of the Tribunes, what the Senate had refuſed.* §. II. *The Tribunes form a deſign of getting themſelves perpetuated in the Tribuneſhip, and* Horatius *and* Valerius *in the Conſulate.* Duilius *diſliking this project of his Collegues, contrives to defeat that part of it which related to the Conſuls, by engaging theſe to declare publickly, that they will not* hold over *after their year is expired, though the People ſhould deſire it. He then holds the Aſſembly for electing Tribunes ; and by his influence, joined with the Senate's, five new ones are choſen ; after which, finding that he cannot prevail with the Tribes to fill the other five places with new Magiſtrates, he diſmiſſes the Aſſembly, referring the completion of the whole number of ten Tribunes to the five already elected. Theſe five, among thoſe they aſſociate with them in their*
305. *office, name two* Patricians. (Lartius Herminius *and* T. Virginius *are choſen Conſuls.* TREBONIUS ASPER, *one of the* Plebeian *Tribunes, ſhortly after*
306. *gets a Law paſſed, forbidding the Tribunes the practice of* Cooptation. §. III. *The next year* (*when* M. Geganius *and* C. Julius *are Conſuls*) *produces nothing*
307. *remarkable. But in the ſucceeding Conſulate* (*of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus *and* Agrippa Furius) *the old diſſentions are renewed ; inſomuch that though the* Æqui *and* Volſci, *taking advantage of theſe diſorders, ravage the country to the very gates of* Rome, *the Tribunes oppoſe the neceſſary levies of troops to repulſe them : But* Quinctius *gets the better of this oppoſition, by a ſpeech he makes to the People. The Conſuls rout the enemy, and make a great ſlaughter of them.* §. IV. *The* Roman *People diſhonour themſelves by a judgment they give in a cauſe referred to their arbitration by the cities of* Ardea *and* Aricia.

CHAP. XXXI.

308. §. I. *The Commons of* Rome (*in the Conſulate of* M. Genucius *and* C. Curtius,) *demand that* Plebeians *may be admitted into the Conſulſhip, and that the law prohibiting* Patricians *and* Plebeians *from inter-marrying may be repealed.* Canuleius *one of the Tribunes declares to the Senate in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he will conſtantly oppoſe all levies of troops, let the want of them be never ſo preſſing, till theſe conceſſions are made to the People.* §. II. C. Claudius *in a private Aſſembly of the oldeſt Senators, moves to have recourſe to arms and violence, rather than yield to theſe demands. But* T. Quinctius *and the majority of the Aſſembly think it better to comply than come to a rupture with the People.* Claudius *hereupon, to hinder the debaſing of the Conſulſhip, makes this*

new

new propoſal, that inſtead of Conſuls, a certain number of MILITARY TRIBUNES *be choſen partly out of the Senate, and partly from among the Commons; and that theſe new Magiſtrates be inveſted with Conſular power. This project being approved, the Senate is aſſembled, and the Tribunes are called to it, to give their reaſons in behalf of the new laws which they demand.* Canuleius, *inſtead of ſpeaking to the matter in hand, inveighs againſt the Conſuls for holding ſecret Aſſemblies, from which* Horatius *and* Valerius *are excluded. The Conſul* Genucius *gives a ſatisfactory anſwer to this complaint. After* Valerius *and* Horatius *have ſpoken in favour of the People, and* Claudius *againſt them, the Conſul's brother* T. Genucius *makes the propoſal which had been ſuggeſted by* C. Claudius. *In concluſion it is approved by Senate and People, and ſix* MILITARY TRIBUNES (*three of each order*) *are to take the place of two Conſuls.* §. III. *But when the day of election comes, the People will not give their voices to any but* Patricians; *and only three* Military Tribunes *are elected. Theſe are obliged* 309. *ſoon after to abdicate on account of ſome defect in their inauguration; and two Conſuls* (L. Papirius *and* L. Sempronius) *are choſen to govern the Republic the remainder of the year.* §. IV. *Under the ſucceeding adminiſtration of* T. Quinc- 310. tius Capitolinus (*a fifth time Conſul*) *and* M. Geganius (*a ſecond time*) *the* CENSORSHIP *is eſtabliſhed.*

CHAP. XXXII.

§. I. *The* Romans *put an end to a civil war among the* Ardeates. §. II. *The next year's Conſuls,* M. Fabius *and* Poſthumius Æbutius, *make the* Ardeates 311. *ſome amends for the wrongs the* Romans *had done them on occaſion of their conteſt with the* Aricians. *This year proves a year of peace, as does alſo the following year, when the Government is in the hands of* C. Furius *and* M. Papirius. 312. §. III. *But in the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Proculus Geganius *and* L. Menenius, *a* Roman *Knight named* Sp. Mælius *aſpires to the ſovereign power. Being a rich corn-merchant, he during a dearth of proviſions wins the meaner ſort of people by a free diſtribution of corn, and ſome of their Tribunes by money. He cauſes great quantities of arms to be brought into his houſe by night. His deſigns are diſcovered by* Minucius, *Superintendant of proviſions, in the Conſulate of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus (*now a ſixth time Conſul*) *and* Agrippa Mene- 313. 314. nius. Quinctius *on this occaſion names his brother* Quinctius Cincinnatus *Dictator, who appoints* Servilius Ahala *to be his General of the Horſe.* Mælius *being ſummoned to appear before the Dictator's Tribunal, and not obeying, is ſlain by* Servilius. *Three of the Tribunes, provoked at this action, ſtir up the People to mutiny; and the* Patricians, *to pacify them, conſent to the creation of Military Tribunes for the next year. None but* Patricians *are choſen to that office.* 315.

CHAP. XXXIII.

§. I. Fidenæ *revolts from the* Romans, *and puts itſelf under the protection of* Tolumnius, *King of the* Veientes. *The* Romans *prepare for war, and thinking it adviſeable to have Conſuls to conduct it,* M. Geganius (*a third time*) *and*

316. L. Sergius *are choſen ; but theſe ſoon reſign the care of the war to a Dictator,* Mamercus Æmilius, *who defeats the enemy in a pitched battle, wherein* Cornelius Coſſus *a legionary Tribune kills* Tolumnius *and ſtrips him of his armour.*
317. §. II. *In the following Conſulate of* M. Cornelius *and* L. Papirius, *a Tribune named* Sp. Mælius *commences a proſecution againſt* Servilius *and* Minucius, *for the death of* Mælius *the corn-merchant. The hiſtorians are not agreed about the iſſue of it.* §. III. *The* Veientes *and* Fidenates *renew the war during the*
318. *Conſulate of* Julius Iulus *and* L. Virginius, *when the* Romans *are ſorely diſtreſſed by a plague.* Q. Servilius Priſcus *being named Dictator, routs the enemy and takes* Fidenæ. *It is uncertain what Magiſtrates were choſen to govern the*
319. *Republic, the next year, but whoever they were, they reſigned their authority to* Mamercus Æmilius, *who is again named to the Dictatorſhip, upon a rumour that all* Hetruria *is preparing for war. This rumour proves groundleſs.* Æmilius, *through zeal for the public liberty, gets a law paſſed reſtraining the office of Cenſor to* 18 *months duration. He then reſigns the Dictatorſhip.* C. Furius *and* M. Geganius, *the Cenſors, in revenge deprive him of the common privileges of a citizen.* Æmilius *nevertheleſs protects thoſe his bitter enemies from the fury of the populace, who are ready to murder them.* §. IV. *The Senate are*
320. *obliged to humour the People, by ſuffering* Military Tribunes *to be created for the next year. However none but* Patricians *are choſen. Nothing memorable happens during their adminiſtration, but a plague, which ceaſes in the following year,*
321. *when the Republic is again governed by* Military Tribunes *all* Patricians. *The rich* Plebeians *complain of the poorer ſort for their having conſtantly refuſed to elect any of* them *to that Magiſtracy. A Law is paſſed, forbidding thoſe who ſtand for offices to wear garments of an extraordinary whiteneſs: The Senate, fearing leſt ſome of the chief* Plebeians *ſhould get into the* Military Tribuneſhip, *determine if poſſible to reſtore the Conſulſhip (from which* Plebeians *are excluded.) A war with the* Æqui *favours this deſign.* T. Quinctius (*ſon of* Lucius) *and*
322. C. Julius *are choſen Conſuls ; but theſe diſagreeing, through jealouſy, the Senate judge it neceſſary to have a Dictator. The Conſuls refuſe to name one. The Senators provoked hereat, raſhly apply to the Tribunes to interpoſe in the affair. The Tribunes threaten the Conſuls to have them carried to priſon if they don't comply.* Poſthumius Tubertus *is named Dictator. He defeats the enemy, and*
323. *returns triumphant to* Rome. §. V. *The* Æqui *in the following Conſulate of* C. Papirius *and* L. Julius *obtain a truce for eight years. (A regulation is made,*
324. *that fines ſhall for the future be paid in money inſtead of cattle.) The* Romans *continue in peace during this and the ſucceeding Conſulate of* L. Sergius (*a ſe-*
325. *cond time Conſul*) *and* Hoſtus Lucretius. *The next year, when* T. Quinctius (*a ſecond time*) *and* A. Cornelius Coſſus *are Conſuls,* Rome *is afflicted by a famine and a plague, which occaſions the People to have recourſe to foreign ſuperſtitions, but theſe are ſoon prohibited.* §. VI. *The* Veientes *in the following Con-*
326. *ſulate of* L. Papirius (*a ſecond time Conſul*) *and* Servilius Ahala, *make incurſions on the* Roman *lands. Diſputes ariſing between the Senate and People about*
327. *the prerogative of proclaiming this war, the* Romans *do not take the field 'till the next year, when the People prevail to have* Military Tribunes *in the Government, but they are all* Patricians. *Theſe not acting in concert are defeated*

by

by the enemy; whereupon Mamercus Æmilius *(who had been degraded by the Cenſors) is a third time raiſed to the Dictatorſhip. He gives the* Veientes *a total overthrow, and takes their camp, as alſo* Fidenæ, *which had again revolted from the* Romans.

CHAP. XXXIV.

§. I. Military Tribunes *are choſen to the Government the two following years; but the choice falls only on* Patricians. *The Tribunes of the Commons uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the People from this preference of the Nobles to them, in the elections. The Senate to counterplot them, before the new elections come on, contrive to ſend away the principal of the* Plebeians *into the field againſt the* Volſci. *In their abſence* Appius Claudius *(ſon of the Decemvir) one of the* Military Tribunes, *holds an Aſſembly for electing Conſuls, and* C. Sempronius *and* Q. Fabius *are choſen.* §. II. Sempronius *brings the whole* Roman *army into danger of being cut to pieces by the* Volſci. *An Officer of horſe named* Tempanius, *by his bravery and prudence, prevents the defeat of the* Romans. *He arrives at* Rome *before the Conſul, and gives teſtimony in favour of his conduct.* §. III. *The People condemn* Poſthumius *(one of thoſe Military Tribunes, who by their diſunion had loſt a battle in the year* 327,) *in a fine.* Tempanius *is made one of the Tribunes of the Commons. His General* Sempronius *being proſecuted by the People for his miſconduct, he takes his part, and engages the Tribune* Hortenſius, *the accuſer, to drop the proſecution.* 328. 329. 330. 331.

CHAP. XXXV.

§. I. *The next year, in the Conſulate of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus *and* Numerius Fabius, *new diſſentions ariſe in the Republic, on occaſion of a propoſal to add two Quæſtors to the two already eſtabliſhed. The Tribunes inſiſt, that of the four one half ſhall be always* Plebeians. *The Senate oppoſe this, but are willing to leave the People free in their choice. The Tribunes not content, proteſt, by way of revenge, againſt holding the Comitia for electing Conſuls. The two parties come at length to this compromiſe, that Military Tribunes ſhall be elected to the government, and that the People ſhall be free to chuſe* Patricians *or* Plebeians *to the Quæſtorſhip. Notwithſtanding all that the Tribunes of the Commons can do, the People chuſe not only the Military Tribunes but the Quæſtors too out of the* Patricians *only. The Tribunes of the Commons, to vent their rage, renew the proſecution againſt* Sempronius *(whoſe kinſman* A. Sempronius, *one of the new Military Tribunes, had preſided in the Aſſembly for chuſing Quæſtors) and they get him fined.* §. II. *The following ſix years to the year of* Rome 340 *the State is governed by Military Tribunes. In* 334 *a conſpiracy of the ſlaves is diſcovered and prevented. In* 335 *the* Romans *have a war with the* Labicani *and* Æqui *united. The three Military Tribunes quarrel about the command of the army, one of the three being to ſtay in the city.* Q. Servilius, *formerly Dictator, the father of one of them, orders his ſon to remain at* Rome. *The other two take the field, and command alternately. The* Roman 332. 333. 334. 335.

man *army is routed. Young* Servilius *names his father to the Dictatorſhip. This great man in eight days recovers the affairs of the Republic, and then reſigns his*
336. *office. The year* 336 *is a year of peace. In* 337 *the Tribunes revive the old*
337. *quarrel about the diſtribution of the conquered lands.* Appius's *advice to the Senate, to raiſe a diviſion among thoſe Magiſtrates, is followed with ſucceſs. Six of them ſide with the* Patricians. *The like good underſtanding is main-*
338. *tained the next year* (338) *between the Nobles and ſome of the Tribunes.* §. III.
339. *But in* 339 *the affair of the* AGRARIAN LAW *is revived.* Poſthumius, *one of the* Military Tribunes *and General of the army, having promiſed the ſoldiers the plunder of* Bola *taken from the* Æqui, *afterwards breaks his word with them.* Sextius, *one of the* Tribunes of the Commons, *to make the ſoldiers amends, propoſes that a colony of them ſhall be ſettled at* Bola, *and its territory divided among them.* Poſthumius (*who had been called to* Rome *to oppoſe* Sextius's *proceedings*) *threatens that it ſhall be the worſe for his men if any ſuch ſtep be made in their favour. The Tribune takes advantage of this proud and imprudent menace to incenſe the People againſt the General; and a report of it being made in the camp, the ſoldiers mutiny and wound one of the Quæſtors;* and Poſthumius, *at his return to the camp, attempting to puniſh the guilty, is ſtoned by the ſoldiers. The Senate, fearing leſt the People, in order to ſcreen the murderers, ſhould chuſe* Plebeian *Military Tribunes for the next year* (340) *uſe all their endeavours to get Conſuls elected, and they prevail. The Faſces are*
340. *transferred to* A. Cornelius Coſſus *and* L. Furius Medullinus, *who ſhew great moderation and prudence in the proſecution of the criminals.* §. IV. *Nothing very memorable, except a plague and famine, happens in the three following*
344. *Conſulates. But in the year* 344, *when* Cn. Cornelius *and* L. Furius (*a ſecond time*) *are Conſuls, three Tribunes of the name of* Icilius *prevail with the People to chuſe three of the four Quæſtors out of the* Plebeians. *The Senate is likewiſe forced to conſent to the chuſing of* Military Tribunes *for the next year, but find means to diſappoint the* Icilii *in their expectation of being raiſed to that dignity.*
345. *Three* Patricians *are choſen. Theſe being ordered by the Senate to name a Dictator, on occaſion of a war with the* Volſci, *two of them refuſe. The Senate hereupon has recourſe, as formerly, to the Tribunes; but theſe return a diſdainful anſwer, and will not meddle in the diſpute.* Servilius Ahala, *the third Military Tribune, names* P. Cornelius *Dictator, who quickly puts an end to the war.* Servilius's *two Collegues in anger againſt the Senate propoſe* Military Tribunes
346. *at the next election: However* Patricians *are choſen, and ſo likewiſe the next year.*
347. *The Tribunes of the Commons, provoked to the utmoſt, revenge themſelves by oppoſing the levies for a war with the* Veientes, *who had inſulted the* Roman *Ambaſſadors; and they make the old affair of the* Agrarian Law *their pretence. The Senate get the better of this oppoſition, by decreeing that the infantry ſhall hereafter have* PAY *out of the public treaſury during the ſervice. The People joyfully confirm this Decree, and readily offer themſelves to be inliſted.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

§. I. *The* Romans *inveſt* Veii. *In the two firſt years of the ſiege (which laſted ten) there is little action. The third year,* (350 *of* Rome) *the Tribunes of the Commons make a ſtir about the hardſhip the ſoldiers ſuffer by being detained in the camp all the winter.* Appius Claudius, *one of the Military Tribunes, aſſembles the People and inveighs againſt the Tribunes for their ſeditious behaviour. His harangue has little effect; but a loſs which the beſiegers ſuſtain before the place, animates the* Plebeians *with a zeal to puſh on the ſiege with vigour. The Senate for the firſt time allow* PAY *to* THE HORSE. §. II. *The year following,* Sergius *and* Virginius (*two of the* Military Tribunes) *having the conduct of the ſiege, quarrel and divide the troops between them. The* Faliſci *and* Capenates (*People of* Hetruria,) *come to the aſſiſtance of the* Veientes, *and fall upon one ſide of* Sergius's *camp, while the beſieged ſally out and attack the other.* Virginius *refuſes to aſſiſt his Collegue; the troops of the latter are routed. Hereupon the two Generals are both recalled. All the Military Tribunes of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are choſen. The Tribunes of the Commons raiſe ſuch diſturbances at* Rome *about the levies, that in the election of thoſe Magiſtrates the People cannot agree in the choice of more than eight. The majority of theſe eight name two more, in defiance of the* Trebonian Law. C. Trebonius, *one of the preſent Tribunes, draws the hatred of the People upon three of his Collegues on this account, but they artfully divert it from themſelves by turning it againſt* Sergius *and* Virginius (*the Generals of the laſt year*) *who are both fined for miſconduct.* §. III. *The Tribunes renew the domeſtic broils: But all is quieted by the chuſing ſome* Plebeians *into the Military Tribuneſhip. At the next elections the Comitia chuſe five* Plebeians *to that dignity, and only one* Patrician. *The arms of the Republic proſper, but there happens a great mortality among men and cattle. To avert this evil the ceremony of the* Lectiſternium *is obſerved.* §. IV. *The Senate take advantage of the People's fears and ſuperſtition, to get the Military Tribuneſhip for* Patricians *only; pretending that the Gods were angry at the choice, which had been made of* Plebeians *to that Magiſtracy. The lake of* Alba *overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, and an old* Veientan *ſoldier having delivered a prophecy, that* Veii *ſhould not be taken before the water of that lake was all run out, Deputies are ſent from* Rome *to conſult the Oracle of* Delphos. *Theſe return the next year with an anſwer agreeable to the old man's prophecy. Canals are made to drain the lake. Some defect being diſcovered in the inauguration of the preſent Military Tribunes, they all abdicate, and ſix new ones are choſen all* Plebeians. *Their adminiſtration not being proſperous,* Camillus *is named Dictator.* §. V. *He takes* Veii *by ſap.*

348. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357.

CHAP. XXXVII.

§. I. *The People are much diſpleaſed with* Camillus *on account of ſome ſingularities in the pomp of his triumph; but much more for demanding back from them a tenth part of the ſpoil of* Veii, *to diſcharge a vow, which he had made to* Apol-

lo *juſt before the aſſault, and which he had afterwards forgot. The* Roman *La-*
358. *dies contribute their jewels to make a golden vaſe for* Apollo. §. II. *The next year (the Republic being under the Government of ſix Military Tribunes, all* Patricians) Sicinius Dentatus, *a Tribune of the Commons, propoſes that half of the Senators, Knights, and People of* Rome *ſhould remove to* Veii, *and ſettle there. After much ſtruggle* Camillus *and the other Senators bring this project to nothing.*
359. §. III. Camillus *is choſen one of the ſix Military Tribunes for the year following, and to him is committed the conduct of the war againſt the* Faliſci. *He beſieges* Falerii *their capital city. A ſchool-maſter to whom the ſons of the chief inhabitants of the place are committed for education, betrays his truſt, and puts all the children into the hands of* Camillus. *The* Roman *deteſting both the treachery and the traytor, makes the boys whip him back again into the town. The* Faliſci *moved by this generous action, ſubmit to the* Romans, *who grant them peace on the condition only of paying the expences of the campaign. During this tranſaction, two of* Camillus's *Collegues gain a victory over the* Æqui. §. IV. *The People, when the time comes for electing their Tribunes, chuſe to the ſame office thoſe of the old ones who had appeared for the propoſal of removing half the People to* Veii. *On the other hand, the* Patricians *get Conſular Government reſtored.*
360. L. Lucretius *and* Servius Sulpicius *are elected Conſuls.* Sicinius *the Tribune, Author of the project of going to* Veii, *gets two of his late Collegues fined for having oppoſed it. This project is debated in an Aſſembly of the People, and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The Senate decree ſeven acres of the*
361. *lands of* Veii *to every freeman of* Rome. §. V. L. Valerius *and* M. Manlius *are choſen Conſuls for the next year. The* Volſinienſes, *a People of* Hetruria, *take arms againſt* Rome. *The Conſuls being ſeized with a contagious diſtemper, reſign the Faſces to ſix Military Tribunes. The proſperous ſtate of* Rome *at this time.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

362. §. I. *A malicious accuſation is brought againſt* Camillus, *for having taken to his own uſe ſome part of the ſpoil of* Veii. *To avoid the diſgrace of a condemnation, he baniſhes himſelf.* §. II. *Shortly after,* Cluſium *in* Hetruria *being beſieged by the* Gauls *under King* Brennus, *the Inhabitants implore the aſſiſtance of the* Romans. *Three brothers of the name of* Fabius *are ſent Ambaſſadors from* Rome *to mediate a peace between the contending powers.* Brennus *gives them a haughty reception. The* Fabii *young and indiſcreet, having entered the town, put themſelves at the head of the* Cluſians, *and make a ſally with them againſt the beſiegers.* Q. Fabius *with his own hand kills one of their Captains.* Brennus *provoked at this breach of the law of nations, raiſes the ſiege, and marches ſtrait towards* Rome. *He ſends a Herald, and demands that the Ambaſſadors be delivered up to him. The* Romans, *inſtead of complying with this demand, chuſe the* Fabii *to the Military Tribuneſhip, and*
363. *place them at the head of the army which is to act againſt the* Gauls. §. III. Brennus *gives the* Romans *a total overthrow on the banks of the* Allia. *The fourth day after the Battle, he enters* Rome, *the gates of it being left open, moſt of the citizens fled, and the Senate with all they were capable to bear away retired into*

into the Capitol. Brennus *finds about* 80 *venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to death, ſitting in the* Forum *in robes and chairs of ſtate. They are all ſlain. The Capitol is inveſted, and the City burnt.* §. IV. Camillus *(who in his exile reſided at* Ardea*) puts himſelf at the head of the* Ardeates, *ſurprizes and cuts off ſome detachments of* Gauls *ſent out to plunder the country. Upon the report of this action, the* Romans, *who were diſperſed about the territory of* Rome, *aſſemble, and ſend a requeſt to him to be their General. He declines it till a young man, diſpatch'd away to the Capitol for that purpoſe, brings him from the Senate a commiſſion, which conſtitutes him Dictator.* §. V. *While* Camillus *is aſſembling an army, the* Gauls *attempt to ſcale the Capitol in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is diſcovered by the cackling of ſome geeſe. The aſſailants are repulſed, chiefly by the bravery of* M. Manlius. Camillus *hinders all proviſions from coming to the enemy.* §. VI. *Both beſiegers and beſieged being diſtreſſed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The* Romans *are to purchaſe a peace with* 1000 ℔. *weight of gold. While the gold is weighing,* Camillus *arrives: He breaks off the treaty, and forces the* Gauls *to raiſe the ſiege and quit the country.* §. VII. Rome *being* 364. *deſtroyed, the Tribunes renew the propoſal of removing to* Veii. Camillus *(who is continued in the Dictatorſhip the whole year) oppoſes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a Centurion is what determines the People to ſtay and rebuild the city.* Manlius *is rewarded.* Q. Fabius *the Ambaſſador, who by his blameable conduct had provoked the* Gauls *againſt* Rome, *kills himſelf to avoid a public condemnation.* §. VIII. *Before the end of the next year (during which* 365. *the Commonwealth is governed by ſix Military Tribunes) the* CITY *is entirely* REBUILT.

THIRD BOOK.

From the year of ROME 365, when the CITY was REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the year 489, when the ROMANS, having ſubdued ALL ITALY, began the firſt PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The Nations bordering upon the* Roman *State reſolve, if poſſible, to cruſh it before it can recover its former ſtrength. The Military Tribunes march an army againſt the* Volſci *and* Latines, *but by ill conduct ſuffer it to be incloſed by the enemy.* Camillus *hereupon is, a third time, named Dictator; he raiſes new forces, reſcues the army in diſtreſs, and forces the enemy's camp, after which he takes the capital city of the* Æqui, *ſubdues the* Volſci, *and recovers* Sutrium *from the* Hetrurians. §. II. *The next year (when the Commonwealth* 366. *is again governed by Military Tribunes) the* Roman *arms proſper abroad. The*

367. *year following is a year of peace. Four new Tribes are added to the twenty one.* §. III. *The expectation of a new war makes the* Romans *chooſe* Camillus *to be*
368. *one of the ſix Military Tribunes for the next year. He leads the* Roman *troops firſt againſt the* Volſci *of* Antium, *and then againſt the* Hetrurians; *and has ſucceſs in both expeditions. The* Latines *and* Hernici *ſubmit.*

CHAP. II.

369. §. I. *The next year Military Tribunes being again choſen to the Government,* Manlius *(who ſaved the Capitol) envious of* Camillus's *glory, and moved by an exorbitant Ambition, uſes ſuch methods to make himſelf popular, as alarm the Senate. They name* A. Cornelius Coſſus *Dictator. He ſummons* Manlius *to appear before him, and anſwer for ſome ſeditious diſcourſes he had uttered.* Manlius *not anſwering directly to the Dictator's queſtion is committed to priſon,* Coſſus *ſoon after reſigns the Dictatorſhip. The Senate fearing the rage of the People, who are devoted to* Manlius, *ſet him at liberty.* §. II.
370. Camillus *is choſen one of the Military Tribunes for the next year.* Manlius *renews his factious intrigues. Two of the Tribunes of the Commons impeach him of Treaſon, and, by ſentence of the People, he is thrown headlong from the* Tarpeian *rock.*

CHAP. III.

§. I. *During the ſix following years, and the beginning of the ſeventh,* Rome *is almoſt entirely free from civil diſſenſions; but wars are carried on abroad againſt the* Prænestini *and* Volſci, *with very little interruption.* Camillus *being one of the Military Tribunes in the year* 373, *gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when diſreſpectfully treated by one of his Collegues.*

CHAP. IV.

377. §. I. *The lower ſort of the People of* Rome *are over awed and oppreſs'd by the Great and the Rich; and the Commons in general loſe that ſpirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the Nobles.* §. II. *In the midſt of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman ſets three bold and enterpriſing men at work to raiſe the fortune of the* Plebeians *higher than ever, and to obtain even the dignity of the Conſulſhip for perſons of that order. The three who form this deſign are,* M. Fabius Ambuſtus, *the Lady's Father (a* Patrician) C. Licinius Stolo, *her Huſband (a* Plebeian) *and* L. Sextius, *another* Plebeian *of great diſtinction. The two latter having obtain'd the office of* Tribunes of the People, *propoſe a law for the reſtraining of Uſury, another to prohibit any citizen from poſſeſſing more than* 500 *acres of land, and a third to reſtore the Conſulate, and make it an eſtabliſh'd rule for the future, that of the two Conſuls one ſhall indiſpenſibly be a* Plebeian. *The Senate and Patricians on this occaſion gain over to them eight of the Tribunes, who pronouncing the word* Veto *when the affair is brought before the Tribes, quaſh the whole project for the preſent.*

§. III.

§. III. Licinius *and* Sextius *in revenge, and to gain their point, being continued in the office of Tribunes of the Commons, oppose and hinder for four years successively any election of Military Tribunes; and the Republic falls into a kind of anarchy. But in the fifth year a new war breaking out, obliges them to desist from their opposition; and then six Military Tribunes, all* Patricians, *are chosen to the government. The war continuing, Military Tribunes are again elected, and these too are six men of the* Patrician *order. Nevertheless, as* Fabius Ambustus *happens to be one of the number,* Sextius *and* Licinius *having his countenance and assistance, take this opportunity to renew their proposal of the three Laws; to which they add a fourth, importing, that Ten Guardians, instead of Two, shall have the care of the* Sybilline *Books, and that of these ten, five shall be* Plebeian. *The determination of the whole affair is suspended on account of the absence of so many Citizens as are employed in the war.* §. IV. *The next year the Republic has again six* Patrician *Governors, but the Senate is obliged to have recourse to a Dictator, and* Camillus *is rais'd (a 4th time) to that dignity. He disperses by his authority an assembly of the Tribes, which the Tribunes had convened in order to get the Laws passed; and presently after resigns his post.* §. V. P. Manlius *is chosen Dictator in his room. This* Dictator *names a* Plebeian *to be his* General of the Horse, *the first instance of such a nomination. The Tribunes having a supreme magistrate so favourable to them, think of pushing their affair with fresh vigour; but the People themselves grow cold and indifferent as to that part of the project which relates to the Consulate.* Sextius *and* Licinius *enraged hereat, tell them plainly in a general assembly, that either that law which qualifies* Plebeians *for the Consulate, shall pass, or none; and that if they persist in such ingratitude to their protectors, they will no longer serve in the office of the Tribuneship.* Appius Claudius *(the grandson of the* Decemvir*) makes a speech, expatiating on the insolence shewn in such a declaration. The decision of the affair is put off. Soon after the Commons obtain the Law concerning the* Sybils *Books, and then suffer new Military Tribunes to be chosen, all* Patricians. §. VI. *The contest relating to the other Laws is revived with great heat, but is again suspended by the approach of an army of* Gauls. Camillus *is appointed Dictator (a 5th time.) He defeats the enemy, and has a Triumph at his return to* Rome. §. VII. *The Tribunes* Sextius *and* Licinius *being resolved to carry their point, summon the Tribes, and proceed immediately to take the voices. Upon the Dictator's opposing their measures, they send an officer to seize him and carry him to prison. This causes a great commotion and struggle. The Dictator and Senate retire to the Senate-house to consider what is best to be done, and they come to a resolution to concede that one of the Consuls may be* Plebeian. *Hereupon the Centuries chuse* L. Æmilius *and* L. Sextius *(the Tribune) to the Consulate. But now the Senate refuses to confirm the election of the latter, which occasions new and warm contentions. The Dictator, to quiet them, proposes, that the prerogative of judging in civil causes be taken from the Consulate, and* Prætors *be appointed to perform that function, and that these Prætors be always* Patricians. *Hereto both parties agree, and the Senate acquiesce in having a* Plebeian *Consul.* §. VIII. *The* Curule Ædileship *is establish'd in favour of the* Patricians. *The Tribunes*

378. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387.

ſoon after obtain, that Plebeians *may be choſen to the Curule Ædileſhip.*
388. §. IX. *The next year,* L. Genucius *and* Q. Servilius *being Conſuls, a dreadful plague in* Rome *carries off many perſons of diſtinction, among whom is the great* Camillus.

CHAP. V.

389. §. I. *In the following Conſulate (of* C. Sulpicius *and* C. Licinius Stolo) *the plague continuing, and the* Romans, *to remove it, having in vain tried the ſuperſtitious ceremony of the* Lectiſternium, *they endeavour to appeaſe the Gods by inſtituting to their honour the* Scenic Shows. *This expedient alſo failing, they*
390. *try another the next year* (L. Æmilius (the 2d time) *and* Cn. Genucius *being Conſuls) which is, to create a Dictator to* drive a Nail *into the wall of the Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus. *The plague ceaſes; but* L. Manlius Imperioſus *the Dictator is unwilling to reſign his authority, and uſes violence to make the People liſt themſelves for a war with the* Hernici. *The Tribunes however oblige him to abdicate; and in the following Conſulate of* Q. Servilius *and* L. Genucius
391. *(both Conſuls a 2d time) he is cited by the Tribune* Pomponius *to anſwer for his miſconduct during his Dictatorſhip, and particularly for his cruelty to his own ſon, named* Titus. *The ſon, who was in the country, hearing of what paſs'd, comes to* Rome, *ſurprizes* Pomponius *in his bed, and by threatening to ſtab him, makes him ſwear to deſiſt from the proſecution. The People, pleaſed with the filial piety of young* Manlius, *give him ſoon after the poſt of* Legionary Tribune *(or Colonel.)* §. II. *In this ſame year the earth opens on a ſudden in the midſt of the* Forum, *and continues open, to the great terror of the City.* M. Curtius, *a young Patrician, moved by an obſcure anſwer of the Augurs, who had been thereupon conſulted, leaps into the gulph compleatly armed and on horſeback.. Some authors ſay, that the earth immediately cloſed.* §. III. *The Conſul* Genucius, *the* FIRST PLEBEIAN Rome *had ever placed* at the head of an Army, *conducts the war againſt the* Hernici. *He falls into an ambuſh, his Legions are routed, and he himſelf ſlain. This diſaſter is imputed by the Patricians to the anger of the Gods on account of the profanation of the Augural Ceremonies, by inaugurating a* Plebeian. *The ſurviving Conſul names* Appius Claudius *Dictator, who carrying on the war, gains a victory, but with great loſs.* §. IV.
392. *The People, notwithſtanding the clamours of the Patricians, chuſe* Licinius Stolo (*that famous* Plebeian) *a 2d time to the Conſulate. They give him for a Collegue* C. Sulpicius Peticus. *But the* Tyburtes *revolting ſoon after, and it being ſuſpected that they were encouraged to this revolt by a ſecret promiſe of aſſiſtance from the* Gauls, *it is thought neceſſary to create a Dictator.* T. Quinctius Pennas *is named to that dignity. The* Gauls *advance within three miles of* Rome, *encamping on the banks of the* Anio. *The* Romans *pitch their camp on the oppoſite ſide, a bridge parts the two armies. On this bridge young* Manlius *in ſingle combat ſlays the mightieſt champion of the* Gauls, *a man of a gigantic ſtature; which accident ſo diſcourages them, that they leave their camp in the*
393. *night and in confuſion. The next year (in the Conſulate of* M. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* C. Pœtelius Libo) *the* Gauls *appear again in the neighbourhood of* Rome;

and the Romans *(under the conduct of* Servilius Ahala, *created Dictator) once more defeat them. The two Conſuls make war with ſucceſs againſt the* Tyburtes *and the* Hernici.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *The* Faſces *are transferred to* M. Popilius Lænas *and* Cn. Manlius. *A domeſtic ſedition, which was ſoon quell'd, an incurſion of the* Tyburtes, *who were ſoon repulſed, and the commencement of a new war againſt* Rome *by the* Tarquinienſes, *are the chief events of this Conſulſhip.* 394. §. II. *The ſucceeding Conſuls are* C. Fabius Ambuſtus, *and* C. Plautius Proculus. *The* Gauls *appear on a ſudden in the plains of* Prœneſte. *Hereupon* C. Sulpicius *is named Dictator, who with an army ſtrengthen'd by the* Latines *(who now renew their antient treaties with* Rome) *marches againſt the* Gauls. *The Dictator for prudential reaſons avoids an engagement with the enemy, till he is forced to it by the mutinying of his ſoldiers, impatiently ardent to fight. By the help of a new ſtratagem he obtains a compleat victory. He has a Triumph at his return, and then reſigns the Government to the Conſuls.* Plautius *ſubdues the* Hernici, *but* Fabius *is vanquiſhed by the* Tarquinienſes. 395. §. III. *Two new Tribes are form'd. A Law is paſs'd againſt openly canvaſſing for votes. Another (in the following adminiſtration of* C. Martius Rutilus *and* Cn. Manlius, *who is now a 2d time Conſul) fixing the legal intereſt of money at One* per Cent. Licinius Stolo, *author of the law againſt any man's poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is paſſed againſt holding the* Comitia *in any place but* Rome. 396. §. IV. *New Conſuls are choſen.* M. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* M. Popilius Lænas *(both a 2d time ;) but the* Faliſci *and* Tarquinienſes *having engaged all* Hetruria *to take part with them againſt* Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, *the* PLEBEIAN *Conſul of the laſt year, is named* DICTATOR *by* Popilius *the Plebeian Conſul of this, to the great diſpleaſure of the Nobles. He obtains a compleat victory over the enemy, and has a Triumph, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Senate. However, he is not ſuffered (becauſe a Plebeian) to hold the* Comitia *for the new election of Conſuls. The aſſembly is held by an* Inter-rex, *and then* TWO *Patricians* (C. Sulpicius Peticus *(a third time)* and M. Valerius) *are choſen to the Conſulate, contrary to the intent of one of the* Licinian *laws, and the cuſtom for eleven years paſt.* 397. *The next year the* Faſces *are again in the hands of* two Patricians. *Theſe are* M. Fabius Ambuſtus (*a third time Conſul*) *and* T. Quinctius Pennas. 398. *The former ſubdues the* Tyburtes, *the latter defeats the* Tarquinienſes. (*The* Samnites *conclude an alliance with the* Romans.) *The Nobles prevail once more to have only* Patricians *in the Government.* C. Sulpicius Peticus (*a fourth time*) *and* M. Valerius (*a 2d time*) *are promoted to the Conſulate. The former is appointed to lead an army into* Hetruria *againſt the* Tarquinienſes *and* Faliſci ; *the latter another againſt the* Volſci ; *and ſoon after* T. Manlius (who had never been CONSUL) *is named* DICTATOR *to conduct a third army againſt the* Cœrites. 399. *The* Cœrites *ſubmit. The Conſuls act only on the defenſive.* 400.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *The* Tribunes of the People *oppoſe the holding of the* Comitia *for electing new Magiſtrates, till the Dictatorſhip of* Manlius *and the Conſular Year are expired; and during the* Inter-regnum, *that follows, they prevail to have*
401. C. Marcius Rutilus, *a* PLEBEIAN, *raiſed (now a 2d time) to the Conſulate with* P. Valerius. *Theſe Magiſtrates take effectual meaſures to relieve the Debtors, in order to maintain peace at home.* §. II. *Upon a falſe rumour that the Twelve* Lucumonies *of* Hetruria *are preparing for a war with* Rome, Julius Iulus *is named Dictator.* Julius *employs his influence to get two* Patricians *choſen to the Conſulate for the next year. The People, tho' they oppoſe this deſign, and hinder the meeting of the* Centuries *during his Dictatorſhip,*
402. *ſuffer* C. Sulpicius *(now a 5th time) and* T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, *both* Patricians, *to be declared Conſuls, when the* Comitia *are afterwards held by an* Inter-rex. *Nevertheleſs, in this very Conſulate the Commons prevail for the firſt time to have a* PLEBEIAN *choſen to the* CENSORSHIP. *This was the ſame* C. Marcius Rutilus *who had been created Dictator in* 397. § III. *And notwithſtanding that the preſent Conſuls name a Dictator to hold the* Comitia *for the election of their ſucceſſors, in order to get two Patricians choſen,* M. Po-
403. pilius Lænas, *a Plebeian, is promoted (now a 3d time) to the Conſulate with* L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius *falling ſick, the* Plebeian Conſul *has the ſole conduct of a new war with the* Gauls. M. Valerius *the* PRÆTOR *of* Rome *is placed at the head of an army to defend the City; this being the firſt inſtance of a* PRÆTOR's *acting as a* GENERAL. Popilius *defeats the* Gauls *in battle; but being diſabled from doing buſineſs, by a wound, and his Collegue continuing ſick, they name* Furius Camillus *Dictator, to hold the* Comitia *for the new*
404. *Elections, where the Dictator himſelf, with* Appius Claudius Craſſus *(both* Patricians) *are choſen Conſuls.* Appius *dying ſhortly after,* Camillus *is ſuffer'd to govern the Republic without a Collegue. He marches a powerful army againſt the* Gauls, *who had ſpread themſelves on the ſea-coaſt of* Latium. M. VALERIUS *(afterwards ſurnamed* CORVUS) *a Legionary Tribune, kills in ſingle combat a champion of the* Gauls, *and this occaſions a general action, in which the* Romans *obtain the victory.* Camillus *being obliged ſtill to keep the field, in order to hinder the deſcent of ſome* Greek *pirates on the coaſt, names* T. Manlius *Dictator, to hold the* Comitia *for the new Elections.* Manlius, *pleaſed with the exploit of* Valerius, *reſembling what he himſelf had formerly done, influences the People to chuſe him, tho' but twenty three years of age, to be one*
405. *of the Conſuls. The Collegue given him is* Popilius Lænas, *now promoted the fourth time to that dignity.* §. IV. *The* Romans *conclude a Treaty with the*
406. Carthaginians. §. V. *In the following Conſulate of* C. Plautius Hypſæus *and* T. Manlius Torquatus *the Intereſt of Money is lower'd to* Half per Cent. *A new war with the* Volſci *breaks out during the adminiſtration of their ſucceſ-*
407. *ſors,* Valerius Corvus *(now a 2d time Conſul) and* C. Pœtelius Libo. Valerius *defeats the enemy, takes from them* Satricum, *and burns it. The* Secular Games *are celebrated for the ſecond time according to* Faſt. Cap. §. VI. *The*

next year's Conſuls, M. Fabius Dorſo *and* S. Sulpicius Camerinus, *name* L. Furius Camillus *to be Dictator* (*a* 2*d time*) *on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the* Aurunci. Furius *overthrows them in battle, and at his return builds a Temple, which he had vowed during the action, to* Juno Moneta. *The year following, the* Romans *imagining that the Goddeſs, agreeable to her name* MONETA, admoniſh'd *them by Prodigies of the impending wrath of the Gods,* C. Marcius Rutilus (*now Conſul a* 2*d time*) *and* T. Manlius (*Conſul a* 2*d time*) *appoint* P. Valerius *to be Dictator, to order the Celebration of the* Feriæ Latinæ. 408. 409.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *In the ſucceeding adminiſtration of* M. Valerius Corvus (*3d time Conſul*) *and* Cornelius Coſſius Arvina, *happens the* FIRST RUPTURE *between the* ROMANS *and* SAMNITES, *on occaſion of a war which the latter had carried on with ſucceſs againſt the people of* Capua *in* Campania. *The* Campanians, *to engage the* Romans *to ſuccour them in their diſtreſs, make a ſurrender of themſelves and their country to the Republic. Hereupon* Valerius *is directed to march an army into* Campania, *and* Cornelius *to carry the war into* Samnium. Valerius, *in an action with the* Samnites, *has the advantage.* §. II. Cornelius, *on the other hand, by an imprudent march, brings his army into danger of being entirely cut off by the enemy; however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by a ſtratagem, ſuggeſted and executed by a Legionary Tribune named* P. Decius Mus; *and preſently after, following the advice of the ſame* Decius, *he gains a victory over the* Samnites, *who loſe* 30,000 *men in the action.* Decius *is rewarded with many honours.* §. III. Valerius *obtains a ſecond victory over the* Samnites *in* Campania. *Theſe ſucceſſes make the* Romans *reſpected abroad.* 410.

CHAP. IX.

§. I. C. Marcius Rutilus *is elected* (*the 4th time*) *to the Conſulate, and with him* Q. Servilius Ahala. *The former marches an army into* Campania. *He finds a general depravation of manners in ſome Cohorts of* Roman *ſoldiers, who had been left in* Capua *all the winter; and diſcovers that they had plotted to make that delightful City their own, and to ſettle there. To diſappoint this ſcheme, he artfully contrives to ſend away the moſt mutinous and enterpriſing, without treating them diſgracefully, or letting his deſign appear. The ſoldiers at length ſuſpecting it, are alarmed with the apprehenſion of puniſhment. All the ſoldiers of one Cohort deſert. Theſe having poſted themſelves advantageouſly near* Anxur, *are ſoon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the City and the Camp. They force one* Quinctius, *an old ſoldier, whom they find employed in huſbandry, to be their leader to conduct them to* Rome. Valerius Corvus *is hereupon named* Dictator, *to march an army againſt the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from* Rome, *comes to a parley with them, and being a man extremely beloved by the ſoldiers, prevail's with them to ſubmit; yet the Rebels, beſides pardon, obtain ſome conceſſions from the Republic.* 411.

CHAP. X.

§. I. *The* Romans, *by theſe condeſcenſions to the Rebels, loſe credit among*
412. *their neighbours.* Privernum *revolts, but is quickly reduced by* C. Plautius Hypſæus *(now the 2d time Conſul.) His Collegue* L. Æmilius *lays waſte the country of the* Samnites, *who thereupon ſue for peace, and an alliance with* Rome. *Theſe being obtained, they turn their arms once more againſt the* Sidicini, *who being refuſed ſuccour by the Senate at* Rome, *even upon the terms of being ſubject to the Republic, give themſelves to the* Latines, *already in arms, to recover their independence. The* Campanians *follow the example of the* Sidicini. *An army formed of theſe three nations enter* Samnium, *but ſoon retire. The* Samnites *ſend an embaſſy to the Republic, to complain of her ſuffering the* Latines *and* Campanians *to commit hoſtilities in* Samnium. *They receive an anſwer unſatisfactory to them, offenſive to the* Campanians, *and which, ſeeming to betray a ſenſe of weakneſs in the* Romans, *elates the ſpirits of the* Latines. Man-
413. lius Torquatus *is promoted (a 3d time) to the Conſulate, with* P. Decius Mus. (Alexander *King of* Epirus, *uncle of* Alexander *the Great, comes into* Italy *on the invitation of the* Tarentines, *to make war with the* Bruttians, *and concludes an alliance of friendſhip with* Rome.) §. III. *The* Romans *ſummon ten of the* Latine *Chiefs to appear at* Rome, *and give account of their preparations for war. The* Latine *Council ſend* L. Annius *with nine more to* Rome, *to demand, as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that* one of the Conſuls and half of the Senate of *Rome* be for the future choſen out of the LATINES. *This demand is rejected with indignation, and war is declared.* §. IV. Manlius *and* Decius *having marched two armies into the field, and encamped near the enemy, dream both of them the ſame dream concerning the event of the war.* §. V. *The Conſul* Manlius *cauſes his own ſon to be beheaded, for having fought in ſingle combat with one of the enemies officers, tho' he prov'd victorious; becauſe he had fought without leave from his General.* §. VI. *The* Romans *come to a battle with the* Latines. *The wing where the Conſul* Decius *commands beginning to loſe ground, he, to recover the day to his party, and purſuant to the interpretation which had been given of his dream, devotes himſelf to death, ruſhing alone into the thickeſt of the enemy. His troops getting freſh courage and ſtrength from ſuperſtition, and* Manlius *conducting the battle with great ſkill, the* Latines *are totally routed, and fly to* Minturnæ. Manlius *gives them a ſecond overthrow, after which both they and the* Campa-
414. nians *ſubmit, and are moſt of them diſpoſſeſs'd of their lands.* §. VII. *In the following Conſulate of* Q. Publilius *and* T. Æmilius *ſome of the* Latines *rebel, and form two armies.* Publilius *ſucceeding in an expedition againſt one of them, is decreed a Triumph.* Æmilius *not having equal ſucceſs againſt the other, is refuſed that honour. Hereupon he inveighs againſt the Senate, and incites the People to ſedition; and becauſe the Senate, to prevent diſturbances, order him to name a* Dictator, *he in revenge nominates to that dignity his* Plebeian *Collegue. The Dictator, during his whole adminiſtration, imploys his power and influence for the advantage of the* Plebeians, *and obtains ſome laws*

in their favour. The Senate to pique Æmilius, *tender of his honour, enable the next year's Conſuls,* L. Furius Camillus *and* C. Mænius, *to finiſh with glory the war which he had left unfiniſhed.* §. VIII. *The* Romans *determine the fate of the ſeveral conquered Cities. The* Latines, *from being* Allies, *are made* Subjects *of* Rome. 415.

CHAP. XI.

§. I. *In the following Conſulate of* C. Sulpicius Longus *and* P. Ælius Pœtus, PUBLILIUS, *tho' a* Plebeian, *obtains the* PRÆTORSHIP; *ſo that all the great Dignities in the State, except thoſe of the Prieſthood, are now common to the two Orders. From this year* 416, *to the year* 425, *the moſt memorable events are, The invention of Moveable Towers and Cover'd Galleries, by the Conſul* Atilius Regulus *(in the year* 418) *at the ſiege of* Cale, *the chief City of the* Auſones, *allies of the* Sidicini. *The Republic's changing the cuſtom of raiſing a new army upon every change of Conſuls. The reduction of the* Sidicini *(probably in* 420.) *The addition of* 2 *new Tribes (in* 421) *to the* 27 *old ones. A plot formed (in* 422) *by ſome hundreds of* Roman *Women to poiſon their Huſbands. The revolt of* Privernum (*in* 423.) *The reduction of that City (in* 424,) *and the couragious and noble anſwer given by one of the Citizens, when queſtioned by the* Roman *Senate concerning the conduct which the* Privernates *would obſerve for the future.* 416. 418. 422. 424.

CHAP. XII.

§. I. *The next year, (in the Conſulate of* C. Plautius Proculus *and* P. Cornelius Scapula) *the* Romans *give umbrage to the* Samnites, *by planting a Colony in their neighbourhood. And the* Palæpolitans *make an irruption into the* Roman *Territory.* §. II. *A remarkable inſtance of the* Romans *abhorrence of Malice, in the proſecution of a criminal.* §. III. *The* Faſces *being tranſferred to* Q. Publilius *(now a* 2*d time Conſul) and* L. Cornelius Lentulus, *the former marches an army againſt the* Palæpolitans. Cornelius *encamps another near* Capua, *to keep in awe the* Campanians, *who are thought to be gain'd over by the* Samnites, *between whom and the Republic there is a new rupture.* §. IV. *The next year's Conſuls,* C. Pœtelius Libo *and* L. Papirius Mugillanus, *having their forces ſtrengthened by the* Lucanians *and* Apulians, *take ſome Towns from the* Samnites. *And* Publilius *(who with the Title of* PROCONSUL *is continued at the head of the ſame army he had commanded the laſt year when Conſul) takes* Palæpolis *by means of a ſtratagem laid and executed by two of the Citizens. For this explcit* Publilius, *tho' but a* Proconſul, *is decreed a* TRIUMPH. §. V. *The* Tarentines *having loſt their protector King* Alexander *of* Epirus, *and being jealous of the growing power of* Rome, *by an artful ſtratagem deprive her of all aſſiſtance from the* Lucanians, *ſeducing them into a league with the* Samnites. §. VI. *About this time the infamous paſſion of a* Roman, *named* Papirius, *for one of his inſolvent Debtors, occaſions the paſſing of a law at* Rome, *whereby* CREDITORS *are diſabled from* ſeizing the Perſons *of their* DEBTORS. 425. 426. 427.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. *The* Veſtini, *a People on the coaſt of the* Adriatic *ſea, take arms againſt* Rome, *in the Conſulate of* L. Furius Camillus *and* D. Junius Brutus. Brutus
428. *defeats them in battle.* §. II. Camillus, *who was to act againſt the* Samnites, *falling ſick, names to the Dictatorſhip* L. Papirius Curſor, *who appoints* Quintus Fabius Rullianus *to be his General of the Horſe. The* Dictator *having taken the field againſt the* Samnites, *returns ſoon after to* Rome *on account of ſome Religious Scruple, but firſt forbids* Fabius *to hazard a battle with the enemy during his abſence.* Fabius *nevertheleſs attacks the* Samnites, *and gains a notable victory; after which he burns all the ſpoil, that it may not do honour to the* Dictator *by being carried in his Triumphal Proceſſion.* Papirius *haſtens back to the camp to puniſh his diſobedient* General of the Horſe. Fabius *is reſcued out of the hands of the* Lictors, *and eſcapes to* Rome. *His father immediately gets the Senators together, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him.* Papirius *arrives on a ſudden, takes his place in the Senate, and orders his* Lictors *to ſeize young* Fabius. *The father hereupon appeals to the People.* Papirius, *tho' the thing is unprecedented, does not diſpute the legality of the appeal; but the People themſelves, when the affair comes before them, are unwilling to interpoſe their Authority; they chuſe rather to become interceſſors*
429. *with the* Dictator, *who at their requeſt pardons the offender.* §. III. Papirius *returns to the camp with a new General of the Horſe, and finding his army ill affected to him becauſe of his ſeverity in command, changes his manner on a ſudden, becomes familiar with his ſoldiers, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the* Samnites *to ſue for peace.* §. IV. *The Senate grant the* Samnites *only a year's truce, which the latter break ſo ſoon as they hear that* Papirius *has quitted the* Dictatorſhip: *They are joined by the*
430. Apulians. *Little progreſs is made in the war this year, when* C. Sulpicius Longus *and* Q. Aulius Cerretanus *are* Conſuls. *But their ſucceſſors* Q. Fabius
431. *(who had been General of the Horſe to* Papirius) *and* L. Fulvius Curvus, *by ſkilful conduct obtain a compleat victory over the enemy.* §. V. *The* Samnites *repenting of their breach of the Truce, endeavour to pacify the* Romans *by making reſtitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the Treaty.*

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *The* Samnites *being refuſed a Peace, notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction they have made for the breach of the Truce, prepare to carry on the war with vigour: and they appoint one* Pontius, *an able Officer, to be their General. At*
432. Rome T. Veturius *and* Sp. Poſthumius *are choſen* Conſuls. Pontius *by a ſtratagem draws theſe Generals with their Legions into a dangerous paſs (called afterwards the* Caudine Forks) *where they are ſurrounded by the* Samnites, *and have no poſſibility of forcing their way out of it. The* Samnite *General being undetermined in what manner to treat the* Romans, *is adviſed by his father, either in a friendly way to ſet them all free, or without mercy to cut them*

all off. The ſon rejecting this advice, will ſpare the lives of the Romans, *but demands as the condition,* That they all paſs unarm'd under the Yoke, Officers and Soldiers; that they engage to draw all their forces out of *Samnium*, and give hoſtages for the performance of this article. *The* Romans, *after ſome demur, ſubmit to the terms impoſed, being exhorted to it by* L. Lentulus, *a conſiderable Officer in the army. The* Conſuls, *at their return to* Rome, *being aſhamed to appear in publick, inſtantly name a* Dictator *to hold the* Comitia *for electing new* Conſuls. *This election however is not made till the Government falls into an* Inter-regnum. §. II. *And then the* Faſces *are given to* 433. Papirius Curſor *(a 2d time) and to* Publilius Philo *(a 3d time.) The Treaty made with the* Samnites *being laid before the Senate,* Poſthumius *(one of thoſe* Conſuls *who had been parties to it) declares that the* Roman *People are not bound by it, as not being made by their orders; that the honour of the Republic will be ſaved by ſurrendering him and the reſt of the Officers concerned in that Treaty to the* Samnites, *which he moves may be forthwith done. This propoſal is approved, and put in execution by a* Fecialis *appointed thereto; but* Pontius, *the* Samnite *General, reproaching the* Romans *with baſeneſs and breach of faith, refuſes to accept the priſoners in ſatisfaction of the Treaty.* §. III. Satricum *revolts from the* Romans; *and the* Samnites *ſurprize* Fregellæ, *a* Roman *Colony, and, after a promiſe of quarter, burn the inhabitants alive.* C. Mænius, *being appointed* Dictator *to take cognizance of treaſonable practices, and alledging all canvaſſing for Offices to be Treaſon againſt the State, cites ſeveral* Patricians *to Tryal on accuſations of that ſort: but he is forced, by the clamour of the whole body of the Nobles, to deſiſt; and being himſelf accuſed of the ſame crime, abdicates his office, ſtands a tryal, and is acquitted.*

CHAP. XV.

§. I. Cornelius Lentulus *being created* Dictator, *leads an army againſt the* Samnites *encamped near* Caudium, *and gives them a great overthrow.* Papirius Curſor, *his General of the Horſe, takes from them* Luceria *(in* Apulia) *and reſcues the* 600 Roman *Knights, who had been given as Hoſtages upon the Treaty with* Pontius. §. II. Papirius *is choſen (a 3d time) and* Q. Aulius 434. Cerretanus *(a 2d time) to the Conſulate. The latter takes* Ferentum, *the former recovers* Satricum *from the* Samnites. *The Character of* Papirius. §. III. *In the Conſulate of* L. Plautius *and* M. Foſlius *a two year's Truce is* 435. *granted to ſome Cities of* Samnium. *The* Roman *arms proſper in* Apulia. Campania *is turned into a* Roman Præfecture. *Two new Tribes are formed, which make the whole number* 31. §. IV. *The next year* (Q. Æmilius *and* 436. C. Junius *being Conſuls) all* Apulia *is ſubdued.* Antium *receives laws from* Rome *for its future government. The ſucceeding Conſuls,* Sp. Nautius *and* 437. M. Popilius, *name a* Dictator *to begin the ſiege of* Saticula, *a* Campanian *City in alliance with the* Samnites; *and notwithſtanding that thoſe two great men,* Papirius Curſor *and* Publilius Philo *are both choſen (the 4th time) to the* 438. *Conſulate for the year following, the carrying on of that ſiege is committed to another Dictator,* Q. Fabius, *the enemy and rival of* Papirius. Fabius *having*

taken Saticula, *marches to beſiege* Sora (*in the country of the* Volſci) *which had gone over to the* Samnites. *By an artful ſtratagem he defeats the* Samnites *in the field, but leaves the ſiege of* Sora *to be finiſhed by the next year's Conſuls,*
439. M. Pætilius, *and* C. Sulpicius (*who is now choſen the* 3*d time.*) *Theſe Generals take* Sora *by means of a ſtratagem ſuggeſted to them by a deſerter from the place.* §. V. *The* Romans *ſurprize three Cities of the* Auſones *in one day.* Luceria *in* Apulia *rebels, and is again reduced. The* Samnites *are once more*
440. *defeated in battle by the* Romans. *The next year, when* L. Papirius Curſor (*a* 5*th time*) *and* C. Junius Brutus (*a* 2*d time*) *are Conſuls,* C. Pœtelius Libo *is named Dictator to carry on the war. He recovers ſeveral Cities from the*
441. Samnites. *The year following, when* M. Valerius *and* P. Decius *are in the Conſulate, the* Romans *being alarmed with the apprehenſions of a war with all* Hetruria, *appoint* C. Sulpicius Longus *Dictator to conduct it; but no hoſtilities enſue on either ſide.*

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *one of the* Cenſors *of* Rome, *diſpleaſes the Senate, by* admitting the Sons of Freed Men into that Body. *The People reform*
442. *this abuſe the next year* (*when* C. Junius (*the* 3*d time*) *and* Q. Æmilius (*the* 2*d time*) *are* Conſuls) *and make ſome new regulations.* §. III. *During the*
443. *adminiſtration of* Q. Fabius (2*d time Conſul*) *and* C. Marcius, *the Cenſor* Appius *obſtinately refuſes to quit his office, though his eighteen months* (*the legal time for its duration*) *are expired, preſuming on the favour of the People, becauſe he had made an Aqueduct to bring water to* Rome, *and a fine road between that City and* Capua. *He is proſecuted before the People; ſeven of the Tribunes are againſt him, but the other three taking him under their protection, he carries his point and keeps his poſt.*

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. *The* Hetrurians *begin hoſtilities. The Conſul* Fabius *defeats them in battle near* Sutrium. *He penetrates into the* Ciminian *Foreſt, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a ſecond overthrow.* §. II. *The* Roman *army under the Conſul* Marcius *not having equal ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, *and the Conſul falling ſick, the Senate orders* Fabius *to name* Papirius Curſor (*the man he moſt hates*) *to be* Dictator *to carry on that war.* Fabius, *after*
444. *ſome ſtruggle with himſelf, complies.* §. III. *He continues* (*with the title of* Proconſul) *to conduct the war againſt the* Hetrurians, *and routs them once more, tho' the ſoldiers of their army had bound themſelves by oaths to conquer or die.* §. IV. *The Dictator* Papirius *is no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the* Samnites, *who, to raiſe the courage of their Troops, had given them finer arms than uſual. He returns to* Rome, *and, being now very old, retires for the reſt of his life*
445. *from public buſineſs.* §. V. Q. Fabius (*a* 3*d time*) *and* P. Decius Mus (*a* 2*d time*) *are choſen Conſuls.* Fabius *conducts the war with ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, *aſſiſted by the* Marſi *and* Peligni. Decius *reduces the* Hetrurians

to ſue for an Alliance with Rome, *but they obtain only a Truce for one year. He ſubdues all* Umbria. §. VI. Appius Claudius, *the Cenſor, is choſen to the Conſulate with* L. Volumnius. Appius *ſtays at* Rome, *while* Fabius (*in quality of* Proconſul) *carries on the war proſperouſly in* Samnium, *and* Volumnius *leads an army with ſucceſs againſt the* Salentines. *In the following Conſulate of* Q. Marcius *and* P. Cornelius, *the* HERNICI *rebel and are ſubdued; and the* SAMNITES *are twice defeated. The* Faſces *being tranſferred to* Poſthumius Megellus *and* Tib. Minucius, *the* Romans *gain two more victories over the* Samnites, *but* Minucius *is ſlain in the 2d battle.* §. VII. *In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Sempronius Sophus *and* P. Sulpicius Saverrio, *the* Samnites *requeſt and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with* Rome. *The* ÆQUI, *who had lately rebell'd, are totally ſubdued.*

446. 447. 448. 449.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The renowned* Q. FABIUS *being* CENSOR *this year, acquires the ſurname of* MAXIMUS, *for his reformation of an abuſe introduced by* APPIUS, *who had diſperſed great numbers of the Freed Men and meaneſt of the People into all the Ruſtic Tribes, thereby to influence the Elections according to his own humour. One* Flavius, *who had been a Writing-maſter, is by the ſtrength of this baſe faction raiſed to the* Curule Ædileſhip, *for the merit of having made the People a kind of Almanack.* Fabius *reconfines thoſe mean fellows to the four City Tribes.* §. II. *The next year (when* Cornelius Lentulus *and* L. Genucius *are Conſuls) is ſpent chiefly in ſending Colonies to the Conquer'd Cities. In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Livius Denter *and* Æmilius Paulus, *the art of Painting is introduced at* Rome *by* C. Fabius, *ſurnamed* PICTOR. Cleonymus, *ſon of* Cleomenes *King of* Sparta, *brings a fleet upon the coaſt of* Italy, *and makes two deſcents there without ſucceſs.* §. III. *All the following year the Republic is govern'd by two* Dictators *ſucceſſively created,* Q. Fabius *and* Valerius Corvus. *The former quells an inſurrection of the* Marſi; *the latter obtains a ſignal victory over the* Hetrurians, *to whom afterwards a Truce is granted for two years.*

450. 451. 452.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *In the year of* Rome 453, *when* Valerius Corvus *is the fifth time Conſul, and has* Q. Apuleius Panſa *for his Collegue, a* LAW *is paſs'd at the motion of two* Tribunes, *of the name of* Ogulnius, *to qualify* PLEBEIANS *for the* Pontificate *and* Augurate. §. II. *The* Lex Valeria *is confirmed anew.* §. III. Q. Fabius Maximus *declines the* Conſulſhip, *to which the People would again raiſe him, and at his own requeſt obtains the* Curule Ædileſhip, *in which office he gains new glory.*

453.

CHAP. XX.

§. I. *The* Hetrurians *break the Truce with* Rome *in the Conſulate of* M. Fulvius Pætinus *and* T. Manlius Torquatus. Picenum *obtains an alliance with*

454.

with the Republic. The Conſul Manlius, *who was to act againſt the* Hetrurians, *being killed by a fall from his horſe,* Valerius Corvus *is by every voice in the* Comitia *declared* Conſul (the 6th time) *to ſucceed him. The very preſence of ſo renowned a warrior ſtrikes a terror into the enemy; they quit the field, and retire into their Towns. (This was the laſt Military expedition of that*
455. *great man, who lived to an hundred years of age.)* §. II. *In the cloſe of the following Conſulate of* Cn. Fulvius *and* L. Cornelius Scipio, *a report being ſpread, that both the* Hetrurians *and the* Samnites *(which laſt had broke their alliance with* Rome) *were making mighty preparations to attack the Republic,*
456. *the* Romans *caſt their eyes on the great* FABIUS *to be one of their* Conſuls *for the new year, and they oblige him to accept the office contrary to his inclination; but, at his requeſt, give him* P. Decius Mus *(who had been Conſul with him in the year* 445) *to be his Collegue. The* Hetrurians, *inſtead of taking the field, come to a reſolution to aſk peace; ſo that the* Conſuls *march their two armies into* Samnium, *and make terrible devaſtations in that country.*

CHAP. XXI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *who two years before had made a fruitleſs attempt to exclude the* Plebeians *from the* Conſulate, *endeavours now with the ſame view to get the* Conſular Faſces *for* Fabius *and himſelf.* Fabius *being preſi-*
457. *dent in the* Comitia, *oppoſes his own re-election; whereupon* Volumnius Flamma, *a* Plebeian, *is joined with* Appius *in the* Conſulſhip. Fabius *and* Decius (*in quality of* Proconſuls) *are continued in the command of their reſpective armies for ſix months longer.* Fabius *hinders the* Lucanians *from joining the* Samnites. Decius *gains great advantages over the latter, to compleat whoſe deſtruction* Volumnius *marches a new army into* Samnium. §. II. *But he ſoon after leaves that country to go to the aſſiſtance of his Collegue* Appius, *much embarraſſed with a war againſt the* Hetrurians, *ſtrengthened by a body of* Samnites *and another of* Gauls. Appius *pretends to be diſpleaſed with his arrival, upon which* Volumnius *offers to lead back his army into* Samnium: *But the troops of* Appius *oppoſe this motion. The united armies of the two* Conſuls *come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them.* §. III. *After this* Volumnius *returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the* Samnites, *who (after* Fabius *and* Decius, *whoſe Proconſulate was expired, were returned to* Rome) *had made an incurſion into* Campania.

CHAP. XXII.

§. I. *The Republic being alarmed by accounts from* Appius, *of extraordinary preparations for war by the* Hetrurians *and their allies, (the* Umbrians, Gauls, *and* Samnites) *elect* Fabius (the 5th time) *to the Conſulate, and at his requeſt the* Comitia *grant him* Decius *again for a Collegue, tho' the firſt* Centuries *have already voted for* Volumnius. Volumnius *himſelf approves of the requeſt.* §. II. *A rivalſhip happens at this time between the* Patrician *and* Plebeian
458. *Ladies for the reputation of ſtrict Chaſtity.* §. III. *When the time comes for*

the

the Conſuls *to take the field, the* Senate *decree the conduct of the war againſt the* Hetrurians *to* Fabius. Decius *(to comply with the humour of his party, the* Plebeians) *refuſes to yield that command to his* Patrician *Collegue, unleſs it fall to him by lot; and he appeals from the Senate's decree to the People. The People having heard the pleas of the two competitors, and conſider'd the preſent exigence, determine in favour of* Fabius *as the greater General.* §. IV. Fabius *in his way to the camp being informed that* Appius *has fortified it in ſuch an extraordinary manner as betrays fear, ſends orders before him immediately to level the fortifications: and after his arrival, inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within Lines, he keeps them in conſtant motion by frequent marches and counter-marches. Before he enters upon action, he returns to* Rome, *but for what reaſon is uncertain. The* Senate, *that he may be able to cope with the enemy, judging it neceſſary to ſtrengthen him by a ſecond army,* Fabius *deſires that his Collegue* Decius *may be the General to command it; which requeſt is granted. The* Conſuls, *having ſent* Volumnius *with an army into* Samnium, *and leaving two other armies encamped near the city to cover it on the ſide of* Hetruria, *take the field. The forces of the enemy are divided into two bodies, which encamp ſeparately: One conſiſts of* Samnites *(who had been driven out of their own country) and* Gauls, *the other of* Hetrurians *and* Umbrians. Fabius *ordering the two armies he had left near* Rome *to go and ravage a part of* Hetruria, *the* Hetrurians *and* Umbrians *march away to defend it, and in their abſence the* Conſuls *come to a battle with the united* Gauls *and* Samnites. *The left wing of the* Romans, *which* Decius *commands, being terrified and broken by the armed Chariots uſed by the* Gauls, *he, to recover the courage of his men,* devotes *himſelf to death in the ſame manner his father had done on the like occaſion. After this* Fabius *obtains a compleat victory.* §. V. *Before the end of the year the* Samnites *raiſe two new armies, which are routed by the forces of* Appius, *now* Prætor *of* Rome, *and the* Proconſul Volumnius. Rome *is afflicted by a Plague, and terrified by Prodigies.*

CHAP. XXIII.

§. I. L. Poſthumius *(the 2d time) and* M. Atilius Regulus *are choſen* Conſuls. Poſthumius *falling ſick, the war is carried on againſt the* Samnites *by* Atilius *at the head of only one Conſular army. The* Samnites *have the advantage in this campaign, till* Poſthumius, *being recovered, brings a ſecond* Roman *army into the field; they then retire, and leave their country open to be pillaged. While* Poſthumius *is employed in taking ſome of their Towns,* Atilius *marches to the relief of* Luceria, *(in* Apulia) *beſieged (as he was told) by the* Samnites. *He meets the enemy in his way, and comes to a battle with them, the ſucceſs of which is ſuch, that neither army cares to try a ſecond engagement. Their ſituation however forces them to it; and then* Atilius, *by ſingular bravery and ſkill, obtains the victory.* §. II. *In the mean time* Poſthumius, without orders from the Senate, *leaves* Samnium *and marches into* Hetruria, *where he reduces three of the* Lucumonies *to ſue for peace. Nevertheleſs the* Fathers, *at his return to* Rome, *refuſe him a Triumph, becauſe of* 459.

his irregular proceedings. He obtains it however by the favour of the People.
§. III. *In the new Conſulate of* L. Papirius Curſor (*ſon of the famous* Papi-
460. rius) *and* Sp. Carvilius *the* Samnite *war is continued. The* Samnites *make* 16000 *of their ſoldiers bind themſelves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. Their whole army conſiſts of* 36000. *While* Carvilius *lays ſiege to* Cominium *in the eaſtern extremity of* Samnium, Papirius *leads his forces againſt the formidable army of the enemy, encamped near* Aquilonia *in* Hirpinia. *He gains the victory by the new ſtratagem of making the Muleteers and other ſervants of his army (whom he mounted upon Mules, and ſent to ſome diſtance) appear in the heat of the action like a new army come to his aſſiſtance.* §. IV. Carvilius *takes* Cominium; *after which the two* Conſuls *join their forces to compleat the deſtruction of the* Samnites. *But the war breaking out afreſh in* Hetruria, Carvilius *leads his army into that country, and reduces the enemy to buy a truce for a year. Both the Conſuls have Triumphs. In this year a* Sun-dial *is the firſt time ſeen at* Rome. §. V. *A new regulation is made at* Rome *relating to the* Guardianſhip of Orphans, *and another relating to the* Public *Games.*

CHAP. XXIV.

461. §. I. Q. Fabius Gurges (*ſon of* Fabius Maximus) *is choſen to the Conſulate, tho' his father had oppoſed his promotion. The Collegue given him is* Junius Brutus Scæva. *Neither the one nor the other is well qualified to conduct an army.* Junius *however being well aſſiſted by* Carvilius, *the late Conſul, makes a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the* Faliſci *in* Hetruria. *But* Gurges, *through his ill conduct, is ſhamefully vanquiſhed in a battle with the* Samnites. *The People of* Rome *having reſolved to puniſh him, old* Fabius *pacifies them, by offering to ſerve under his ſon the remainder of the Campaign.* Gurges, *aſſiſted by his Father's counſel, obtains a glorious victory over the enemy; and* Pontius, *the famous* Samnite *General, is taken priſoner.* §. II. *The* Romans, *to put a ſtop to the Plague, ſend Ambaſſadors to bring from* Epidaurus *the God* Æſcula-
462. pius, *worſhip'd there under the form of a Serpent.* §. III. *The God arrives in the beginning of the next Conſulate of* L. Poſthumius (*now the third time choſen*) *and* Junius Brutus Bubulcus. Poſthumius *proudly aſſumes to himſelf the conduct of the war in* Samnium, *without drawing lots with his Collegue, or waiting for a decree of the Senate in his favour. When he comes into the field, he, contrary to the will of the Senate, obliges* Fabius Gurges, *now* Proconſul, *to*
463. *deſiſt from the ſiege of* Cominium (*which had been retaken by the* Samnites) *and leave it to him. He takes that town and another. The Senate nevertheleſs, to puniſh his diſobedience, mortify him in ſeveral inſtances; and in the ſucceeding Conſulate (of* P. Cornelius Rufinus *and* Manius Curius Dentatus) *he is fined by the People for a miſdemeanour during his Magiſtracy.* §. IV. *The Conſul* CURIUS (*a Hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty*) *reduces the* Samnites *to aſk* PEACE, *which is now granted them the 4th time, on the conditions preſcribed by* Curius, *whom they in vain endeavour to bribe.* §. V. *He reduces* SABINIA *to a ſtate of ſubjection to the Republic, and has two Triumphs decreed*

decreed him for his exploits in one year. He is afterwards accuſed of imbezzling ſome of the ſpoil taken from the enemy, but is honourably acquitted. §. VI. *In quality of Proconſul he carries the war into* Lucania, *the new Conſuls,* M. Valerius Corvinus *and* Q. Cœdicius Noctua, *ſpending their whole year in works of peace, and in ſending Colonies to the conquer'd Cities. To relieve the* Prætor *of* Rome, *three new Judges are created to try Malefactors. The cruelty of a Creditor to his Debtor, for whom he had conceived an infamous paſſion, occaſions great commotions at* Rome *in the ſecond Conſulates of* Q. Marcius Tremulus *and* P. Cornelius Arvina, *and a new* Seceſſion *of the People in the following year, when* M. Claudius Marcellus *and* C. Nautius Rutilus *are Conſuls. The* Patricians, *to effect a reconciliation, are obliged to make conceſſions.* Fabius Maximus *in his old age is made Dictator, to finiſh the accommodation; which done, he preſides in the* Comitia, *where* M. Valerius Potitus *and* C. Ælius Pœtus *are choſen Conſuls. He ſoon after dies. The year of the new Conſuls proves barren of great events.* 464. 465. 466. 467.

CHAP. XXV.

§. I. *Nothing memorable happens the next year, when* C. Claudius Canina *and* M. Æmilius Lepidus *are Conſuls. But in the following Conſulate of* C. Servilius Tucca *and* L. Cæcilius Metellus *the* Tarentines *endeavour privately to ſtir up both old and new enemies againſt* Rome. *The* Gauls *called* Senones *murder ſome* Roman *Ambaſſadors, who had been ſent to perſuade them to deſiſt from the ſiege of* Aretium *in* Hetruria; *and they ſoon after give the* Roman *army, under the conduct of* Cæcilius, *a terrible overthrow.* Curius Dentatus *revenges this defeat by leading an army into the country of the* Gauls, *and laying it waſte.* §. II. *The next year the* Romans, *under the Conſuls* P. Cornelius *and* Cn. Domitius, *vanquiſh in battle the* Senones, *the* Boii, *and the* Hetrurians. *The* Samnites *revolt. In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* C. Fabricius *and* Q. Æmilius Papus, *almoſt all* Italy *riſes in arms againſt the Republic.* Fabricius *defeats the confederate forces of the* Lucanians, Bruttians, *and* Samnites. *The* Romans *imagine that the God* Mars *had fought in perſon for them.* §. III. *The* Tarentines, *who had not yet openly appear'd againſt* Rome, *fall in a hoſtile manner upon a* Roman *fleet, which chances to come into their port. The* Romans *ſend to demand ſatisfaction. The* Tarentines *inſult the Ambaſſadors in the moſt outragious manner, and then turn their thoughts to ſeek an alliance with* Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus, *and to invite him into* Italy. [*A ſhort account of this Prince, and the ſtate of his affairs at this time.*] §. IV. *The Senate of* Rome *having long debated, whether to begin a war immediately with the* Tarentines, *or to defer it, determine for the firſt, and the People confirm their Decree.* L. Æmilius (*who, with* Q. Marcius, *is now in the Conſulate*) *marches an army directly for* Tarentum. *The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the Citizens on his approach. They reſolve to invite* Pyrrhus *to their aſſiſtance.* Æmilius *endeavours to make them lay aſide this deſign, by generouſly releaſing ſome* Tarentine *priſoners he had taken.* §. V. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472.

Pyrrhus *accepts the invitation, and ſends before him to* Tarentum *the famous* Cyneas *with* 3000 *men, who take poſſeſſion of the Citadel.*

CHAP. XXVI.

473. §. I. P. Valerius Lævinus *and* Tib. Coruncanius *are choſen* Conſuls *at* Rome. Pyrrhus (whoſe Character is given) *being arrived at* Tarentum (*after eſcaping ſhipwreck by a ſtorm which diſperſed his Fleet*) *takes meaſures to turn the* Tarentines *from the purſuit of* Pleaſures, *to which they are entirely addicted; and he makes himſelf abſolute maſter in the place. In the mean time the* Romans *ſend* Fabricius *to viſit their Colonies and Allies, with whom they are fallen into ſome diſcredit, through the villainous behaviour of a Legion of* Campanian *Soldiers, which had been ſent by the Republic to garriſon* Rhegium *at the requeſt of the inhabitants, and which had maſſacred the Citizens by ſurprize, and ſeized the City for themſelves.* §. II. Pyrrhus *hearing at* Tarentum *that the Conſul* Lævinus *has march'd an army into* Lucania, *takes the field. He ſends a letter to the Conſul encamp'd near* Heraclea, *requiring him to ſubmit the quarrel between* Rome *and* Tarentum *to his arbitration.* Lævinus, *in anſwer, returns a defiance.* Pyrrhus *takes a view of the* Roman *camp, and admires the order of it; and his confidence of ſucceſs in the war being thereby abated, he reſolves to wait for the junction of his allies before he hazards a battle; but the* Romans *force him to fight. He gains the victory by means of his Elephants.* §. III. *After this ſucceſs* Pyrrhus *forms Deſigns upon* Capua *and* Naples. *Diſappointed in theſe deſigns, he marches towards* Rome *with an intention to beſiege it. But hearing that the Conſul* Coruncanius, *who had* ſubdued all HETRURIA, *is coming with his victorious army againſt him, he marches back into* Campania, *where* Lævinus *having recruited his forces, offers him battle once more. The King declines it, and returns to* Tarentum. §. IV. *Hither* Fabricius, *and two other Senators from* Rome, *come to treat with him concerning the ranſom of Priſoners. He has ſome private converſation with* Fabricius. *The King reſolves to ſend* Cyneas *to* Rome *with propoſals of Peace, one of the conditions of which is to be, a releaſe of the* Roman *Priſoners without Ranſom.* Cyneas *comes to* Rome, *and employs all his arts to effect his deſires; but the Senate, moved chiefly by a warm ſpeech of* Appius Claudius *the Civilian, (now blind) unanimouſly refuſe to enter into any treaty of Peace with the King while he continues in* Italy. Cyneas *returns to* Tarentum, *full of admiration of the* Romans.

CHAP. XXVII.

474. §. I. *The next year the* Romans, *under the conduct of their new Conſuls* P. Sulpicius Saverrio *and* P. Decius Mus, *come to a ſecond battle with King* Pyrrhus, *near* ASCULUM *in* Apulia. *The circumſtances and event of this action are not well known.* Pyrrhus *retires to* Tarentum, *and the* Conſuls *into winter-*
475. *quarters.* §. II. *The year following, when* C. Fabricius *and* Q. Æmilius Papus (both a 2d time) *are Conſuls, the* Carthaginians *ſend a fleet to the*

assistance of the Romans *against* Pyrrhus, *who, they fear, will invade their dominions in* Sicily, *if he should conclude a Peace with the* Romans. *(He had been invited thither by the* Sicilians.) *The Senate refuse the assistance offer'd, yet enter into a new Treaty with* Carthage. §. III. *The* Romans *and* Epirots *having again taken the field, and the two armies lying in sight of each other in the territory of* Tarentum, *the* Consuls *send a letter to the King, giving him notice of the treachery of his Physician, who had offer'd to poison him for a reward.* Pyrrhus, *in return for their generosity, releases the* Roman *Prisoners, and once more sends* Cyneas *to* Rome *with proposals of peace, but to no effect.* §. IV. Pyrrhus *leaving a garrison in* Tarentum, *passes with his army into* SICILY.

CHAP. XXVIII.

§. I. *The state of* Sicily *at the time of* Pyrrhus's *arrival there. He makes rapid and extensive conquests in the island.* §. II. *In the mean time the* Romans *chuse* Cornelius Ruffinus *and* C. Junius Brutus *to the Consulate. These Generals lead their forces against the* Samnites, *advantageously posted in their mountains, and suffer a shameful defeat. After this,* Ruffinus *by a stratagem takes* Croton *from the* Bruttians. Locris *submits to the* Romans, *the inhabitants having just massacred the garrison which* Pyrrhus *had left there.* §. III. *The* Romans *(under their new Consuls* Q. Fabius Gurges *and* C. Genucius) *continuing the war with success against the* Samnites, Lucanians, *and* Bruttians, *these nations send to intreat* Pyrrhus *to return to their assistance. The King's affairs in* Sicily *being now in a bad way, he is glad of so honourable a pretext to leave the Island. His fleet, in its return to* Italy, *is dispersed and partly destroyed by the* Carthaginian *fleet. After his landing near* Rhegium, *he is attacked in his march to* Tarentum, *by a body of* Mamertines *(who had passed the Streights expressly) and suffers a considerable loss. He lays waste the territory of the* Locrenses, *and plunders the Temple of* Proserpine. §. IV. Curius Dentatus *(a 2d time) and* L. Cornelius Lentulus *are raised to the Consulate at* Rome. *The People, from some unaccountable caprice, being unwilling to inlist themselves for the war,* Curius *confiscates the goods of the first man who refuses, and sells the man himself for a slave, and by this example of severity gets the better of the People's obstinacy. Two armies are raised. While* Lentulus *leads one into* Lucania, Curius *leads the other into* Samnium, *where he comes to a battle with the* Epirots *in the* Taurasian *fields, and gives them a total overthrow. He takes their camp; and the* Romans *admiring the form of it, resolve to make it the future model of their own.* §. V. Pyrrhus *leaving a strong garrison in* Tarentum, *embarks for* Epirus *under pretence of going to fetch recruits.*

476. 477. 478.

CHAP. XXIX.

§. I. *The Consul* Curius *has a pompous Triumph for his victory over King* Pyrrhus, *but he refuses what other rewards the Senate offer him.* Ruffinus *(who has been* Consul *and* Dictator) *is by the* Censors *struck out of the list of* Senators *for having too much Silver Plate.* §. II. Curius *is continued for another*

479. *other year in the Conſulate, and has for his Collegue* Cornelius Merenda. *The* Tarentines *beginning to deſpiſe* Pyrrhus, *force the garriſon he had left there to confine themſelves in the Citadel.* Curius *forces the* Samnites *and* Lucanians *to*
480. *retire for refuge to their mountains. But they appear again in the field the next year, when* C. Fabius Dorſo *and* C. Claudius Carina *are the* Roman *Conſuls.* Claudius *defeats them in a pitch'd battle.* §. III. Ptolemy Philadelphus *ſends an Embaſſy to* Rome, *to aſk an alliance with the Republic. The* Romans *ſend*
481. *Ambaſſadors into* Ægypt. §. IV. *The new year's Conſuls,* L. Papirius Curſor *and* Sp. Carvilius (both promoted a 2d time) *have ſcarce enter'd* Samnium *with two armies, when a certain account comes that* Pyrrhus *is dead.* [*The manner of his death is related.*] *This news throws the* SAMNITES *into deſpair; they put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby* totally ſubdued *by* Papirius, *after a war which had laſted 72 years. The* BRUTTIANS *and* LUCANIANS *ſubmit ſoon after; and* Papirius *by negotiation prevails with* Milo *and the* Tarentines *to put their City and Citadel into the hands of the* Romans; *after which the* Carthaginians, *whoſe fleet lay before* Tarentum, *and who ſeem to have had a deſign upon it, ſail away from the coaſt.*
482. §. V. *The Conſular* Faſces *are transferred to* Quinctius Claudius *and* L. Genucius; *and the* Romans *being now in a condition to puniſh the perfidious* Campanian Legion, *which had formerly ſeized* RHEGIUM, *beſiege it, carry the place, reſtore it to thoſe of the old inhabitants who had eſcaped the maſſacre,*
483. *and put all who remain of the Legion to death.* §. VI. *The following Conſulate of* C. Genucius *and* Cn. Cornelius *produces nothing of moment; and the moſt memorable thing that happens under the adminiſtration of their ſucceſſors,* Q.
484. Ogulnius *and* C. Fabius Pictor, *is the* Coining of Silver Money *at* Rome
485. *for the firſt time.* §. VII. *The next year, when* Appius Claudius *(ſon of*
486. Appius the Blind) *and* P. Sempronius Sophus *are Conſuls,* Picenum *is totally ſubdued, and the* SABINES *are made entirely* Roman, *by being admitted to the*
487. *right of ſuffrage in the* Roman Comitia. §. VIII. *The Conſuls of the following year,* L. Julius *and* M. Attilius Regulus, *commence a war with the* Salentines; *and this nation, together with the* Sarcinates *in* Umbria, *being entirely ſubdued by the ſucceeding Conſuls,* Numerius Fabius *and* D. Junius Pera, Rome *becomes thereby miſtreſs of* all the Countries in ITALY *from the remoteſt part of* Hetruria *to the* Ionian Sea, *and from the* Tyrrhenian Sea *to the* Adriatic. §. IX. *The Republic is now courted by foreign States. The Ambaſſadors from* Apollonia *in* Macedon *being inſulted by ſome of the Citizens of* Rome, *the offenders are deliver'd up to the* Apolloniates, *and a law is paſſed to make*
488. *the like practice general in like caſes. In the Conſulate of* Q. Fabius Gurges *and* L. Mamilius Vitulus, *the* Romans *regulate their* Finances, *and appoint four* Provincial Quæſtors *for the four Provinces into which they divide* Italy.

ERRA-

ERRATA.

PAG. 5. l. 21. in two *read* in only two.
9. n.[a]. l. 7. on *r.* in.
p. 14. l. 30. *r.* Fauſtulus found
22. l. 2. *dele* unanimity.
23. n. 1ſt col. l. 2. *dele* firſt. l. 29. *r.* prevented it.
ibid. 2d col. l. 28. *r.* was to make
26. l. 27. reſolve upon *r.* determine concerning
30. n. [c]. l. 3. twentieth reckoning. *r.* twentieth. Reckoning
34. l. 8. *r.* triumph excited
37. l. 17. *r.* field of battle
29. *dele* not
34. *r.* than they could theirs.
42. n.[a]. l. 1. it was *r.* they were.
50. l. 16. *r.* religion?
42. policy *r.* polity
51. l. 30. And indeed it ſeems highly probable *r.* and ſay
56. n.[a]. l. 5. *r.* patres
57. n.[b]. 2d col. l. 6. *r.* the College of Pontifices conſiſted but of 4.
58. l. 28. *r.* performance.
66. l. 35. reſtraint *r.* conſtraint.
70. l. 29. *r.* obliged them.
71. n.[c]. l. 2. known *r.* pretended to
73. *at the top r.* Ch. V.
l. 5. *r.* peace drew
l. *ult. r.* took the
77. *at the top r.* Ch. VI.
80. l. 33. gave *r.* give
81. l. 11. above *r.* upon
83. l. 9. *r.* Servius Tullius (who had married one of the King's daughters, and was now the moſt popular man in *Rome*) was
87. l. 24. all thoſe who were in debt *r.* all the inſolvent debtors
88. l. 12. introducted *r.* introduced
91. *in the marg.* B. 1. ibid. *r.* B. 4. p. 212.
95. *in the marg.* cenſie *r.* cenſeo.
96. l. 21. *r.* the four
97. l. 10. in gratitude *r.* without ingratitude
108. l. 2. *dele* As for his fourth ſon, &c. *to the end of the paragraph.*
108. n.[a]. l. 6. unleſs when under *r.* but in a time of
112. l. *ult.* lovely *r.* amiable
113. l. 32. But once *r.* Once
115. n.[a]. l. 9. Reges *r.* regio
ibid. l. 11. *r.* appellantor.
118. l. 4. *after* built by Æneas, *add* others by Romus the ſon or grandſon of Æneas;
121. l. 30. However *r.* Indeed
130. n.[a]. *r.* by the 30
162. l. 5. *r.* He had 24 Lictors armed with axes as thoſe of the Kings had uſed to be
165. l. 16. *r.* was mortal
ibid. l. 36. *r.* ſame time
168. l. 31. intereſt. *r.* intereſt?
177. l. 18. *dele* popular
184. l. 13. Gentlemen *r.* Fathers
185. *in the margin, dele* D. H. l. 5. p. 293. an. 246.
l. 19. *dele* indeed
202. *in the margin, r.* Plut. Life of Coriol.
203. l. 29. *dele* ſedition
221. l. 26. whoſe *r.* whom his
227. l. 33. *r.* were in no haſte to finiſh the enrolments
241. l. 17. *r.* Caſſius's Collegue
256. l. 18. five *r.* ſix
260. *in contents,* l. 12. *r.* his Collegue
268. l. 1. *dele* in deſpair
273. l. 11. *before* And now *put* §. V.
274. l. 13. *before* But the next *put* §. VI.
276. l. 17. *r.* and which none
293. *in the contents,* l. 14. 10th *r.* 16th
300. l. 24. *r.* an attempt of which there was no example.
309. l. 10. flock *r.* flocked
325. §. 1. l. 3. *r.* opinion, that ſeveral
337. l. 9. would *r.* did
338. l. 12. *r.* Valerius, and
364. l. 20. *r.* of families
l. 25. *r.* of families
368. l. 24. ſtations *r.* nations
388. l. 24. The latter *r.* Sempronius
394. l. 9. new magiſtrates *r.* two magiſtrates
398. l. 10. *r.* laſt year
401. l. 24. *r.* attacked it on the other
411. l. 23. Severus *r.* Servius
420. l. 21. choſe *r.* chuſe
l. 27. *r.* the Allia
444. l. 34. *before* Theſe were, &c. *put* §. III.
445. l. 13. eighth *r.* ſeventh
454. l. 19. hill *r.* ſide
456. l. 5. upon *r.* up, in
539. l. 35, 43. Apulius *r.* Apuleius
545. l. 8. Decius *r.* Volumnius
549. l. 13. made *r.* have made

A Map of LATIUM, CAMPANIA, SABINIA, and part of HETRURIA, for the better Understanding of the Roman History. by WILLIAM DELISLE. Principal Geographer to the King of France, of ye Royal Academy of Sciences. I. Senex sculpt. 1727.
NB. The places of which ye situation is uncertain are distinguished from the rest by an Asterisk; besides which there were in Latium the towns of Bubentum, Corventum, Corbentum, Querquetula & Tricrinum, the true situations whereof are no less uncertain.
Scale. Roman Miles of 5000 feet each. Greek Stadia or Furlongs 125 paces each.
SALPINATES
VOLSINII.
UMBRIA
PICENUM
SABINIA
VESTINI
HETRURIA
TARQUINIANS OR TUSCIA
FALISCI
VEIENTES
CÆRITES
TERRITORY OF ROME
LATIANS
LATIUM
MARSI
PELIGNI
ÆQUI OR ÆQUICOLI
HERNICI
SAMNITES
RUTULI
VOLSCI
AURUNCI
SIDICINI
CAMPANIA
HETRURIAN SEA
Lake Fucinus
Mouth of the Tyber
Promontory of Circeum
Mount Vesuvius
Mount Gaurus
Mount Massicus
Falernus
Capua
Cumæ
Baiæ
Putcoli
Tribe Tromentina
Tribe Stellatina
Tribe Sabatina
Tribe Veientana
Tribe Romilia
Tribe Pomptina
Tribe Ufentina
Tribe Faleria
Tribe Narniensis
Tribe Terentina
Tribe Velina
Tribe Quirina
Tribe Aniensis
Lake Velinus
Temple of Voltumna
Volsinium
Tyber
Rome

A Map of LATIUM, CAMPANIA, SABINIA, and part of HETRURIA,

for the better Underſtanding of the Roman *Hiſtory.*

by WILLIAM DELISLE.

Principal Geographer to the King of France, *of ſ Royal Academy of Sciences*

I. Senex ſculpt 1727.

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Original of the *Romans*, and the Building of *Rome*.

Sect. I. *The firſt* Romans *were of* Trojan *extraction.* §. 2. Æneas's *voyage to* Italy. §. 3. *The ancient inhabitants of that country.* §. 4. Æneas's *reception by* Latinus, *King of* Latium. *He marries* Lavinia *the daughter of* Latinus, *and builds* Lavinium. §. 5. *He ſucceeds to the Kingdom of his father-in-law.* §. 6. *The death of* Æneas, *who is ſucceeded by his ſon* Aſcanius. §. 7. Aſcanius *founds* Alba Longa, *and yields* Lavinium *to* Æneas Sylvius, *the ſon of* Æneas *by* Lavinia. §. 8. *The* Latines *upon the death of* Aſcanius *unite* Lavinium *and* Alba *into one dominion, which they decree to* Æneas Sylvius, *but give the ſovereign power in affairs of religion to* Iulus *the ſon of* Aſcanius. §. 9. *The ſucceſſion of the Kings of* Alba *from* Æneas Sylvius *to* Amulius, *who dethrones his elder brother* Numitor. §. 10. *The birth, education and adventures of* Romulus *and* Remus. *They dethrone* Amulius, *and reſtore their Grandfather* Numitor. §. 11. Numitor *ſends his two grandſons to plant a colony. They quarrel about the ſpot of ground where the new city ſhall ſtand.* Remus *is ſlain.* §. 12. *The foundation of* ROME.

§. I. THAT *Æneas* came into *Italy* after the deſtruction of *Troy*, and that the founders of *Rome* were deſcended from him and his followers, are points of hiſtory ſufficiently authorized and eſtabliſhed. All the *Latine* Hiſtorians either expreſly relate theſe facts or ſuppoſe them; and many of the *Greek*, leſs zealous for the *Roman* glory, adhere to the ſame tradition. *Dionyſius* indeed ſpeaks of ſome ancient writers who will not allow *Æneas* to have travelled farther than *Thrace*; of others who make him ſettle in *Arcadia*; and again of others, who admitting that he paſſed into *Italy*, and there planted a colony, yet affirm, that he afterwards went back into his own country, where, they ſay, he was King of *Troy*, and at his death left the Kingdom to his ſon *Aſcanius*:

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 38.

B. 1. p. 42.

Aſcanius: But all theſe opinions are rejected by that critical and judicious antiquary, who, upon better authorities, has given us the following account of the adventures of the *Trojan* Prince.

B. 1. p. 35, 36, & *ſeq.*

§. II. WHEN the *Greeks*, by the treachery of the ſons of *Antenor*, or by whatever other means it happened, were become maſters of *Troy*, [a] *Æneas* with the forces under his command retired into the fortreſs of the city, and defended it bravely for ſome time; but yielding at length to neceſſity, he conveyed away his Gods, his father, wife, and children, with every thing he had that was valuable, and, follow'd by a numerous crowd of *Trojans*, fled to the ſtrong places of Mount *Ida*. Hither all thoſe of his countrymen who were more anxious than the reſt to preſerve their liberty flocked to him from the ſeveral towns of *Troas*, and daily augmented his army. Being thus advantageouſly poſted, they continued quiet, waiting for the departure of the *Greeks*, who, it was imagined, would return home as ſoon as they had pillaged the country. But theſe, after they had enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of *Troy* and of the neighbouring towns, turn'd their arms againſt the fugitives. They were preparing to attack the *Trojans* in their ſtrong holds upon the mountain, when *Æneas*, unwilling to run the hazard of being forc'd in his laſt refuge, had recourſe to negotiation. He ſent heralds to the enemy to intreat them not to conſtrain him to a battle. The *Greeks* having held a council, granted him peace upon theſe conditions: *Æneas* and his followers were to quit the *Trojan* territories; and the *Greeks* were not to moleſt them in their retreat, but to let them ſafely paſs both by ſea and land throughout all the extent of their domination.

Upon this aſſurance, *Æneas* equip'd a fleet, and prepared to ſeek a ſettlement in ſome foreign land. We are told, that at his departure he left his eldeſt ſon *Aſcanius* with the *Daſcylites*, a people of *Bithynia*, who deſired to have him for their King; but that the young Prince did not remain long with them: for when *Scamandrius* (or *Aſtyanax*) with the reſt of the *Hectoridæ* whom *Neoptolemus* permitted to return home from *Greece*, repaired to him, he put himſelf at their head, and led them back to their native country.

Æneas having croſs'd the *Helleſpont*, arriv'd in the Peninſula of *Pallene* [b], where he built a city called from him *Æneia*, and left in it a part of that multitude which had follow'd him. From thence he ſailed to *Delos* [c], and there

[a] Though this account of *Æneas*'s conduct with reſpect to his country be what *D. Hal.* eſteems the moſt probable, yet he owns that the Hiſtorians are of various opinions concerning it, and he particularly mentions a paſſage of *Menecrates*, importing, that *Troy* was taken through the treachery of *Æneas*, and that he betrayed it to the *Greeks*, to be revenged on *Paris*, who had oppoſed his having a certain ſacerdotal dignity to which he aſpired.

[b] The *Pallene* here meant was probably that of *Macedon*, not that of *Thrace*; but being inhabited by *Thracians*, is by *D. Hal.* p. 38. ſpoken of as in *Thrace*. *Livy*. B. 1. §. 1. ſays, that *Æneas* flying from his native country, came firſt into *Macedon*.

[c] *Delos* and *Cythera* are both Iſlands in the *Archipelago* or *Ægean Sea*; the firſt, near the Iſle of *Rhéne*, has with it at preſent the common name of *Dili* or *Idilles*. *Cythera* lies

there rais'd monuments, which were ſtill remaining in the time of *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*. He thence ſteer'd his courſe to *Cythera*, where he erected a temple to *Venus*. He built another to the ſame Goddeſs in [a] *Zacynthus* (an Iſland in the *Ionian* ſea) where he ſtaid ſome time, and inſtituted games, which were called *The Races of* Æneas *and* Venus: the ſtatues of both, ſays *Dionyſius*, are ſtanding to this day. In [b] *Leucas* where the *Trojans* landed, was to be ſeen in the ſame author's time, a temple erected to *Venus the mother of* Æneas. Nor were [c] *Actium* and [d] *Ambracia* without ſome teſtimonies of their arrival in thoſe places. At [e] *Dodona* were found ancient veſſels of braſs, upon which the name of the *Trojan* hero, who had made an offering of them to *Jupiter*, was engraven in old characters. Not far from [f] *Buthrotos*, a *Trojan* camp which had eſcaped the injuries of time, retained the name of *Troja*. All theſe antiquities, which were ſtill ſubſiſting in the reign of *Auguſtus*, were look'd upon as indiſputable proofs of *Æneas*'s voyage to *Epirus*; "and that he came afterwards into *Italy*, *adds the ſame* Dionyſius, we have the concurrent teſtimony of all the *Romans*; the ceremonies they obſerve in their ſacrifices and feſtivals bear witneſs to it, as alſo the *Sibylline* books, the [g] *Pythian* oracles, and many other things which no body can reaſonably reject as invented merely for ornament.

But the *Trojan* Prince and his companions, when they had croſſed the *Ionian* ſea, did not all land in *Italy* at the ſame place. The greater part of their ſhips put in at cape [h] *Salentum* in *Iapygia*, the reſt at Cape [i] *Minerva* eight miles from the other. Here it was that *Æneas* himſelf diſembarked. Sailing afterwards from hence, and coaſting along the ſouth-eaſt of *Italy* and the eaſt and ſouth ſides of *Sicily*, he arrived with his fleet either by choice or ſtreſs of weather at the port of [k] *Drepanum* in that Iſland. *Elymus* and *Ægeſtus* who had eſcaped from *Troy* a little before him, had brought a *Trojan* colony to this place. *Æneas* augmented it by a good number of his followers, whom, pleas'd to have found a ſafe reſting place after ſo many dangers and fatiguing voyages, he willingly left behind him at their requeſt; though certain authors pretend that he was conſtrained to it by the difficulty of tranſporting them, becauſe ſome *Trojan* women, weary of the ſea, had burnt a conſiderable part of his ſhips.

lies to the eaſt of the *Morea* or *Peloponneſus*, and is now called *Cerigo*.

[a] Now *Zante*.

[b] Now *Santa Maura*.

[c] A Promontory of *Epirus*, now *Capo Figalo*.

[d] Formerly a City of *Epirus*, now only a Village, bearing the name of *Ambrakia*.

[e] In the country of the *Moloſſi* in *Epirus*. There are no traces of it remaining.

[f] Now *Butronto* in *Epirus*.

[g] The Oracles of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, a City of *Phocis*, ſituate on the ſouthern ſide of Mount *Parnaſſus*. *Strabo*, B. 9. p. 640. *Apollo* was called *Pythian*, as is commonly ſuppos'd, from *Python* the ſerpent which he ſlew; but *Strabo* thinks from the *Greek* word πυθεσθαι which ſignifies to *interrogate*, becauſe his Oracle was conſulted.

[h] Now *Cape St. Mary* in *Otranto* in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

[i] A Promontory where there was a good ſummer haven. It was from this time call'd the port of *Venus*, now *Caſtro*.

[k] Now *Capo di Saut' Aleſſio*. The town is call'd *Trapani*.

Æneas leaving *Drepanum*, ſteer'd his courſe for *Italy* acroſs the [a] *Tyrrhenian* ſea. The firſt place where he went aſhore was cape [b] *Palinurus*, ſo named by him from one of his pilots who died there. The little iſland of *Leucaſia*, not far from it, whither he ſailed next, got its name in like manner from a daughter of *Æneas*'s ſiſter, who there ended her days. The port of [c] *Miſenum*, the Iſland of *Prochyta*, and the promontory of [d] *Cajeta*, where he ſucceſſively arrived, were ſo called from being the burial places, the firſt of a noble *Trojan* his companion, the ſecond of his kinſwoman, and the third of his nurſe. At length the *Trojan* Prince and his choſen band finiſhed their tedious and painful voyages on the coaſt of the ſince famous *Latium* [e]. This was a ſmall territory on the eaſt ſide of the river *Tyber*, containing a part of the preſent *Campagna di Roma: Latinus* was the name of the King who then governed it; his capital town where he held his court was *Laurentum* [f]; his ſubjects were a people who till his time were called *Aborigines*, but from him got the name of *Latines*. Here far removed from their cruel enemies the *Greeks*, *Æneas* and his followers undertook to raiſe another *Troy*: they fortified a camp near the mouth of the *Tyber*, gave it the name of *Troy*, and flattered themſelves with the hopes of a quiet ſettlement which would put an end to all their unhappy adventures.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 8.

p. 42.

§. III. *ITALY* [g] before the fall of *Troy* and the arrival of *Æneas* was known to the *Greeks* by ſeveral other names, as *Heſperia*, *Saturnia*, *Auſonia* and *Œnotria*. From its ſituation to the weſt of *Greece* it naturally acquired the *firſt*; the God *Saturn*, ſuppoſed to have taken refuge there, gave it the *ſecond*; it had the *third* from the *Auſones*, who inhabited one part of it; and the *fourth* was left it by *Œnotrus*, King of the *Sabines* according to *Varro*, or, according to others, by *Œnotrus* ſon of *Lycaon*, who led thither a colony of *Arcadians*. *Dion. Hal.* thinks that theſe *Arcadians* were the ſame with the [h] *Aborigines* and the firſt *Greeks* who came into *Italy*, and that

p. 9.

[a] The *Tyrrhenian* ſea is a part of the *Mediterranean*. It waſhes the ſhores of *Tuſcany*, the Pope's territories, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. It was called by the ancients *Mare Inferum*, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Adriatick*, which they named *Mare Superum*.

[b] Now *Capo di Palinuro* in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

[c] *Capo di Miſeno* in the ſame Kingdom.

[d] Now *Gaeta*.

[e] *Latium* at this time comprehended but a ſmall part of what was afterwards called by that name.

[f] It is difficult to fix the ſituation of the ancient city of *Laurentum*, of which there is no trace remaining. It was called by that name from the great number of laurels growing thereabouts. *Varro*, B. 4. *de lingua Latina*, p. 36.

[g] *Italy* did not antiently contain above one half of what now goes by that name, yet it comprehended many diſtinct Nations, the principal of which were, the *Aborigines*, *Sabines*, *Hetrurians* or *Tuſcans*, *Umbri*, *Samnites*, *Campani*, *Apulii*, *Calabrii*, *Lucanii*, and *Bruttii*. The reſt was chiefly poſſeſſed by the *Gauls*, who had driven out the former inhabitants, and by the *Ligures* and *Veneti*.

[h] Some Hiſtorians held the *Aborigines* to be natives of *Italy*, who had that name given them becauſe they had been there *ab origine from the beginning*, and did not derive their *origin* from any other Nation. Others pretend that the *Aborigines* were vagabonds and vagrants, who coming from different countries, met accidentally in *Italy*, and there lived by rapine; for which reaſon the ſame writers

that *Italus*, one of the deſcendants of *Œnotrus*, and who made extenſive conqueſts in this country, gave it the name which to this day it retains. p. 27.

But from whatever country the *Aborigines* came, they were in proceſs of time obliged to maintain long wars againſt the *Siculi*, (the firſt inhabitants of *Italy*) till at length having received a conſiderable reinforcement by the arrival of a colony of *Pelaſgi* from *Theſſaly*, they drove out their enemies, and ſeized upon their towns; after which they granted a large extent of land to the *Pelaſgi*, and borrowed from them many of the cuſtoms of *Greece*. *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 7. *Ibid.* p. 13, & *ſeq.*

As for the *Siculi*, they, being chaced out of all the countries of *Italy*, took refuge in *Sicily*, which was at that time poſſeſſed by the *Sicani*, a people originally of *Spain*. And at length the *Pelaſgi* themſelves, not being able to bear up againſt divers calamities with which they were afflicted, returned moſt of them into *Greece*, and retained there the name of *Tyrrheni*, which they had gained by their living in the neighbourhood of that nation during their ſtay in *Italy*.

About ſixty years before the war of *Troy*, another colony, which came from *Peloponneſus* under the conduct of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, arrived in a port of *Latium*. *Faunus* then reigned over that petty Kingdom, and was a Prince of humanity and prudence. He conſidered, that nothing was to be fear'd from a few unhappy men, who had been convey'd thither in two veſſels; and he therefore ſuffered *Evander* to ſettle on a ſmall uncultivated hill near the *Tyber*, where the *Arcadian* built a little town and called it *Pallantium*, after the name of his native city in *Arcadia*, which a popular commotion had conſtrained him to leave. The hill itſelf was thence called the hill *Palatinus*, which in the time of *Auguſtus* ſtood in the center of *Rome*.

Evander eſtabliſhed in this new ſettlement the worſhip of the Gods of his own country. It is well known that *Pan* was the tutelar Deity of *Dion. Hal.* B. 1. p. 25.

writers call them *Aberrigines*, that is to ſay, a wandering people, like thoſe whom the antients ſtiled *Leleges*, by which they meant ſuch adventurers as have been deſcribed. *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 8.

But *Dionyſius*, who was perſuaded that the *Aborigines* came from *Arcadia*, ſays, that they were called by that name from their living upon mountains, in which the *Arcadians* much delighted; and if ſo, it muſt be derived from ἀπ' ὀρέων γένος, which imports as much as mountaineers, or natives of the mountains. *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 11.

That the *Aborigines* were from *Arcadia*, as *Varro* alſo believed, Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſeems to think probable. This name of *Aborigines*, ſays he, (to omit other ſignifications that are ſtrained) imports as much as original or native of the place which they poſſeſſed; which title the *Arcadians* are known in a vaunting manner to have always uſurp'd, fetching their antiquity from beyond the moon. But he is inclined to think, with *Reyneccius*, from ſeveral paſſages in *D. Hal. Strabo*, *Juſtin* and *Pliny*, that *Italy* did not take that name from *Italus* the *Oenotrian*, but from *Ætolus* and a colony of *Ætolians*, which under him ſettled in that country. The word *Italia*, ſays he, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, ſave that the firſt letter is caſt away, which in the *Greek* words is common, and the letter *o* is changed into *a*, which change is found in the name of *Æthalia*, an Iſland near *Italy* peopled by the *Ætholians*; and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* dialect, which dialect, (being almoſt proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priſcian* the Grammarian teach. *Hiſt. of the World*, p. 458, 459.

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the *Arcadians*. They invok'd him particularly to keep away the wolves from their flocks. And as the temple which had been raiſed to him in *Greece* was called [a] *Lycæum*, ſo that which *Evander* built, or rather cut in a rock, in *Italy*, was named [b] *Lupercal*: The *Arcadian* ceremonies were retain'd in his worſhip, and only the *Greek* name of his temple changed into a *Latin* one. Afterwards, *Evander*'s God *Pan* and the *Faunus* of the ancient *Latines* were confounded together, and taken for one and the ſame God, whom the *Latines* call'd alſo *Inuus*.

Dion. Hal. B 1. p. 25. *Evander* built altars likewiſe in *Pallantium* to [c] *Victory* and *Ceres*, and inſtituted the feſtival of the *Equeſtrian Neptune*, who, according to the *Greek* fable, with a ſtroke of his trident rais'd the firſt horſe out of the earth. During the celebration of this feſtival, (which the *Romans* placed on the 18th of *Auguſt*) a ceſſation from labour was granted to all horſes and mules, and they were crowned with flowers. The ſame *Neptune*, under the name of [d] *Conſus*, was alſo conſulted upon all occaſions which required deliberation and *counſel*. Thus the *Greek* ſuperſtitions were introduced by degrees into *Italy*; and *Rome*, which was built in the ſame place where *Evander* had dwelt, retained the religion which he brought with him from *Arcadia*.

Plut

The mixture of this new colony of *Arcadians* with the *Aborigines*, did not a little contribute to poliſh and civilize the latter. The art of expreſſing their thoughts by viſible characters was unknown to the *Italians* till

[a] The building of the temple of *Pan* under the name of *Lycæum* or *Lupercal*, anſwered to the idea which the *Pagans* had formed to themſelves of *Pan*, whom they looked upon as the tutelar God of their flocks againſt *the Wolves*. *Dion. Hal.* B. 1. p. 25. ſays, that of all the Gods, the *Arcadians* worſhip'd *Pan* with the moſt devotion. Nay theſe people, according to *Macrobius*, called him τὸν τῆς ὕλης Κύριον, *i. e.* the Lord of all material ſubſtances.

[b] The *Lupercal* was a cavern dug in a rock in a corner of mount *Palatine*. Some authors, and amongſt them *Ovid*, pretend that *Romulus* and *Remus* conſecrated this cave, becauſe it had been the retreat of the wolf that ſuckled them.

Illa loco nomen fecit, locus ipſe Lupercal,
Faſt. B. 2.

In commemoration of this, the *Romans* placed there a brazen ſtatue, repreſenting a wolf ſuckling the twins. *Fulvius Urſinus* thinks 'tis the ſame which may be ſeen at preſent on the *Capitol*, at the palace of the Conſervators.

[c] The *Latins* adored *Victory* and *Ceres* before the other Gods *Jupiter*, *Juno*, &c. They repreſented *Victory* under the form of a young girl with wings painted white. *Ceres* was repreſented like the mother of a family, with a long training robe, and held in her hand ſome ears of corn, or poppies.

[d] It is generally thought that *Conſus* and the *Equeſtrian Neptune* were, after the time of *Romulus*, the ſame God. Before *Romulus* the ſubterraneous cavern made by order of *Evander* was dedicated only to the *Equeſtrian Neptune*; but *Romulus*, when he deſigned to carry off the *Sabine* women, took occaſion from this altar, which he had found under ground, to celebrate thoſe games at which he executed his deſign; and as this project was the effect of a long deliberation, he therefore called the Divinity, whoſe worſhip furniſhed him with the opportunity, *Conſus*, that is, *the God of counſel*. Theſe games conſecrated to the *Equeſtrian Neptune*, or otherwiſe to *Conſus*, were celebrated ever after at *Rome*, and called, by way of eminency, the *Roman* or *great* games. They conſiſted chiefly in chariot and horſe races; at firſt they held only one day, but they were afterwards prolonged to two, then to three, and at length even to nine. They were celebrated in the great *Circus*, and called alſo, *Ludi Circenſes*, or, *the games of the* Circus.

Evander

Evander taught them the uſe of the [a] *Greek* letters. He likewiſe habituated their ears to the ſounds of thoſe muſical inſtruments he had brought from his own country, and changed their oaten pipes into harmonious flutes and ſtringed inſtruments [b].

In the mean time, one of thoſe adventurers, to whom the ancients gave the name of [c] *Hercules*, having ſubdued *Spain*, undertook to conquer *Italy*. In his paſſage over the *Alps*, he met with more reſiſtance than he had expected; the oppoſition of the *Ligures* held his conqueſts a long time in ſuſpence; and his power was not eſtabliſhed in *Italy* till after the defeat of *Cacus*. This was a fierce and cruel King, who govern'd one of the *Ligurian* nations, and haraſs'd his neighbours by his robberies and depredations. The progreſs of *Hercules* rous'd his pride; he took the field, travers'd the conqueror's march, and by intercepting ſome of his convoys, weaken'd his army. But as *Cacus* was ignorant in the art of war, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be inveſted in his chief town by *Hercules*'s troops, who were more experienced ſoldiers than his. *Cacus* was ſlain in an engagement, and by his death left all *Italy* a prey to the conqueror. *Evander* and *Faunus*, who then ruled over ſmall territories, pacified the wrath of *Hercules*, and gained his favour. *Evander*, by a ſtroke of *Grecian* flattery, recognized him for a God, and raiſed altars [d] to him even in his life-time. As for *Faunus*, he married one of the miſtreſſes of *Hercules*; and ſome have thought that *Latinus*, who was born of this marriage, was rather *Hercules*'s ſon than his.

Æſchilus in Tragedia de Prometheo. Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 33.

§. IV. IT was this *Latinus* who reign'd in *Latium*, when *Æneas* arrived there. He was then in war with his neighbours the *Rutuli* [e], but

[a] The *Greek* characters were the firſt the *Latines* made uſe of; there were ſome viſible proofs of this remaining in the time of *Auguſtus*. The treaty which *Tarquin the Proud* made with the *Gabini*, was ſtill to be ſeen in the time of *Dion. Hal.* in the temple of *Jupiter Fidius*. It was written in *Greek* letters, tho' in *Latin* words, upon a wooden ſhield covered with the skin of the ox, which had been ſacrificed on that occaſion. *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 246.

[b] The *Latines*, in conſideration of the benefits they received from *Evander* and his mother *Carmenta*, (ſo called from the word *carmen*, ſhe being a Propheteſs who ſung her oracles in verſe) paid them divine honours after their deaths, and *Rome* continued to offer ſacrifices to them when in her greateſt ſplendor.

[c] The ancients mention more than one *Hercules*. *Cicero* ſpeaks of ſix, in his third book *De Natura Deorum*; and *Varro* reckons no leſs than forty. If one may give credit to the ancient author of *The origin of the* Romans, this *Hercules* whom we are ſpeaking of was called *Recaranus*. *Dion. Hal.* B. 1. p. 33. makes the hiſtory of his war with *Cacus* probable, which had been much alter'd by the mixture of fable.

[d] One of theſe, called *Ara Maxima*, was remaining at *Rome* in the time of *Auguſtus*. It ſtood in the ox-market; but notwithſtanding its fine name, it was very much neglected, and very poorly adorned. *Hercules* was invoked in all verbal bargains to be the voucher of the faith and ſincerity of the parties, by this form of an oath, *Me Dius Fidius* which comprehended all the energy of this, *ita me Dius Fidius adjuvet*. According to ſeveral commentators, theſe monoſyllables, *me* and *è*, had the ſame force amongſt the *Latins* as the prepoſition *per*; ſo *me Dius Fidius*, and *per Dium Fidium*, *è Caſtor*, and *per Caſtorem*, ſignified the ſame things. This form of ſpeech anſwered to theſe particles μὰ, νὴ, which the *Greeks* made uſe of before their oaths.

[e] The *Rutuli* inhabited the ſea coaſt of the *Campagna di Roma*, between *Patrica* and *Nettuno*.

fortune

fortune did not favour his arms. It greatly added to his perplexity to hear that a foreign Army had made a deſcent upon his coaſts, pillaged the maritime part of his dominions, and were fortifying themſelves in a camp at a little diſtance from the ſea. Inſtantly he marched, with all his forces, againſt theſe ſtrangers[a], hoping to get rid of them at once: but when drawing near them, he perceived that they were armed after the *Greek* manner, and that keeping exactly their ranks, they ſtood reſolutely pre-
Livy, B. 1. c. 1. par'd for battle, he began to doubt of the ſucceſs, and inſtead of fighting, deſired a parly. *Æneas* by the mention of *Troy*, the place of his nativity, utterly deſtroyed and reduced to aſhes, and by the relation of his battles againſt the united power of *Greece*, fill'd *Latinus* at once with terror and compaſſion. The *Trojan* proceeded in words to this effect:

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 46. *A place of refuge and a quiet ſettlement are what, by the direction of the Gods, we ſeek in this country. We are not come upon your coaſts as enemies. We have indeed taken by force wherewith to ſupply our preſſing wants; neceſſity compelled us to this unbecoming violence; but we intreat you not to be offended at what is paſt, nor to look upon it as an act of hoſtility. We are ready to repair the injuries which, againſt our inclination, we have done you, by important ſervices. Our ſtrength and our courage, which have been often tried, ſhall be employed to defend your lands from invaſion, and to invade thoſe of your enemies. But if rejecting our humble ſupplication, you reſolve to make war upon us, we ſhall endeavour to defend our ſelves, and it will neither be the firſt nor the greateſt which we have ſuſtained.*

Latinus, ſtruck with the magnanimity and boldneſs of the *Trojan* leader and his followers, and conſidering that theſe ſtrangers might do him great ſervice in his preſent wars, eaſily granted their requeſt, enter'd into a league with them, and aſſigned them a tract of land for a ſettlement. They in return employed their arms, valour and experience in defence of *Latinus*, who came at length to have ſo great a confidence in the *Trojan* Prince, that he gave him *Lavinia* his daughter and only child in marriage[b], and thereby ſecured to him the ſucceſſion to the *Latine* throne.

Lavinia therefore could not but be dear to *Æneas*, who in proof of it gave her name to the camp which he had pitched; and inſtead of *Troy* called it *Lavinium*. And as all the *Trojans* followed the example of their leader, and by marriages made alliances with *Latine* families, they and the *Latines* in a little time became one people.

§. V. THE proſperity of *Æneas* proved the ruin of *Turnus*, a young Prince, who being the Queen's nephew, and educated in the palace, under the eye of *Latinus*, had entertained hopes of marrying *Lavinia*, and of ſucceeding to the throne. To revenge himſelf for this diſappointment, he went over to the *Rutuli*, and ſoon after brought on a battle between
Dion. Hal B. 1 p. 51. them and the *Latines*, in which he and *Latinus* both periſhed; and thus *Æneas*, by the death of his father-in-law, and by that of a turbulent

[a] The *Trojans* were then but 600. *Solinus*. c 8.

[b] *Æneas*, according to *Virgil*, loſt his firſt wife *Creuſa* in the dark, when he was making his eſcape from *Troy*.

rival,

rival, came into quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Latium*, which he governed wiſely, and tranſmitted to his poſterity.

ÆNEAS reign'd three years, and applied himſelf no leſs to the regulating of religion, than to the neceſſary meaſures for his defence and ſecurity. Before his time, [a] *Picus* and [b] *Faunus* were in poſſeſſion of divine honours; and theſe, with ſome other Deities brought by *Evander* from *Arcadia*, were the only, or at leaſt the principal Gods, of *Latium*: But *Æneas* eſtabliſhed there the worſhip of thoſe of his own country. The two [c] *Palladiums*, which had been the protectors of *Troy* before it was ruined, became the tutelar Deities of *Lavinium*, and in proceſs of time, of the whole *Roman* Empire. They were ſhut up at *Rome* in the temple of *Veſta*, and to the *Veſtals* only was permitted the ſight of them. The

[a] *Picus* is eſteemed to have been one of the firſt Kings of *Italy*, and excellent in the ſcience of augury; but *Voſſius*, B. 1. *de Orig. Idol.* believes there was no King of that name; this common notion, ſays he, had its riſe from a fabulous tradition reported by *D. Hal. viz.* that on a certain province of *Latium*, the God *Mars* had delivered his oracles by a myſterious bird called in the language of the country *Picus*, i. e. *Woodpecker*.

[b] We find two *Faunus's* mention'd by the antients, the firſt liv'd 200 years before him who was the father of *Latinus*. He is ſaid to have been the firſt perſon who civilized the inhabitants of *Italy*, and introduced a ſort of religion among them; he was therefore honoured as a God. In the *Roman* calendar we find two feſtivals appointed for him, tho' it is not certain, but that one of them may have been for the firſt, the other for the ſecond *Faunus*. The *Italians* thought that the foreſts were peopled with *Fauni*, and went thither to conſult them. The gloominеſs of theſe foreſts gave oftentimes a good opportunity of juggling, and thereby increaſing the ſuperſtition of the people: men who were concealed there uttered words like Oracles, which the people believed to be ſpoken by the *Fauni*.

[c] Theſe were two ſtatues, whereof one was the original, and the other the copy: ſo that, properly ſpeaking, there was but one true *Palladium*.

Ovid ſpeaks of this ſtatue as an image of *Pallas* which fell down from Heaven upon one of the hills near *Troy*. According to *Diodorus*, it fell at *Peſſinus*, a city of *Phrygia*; it was made of wood, and held a pike in its right hand, and a diſtaff and ſpindle in its left: To which he adds, that this miraculous image was put into the hands of *Dardanus*, who took all poſſible care to preſerve the precious depoſitum, having been told by the Oracle of *Apollo*, that his new city of *Ilion* ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long as he kept this preſent from Heaven in it, and no longer. And this tradition, fabulous as it is, was the foundation of that religious reſpect the *Romans* paid the *Palladium*. *D. Hal.* [B. 1. p. 53, 54, 55. and B. 2. p. 122.] frankly owns, that there were many ſecrets belonging to this piece of antiquity, which he was not let into; adding, that it was unlawful to diſcover them to the prophane vulgar. However, when the world came to be enlighten'd by Chriſtianity, the cheat was ſoon diſcovered, and even the keepers of this pretended divinity, made no ſcruple of undeceiving the credulous people. *Arnobius* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, agree in their account of the *Palladium*, that it was made of the bones of *Pelops*, that antient King of *Peloponneſus*, and that the *Pagans* themſelves had betray'd this ſecret.

Clemens Alexandrinus goes farther, and diſcovers the ſhameful rites of that myſterious worſhip, which the antient *Pagans* paid to this and two other ſtatues, on which the fate of cities and nations were ſuppoſed to depend. He ſeems to have thought them pieces of necromancy. He tells us, that *Athenodorus* diſcover'd the compoſition of which the ſtatue of *Serapis*, the tutelar God of the *Egyptians*, was made. And he adds theſe words.

Seſoſtris *having ſubdued many nations of* Greece, *brought away from thence all ſorts of artificers, and he ordered one* Briaxes *to make a ſtatue of* Oſiris, *one of his anceſtors, which the artificer did, uſing all ſorts of metals and precious*

The worſhip [a] of *Veſta*, was likewiſe introduc'd by *Æneas* into *Italy*: and virgins who were call'd *Veſtals*, began from that time to keep a fire continually burning, in honour of this Goddeſs. Nay, it is not improbable, that *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and many other Deities who had been revered in *Troy*, became known to the *Latins* by the means of *Æneas*. And it was this, perhaps, which gave occaſion to the poets to repreſent him under the character of a pious hero.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 55.

§. VI. But while *Æneas* was thus employ'd, the *Rutuli* enter'd into a league with the *Hetrurians* [b], againſt a ſtranger, whoſe good fortune they envied. Eſpecially *Mezentius*, King of the *Tyrrhenians* [c], was alarm'd at the too frequent arrival in *Italy* of colonies from the eaſtern nations, their numerous ſettlements, and the encroachments they made upon the lands of the firſt inhabitants. Fear and jealouſy therefore made him take the field.

p. 51.

While the confederate armies were advancing towards *Lavinium*, either to beſiege it, or to draw the *Trojan* to an engagement, *Æneas* marched out, and gave them battle. The action laſted till night, and equal bravery was ſhewn on both ſides: But *Æneas* being puſhed to the banks of the *Numicus* [d], and forced into that river, was there drown'd. The *Trojans* conceal'd his body, and to make him paſs for a Deity in the minds of his credulous ſubjects, pretended that he had vaniſhed away on a ſudden; accordingly, a temple was erected to him, with an inſcription [e]

precious ſtones in it, to render his work the more perfect; and he took particular care to put into it a perfume, with which the bodies of Oſiris *and* Apis *had been embalmed: from their two names, therefore, the ſtatue was called* Oſirapis, *and afterwards, by corruption,* Serapis.

The ſame *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us, that the ſtatue of *Jupiter Olympius*, the tutelar God of *Greece*, was made of the bones of an elephant. From all which we may conjecture, that the tutelar Gods of the ſeveral countries of the *Pagan* world, were ſo many Taliſmans, made according to the rules of magick.

But to return to the *Palladium*, it may be aſked whence it got that name? The common anſwer is, that it repreſented the Goddeſs *Pallas*, but there is ſome foundation to believe, that the Goddeſs owed both her name and origin to the ſtatue. *Dion. Hal.* [B. 1. p. 54.] gives us the following ſtory of the *Palladium*, upon the teſtimony of *Calliſtratus*. *Pallas*, ſays he, *was a King of* Arcadia, *and the father of* Chryſé, *ſhe was married to* Dardanus, *and had this ſtatue for her portion, and called it* Pallas's *preſent*, who in all probability made this Taliſman. In after-times, to gain it veneration, fable made it the ſtatue of a Goddeſs, who bore the name of *Arcadian Pallas*. And what ſtrengthens this conjecture is, that the *Palladium* repreſented a young man armed from head to foot. As it was eaſy to miſtake the ſex, the vulgar made it a warlike Goddeſs.

[a] See what is ſaid of *Veſta*, when *Numa* comes to regulate the worſhip of her.

[b] We are to underſtand here the people of that part of ancient *Hetruria*, which comprehended what is now called St. *Peter*'s *Patrimony*, the dutchy of *Caſtro*, and the territories of *Orvieto* and *Perugia*.

[c] *Mezentius* had under his dominion that territory which depended on the ancient city *Agylla*, now *Cerveteri*, in the *Eccleſiaſtical State*.

[d] The *Numicus*, now *Rio de Nimi*, according to geographers, was formerly a river. It is now ſcarce more than a rivulet. It ran cloſe by *Lavinium*.

[e] This inſcription, according to *Aurelius Victor*, was in theſe words: *Patri Deo Indigeti*. The word *Indiges*, with the *Latines*, ſignified one of thoſe Gods who had been of the race of men, and at length were deify'd. The ſame *Æneas*, according to *Livy*, B. 1. §. 2. had divine honours paid him, under the name of *Jupiter Indiges*.

upon it, which declared him at leaſt a demi-god. Such was the end of *Æneas*, the *Trojan* Prince ſo much celebrated by the *Greek* and *Latine* poets, and who, becauſe he was illegitimate, and born of a mother remarkable for her beauty, was, agreeable to the manner of ſpeaking in thoſe times, called the ſon of *Venus*.

The death of *Æneas* cauſed no diſorder in the affairs of the *Latines*. His colony and kingdom ſubſiſted under the adminiſtration of his ſon *Eurileon*[a], who ſucceeded him. This Prince was born at *Troy* of *Creüſa*, the daughter of *Priam*, and had come with his father into *Italy*. He had changed his name, and at this time bore that of *Aſcanius*, the name of his elder brother, who had been left in *Bithynia*. The young King did not think it adviſeable to engage immediately in a pitch'd battle with a formidable enemy, whoſe pride was elevated by the death of *Æneas*: He had the prudence to confine himſelf within the walls of *Lavinium*, and to try what could be done by negotiation, before he had recourſe to arms. The haughty *Mezentius*, demanded of the *Latines*, as one of the conditions of a peace, that they ſhould pay him yearly, by way of tribute, all the wine produced in the territory of *Latium*. *Aſcanius* preferred an honourable war to a ſhameful dependence. To break off a treaty ſo injurious to his people, he cauſed all the vines throughout his dominions to be conſecrated to *Jupiter*; and by thus transferring the demeſn to the God, he made the eſtate unalienable. *D. Hal.* B. 1. P. 51.

The enemy had pitch'd their camp in the neighbourhood of *Lavinium*; and the flower of their youth, under the command of *Lauſus*, the ſon of *Mezentius*, lay intrench'd almoſt at the gates of the city. The *Trojans*, who had been accuſtomed, during a ten years ſiege, to make briſk ſallies upon the beſiegers, march'd out in the night, and vigorouſly attack'd the poſt where *Lauſus* commanded. His entrenchments were forced; and then the army in the plain, intimidated by the defeat of their advance-guard, immediately fled. The *Latines* purſued them, and in the purſuit *Lauſus* was ſlain; which, with the check his troops had receiv'd, ſo diſcourag'd *Mezentius*, that he immediately ſued for peace. It was agreed, that for the future the *Tyber* ſhould be the boundary both to the *Latines* and *Hetrurians*. P. 52. *Livy* B. 1. §. 3.

§. VII. BUT now *Lavinia*, whom *Æneas* at his death had left with child, entertain'd a ſtrong jealouſy of the ambition of her ſon-in-law, whom victory made abſolute in his new dominions, and ſhe feared to expoſe the infant, ſhe was going to be delivered of, to the danger of his politicks. She fled therefore into the woods, truſting herſelf to the care of one *Tyrrhenus*, chief of her father *Latinus*'s ſhepherds, and was there delivered of a ſon, who from the place of his birth took the ſirname of *Sylvius*. But the Queen's flight, who had diſappear'd on a ſudden, occaſioning ſuſpicions at *Lavinium* prejudicial to the reputation of *Aſcanius*, he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after her, calm'd her fears, and engaged her to return to the town with her ſon, whom he ever after treated as a brother. And as *Lavinium* was in reality the patrimony of *Lavinia*, *D. Hal.* B. 1. P. 55. *Aur. Victor de Orig. Rom. Livy*, B. 1.

[a] He had three names, *Eurileon*, *Iülus*, and *Aſcanius*.

and a demeſn which ought therefore to deſcend to *Sylvius*, it was, perhaps, for this reaſon, that *Aſcanius* determined to yield it to them, and to build another city where to fix his reſidence. This new city he called *Alba Longa*[a]; *Alba*, as the hiſtorians tell us, from a white ſow which *Æneas* found in the place where it was built; and *Longa*, both to diſtinguiſh it from another town named *Alba*, and becauſe without having much breadth, it extended itſelf the whole length of a lake near which it was founded.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 52, 53. and *Livy* B. 1. §. 3.

D. Hal. p. 52.

p. 55. It was thirty years after the building of *Lavinium*, that *Aſcanius* removed to *Alba*; and there he died, after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which he had reſided at his new ſettlement. He left by a wife, whoſe name hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us, at leaſt one ſon, who was born in *Alba*, and called *Iülus*; ſo that there remained of the poſterity of *Æneas* a ſon and a grandſon, the one *Æneas Sylvius*, the other this *Iulus*: and between them lay the right of ſucceſſion to the[b] *Latine* throne.

p. 56. §. VIII. THE *Latines* not thinking it for their intereſt to continue divided under two governments, reſolved to unite *Alba* and *Lavinium* into one dominion: and as *Sylvius*, being the grandſon of *Latinus*, ſeem'd to have the beſt title to the whole, the people who were the judges, decreed it to him. However, to prevent diviſions, and to make *Iulus* ſome amends, they entruſted him with the ſovereign power in affairs of religion. It was, perhaps, from hence, that the *Julii* conſtantly preſerved the prieſthood in their family, and that the *Cæſars* always aſſumed the quality of high-prieſts.

§. IX. THE kingdom of *Alba* continued for near 400 years, in an almoſt uninterrupted tranquillity under *Æneas Sylvius* and his ſucceſſors, without being either conſiderably diminiſhed or increaſed. But as a ſtate[c] which remained ſo long in peace afforded little matter for hiſtory, we have ſcarce any thing left us, beſides the names of its Kings, and the number of years which each of them reigned.

Æneas Sylvius Poſthumus, died after a reign of 29 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon

Æneas Sylvius, who governed *Latium* 31 years.

Latinus Sylvius, who ſucceeded him, held the ſceptre for the ſpace of 51 years.

Alba reign'd 39

Capetus (or according to *Livy*, *Atys*) 26.

Capis 28. And

Calpetus 13.

Tiberinus, who ſucceeded him, being leſs peaceably inclined than his Predeceſſors undertook a war which proved fatal to him. In an engage-

[a] *Alba* was probably ſituated between *Monte Cavo* and the lake of *Caſtello Gandolpho*.

[b] The *Latine* ſtate ſeems to have had no greater extent, than from *Alba* to the mouth of the *Tyber*, nor any other towns than *Lavinium*, *Alba Longa* and perhaps *Laurentum*, where *Latinus* kept his court at the time of *Æneas*'s arrival; if, after all, *Lavinium* and *Laurentum* were not the ſame town.

[c] This ſtate ſubſiſted, according to *D. Hal.* about 430 years, reckoning from *Æneas*'s arrival in *Italy* to the building of *Rome*.

ment

ment upon the banks of the *Tyber*, which till then was called *Albula*, he was forced into the river, and being carried away by the current, was drown'd. This accident of *Tiberinus*, who reigned but eight years, cauſed the river's name to be changed, and ever ſince it has borne no other but that of *Tyber*.

Agrippa, ſucceſſor to *Tiberinus*, after a reign of 41 years, left the throne to

Alladius, who reign'd 19 years, and was ſucceeded by

Aventinus, who reign'd 37 years, and left his name to the hill *Aventinus*, where he was interred.

Procas, who ſucceeded him, held the ſceptre 23 years. He was the father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, and at his death bequeathed the throne to his elder ſon *Numitor*.

[a] *Amulius*, who doubtleſs ſurpaſs'd his brother in underſtanding and courage, had no reſpect either to priority of birth, or to the laſt appointment of his father. He not only ſnatch'd the ſceptre from *Numitor*, and made him paſs his days in retirement; but uſed all the cruel precautions of a tyrant to ſecure the throne to himſelf, by extinguiſhing his brother's poſterity. *Numitor* had an only ſon named *Ægeſtus*, and a daughter called [b] *Rhea Sylvia*. The tyrant cauſed the firſt to be ſlain at a hunting, and to prevent the other from having children, conſecrated her to the worſhip of *Veſta*, by which ſhe was obliged to perpetual virginity. But this precaution proved ineffectual; for the veſtal, either by her own fault, or by violence done to her, became the mother of twins. The ſtory is related after the following manner. *Liv.* B. 1. §. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 60.

§. X. *RHEA SYLVIA* was called to the performance of ſome religious ſervice in a temple of *Mars* near the town. A ſpring of water glided thro' the ſacred wood, with which the temple was incloſed; and the prieſteſs, in order to diſcharge one of her ſacerdotal functions, went thither to take the neceſſary water for the ſacrifice. Then and there a man [c] diſguiſed in a military habit, like that in which *Mars* was commonly repreſented, ſurprized and forced the *Veſtal*. *Amulius*'s ill reputation has made him ſuſpected by ſome of doing this violence to his niece himſelf; not ſo much to gratify a brutal paſſion, as to have a pretence for condemning her to that puniſhment which the law had aſſign'd for *Veſtals* who proved unchaſte. Others are of opinion, that ſhe met a young lover there by appointment. Be that as it will, *Rhea Sylvia* thence forward abſtain'd from her functions, and from entering the temple, under a pretence of an indiſpoſition. Uſurpers are ever ſuſpicious. *Amulius* ſoon conjec- p. 61. p. 62.

[a] *Amulius* being the younger brother, ſays *Plutarch*, had the gold and ſilver for his portion, and *Numitor* his father's crown. *Amulius* made uſe of his riches to dethrone his brother.

[b] Sometimes *Ilia*.

[c] Some credulous hiſtorians of *Rome* admit the ancient fable, that *Mars* was truly the father of *Remus* and *Romulus*. But *Livy* ſeems to doubt it; he ſays that the *Veſtal* might perhaps have found her account in making her ſons paſs for the children of *Mars*. *Plutarch* makes *Amulius* their father, *Dion. Hal.* ſays, it was either *Amulius*, or elſe ſome lover of the *Veſtal*, with whom ſhe had made an aſſignation.

tured.

tured what kind of diſorder it was that afflicted his niece, and therefore cauſed her to be watched. Nay he ſcrupled not to tax the father and mother of the *Veſtal* as the contrivers of an intrigue, which might procure them grand-children. When *Rhea* cou'd no longer conceal her ſhame, ſhe charged the God *Mars* with being the cauſe of it. The circumſtances of the temple, the ſacred wood, and the pretended preſence of that God, who was believed to make his reſidence in a ſanctuary conſecrated to him, gave a leſs odious colour to the matter, whether her crime, or her misfortune. But theſe things made no impreſſion on the mind of *Amulius*. He not only placed ſome truſty women about her, but appointed a guard of armed men to watch her, which they did till ſhe was delivered of two ſons. The tyrant took all advantages of this accident, he laid open the *Veſtal*'s ſhame in an aſſembly of the people, exaggerated her fault, and urged both religion and the laws againſt her. *Rhea* was condemned to be firſt whip'd, and then put to death; and the fruits of her criminal amour to be thrown into the *Tyber*. But moſt of the hiſtorians ſay, that *Amulius*, at the interceſſion of his daughter *Antho*, changed the ſentence againſt *Rhea* into perpetual impriſonment, and that ſhe was not releas'd from her confinement till the tyrant was dethroned. As to the twins the ſentence againſt them was executed in this manner:

D. Hal. p. 62.

A little wooden trough being prepared, and the two infants laid in it, they were carried to the bottom of Mount *Palatine*, and there turn'd a-drift upon the *Tyber*, which at that time overflow'd its banks and waſh'd the foot of the mountain. The place where they were expoſed was about 120 furlongs from *Alba*. The little ſkiff floated a while without any accident, but at length being carried againſt a ſtone by the ebbing of the flood, it was over-ſet, and the two brothers turned out upon the ſtrand. It has been the general tradition, that a ſhe wolf hearing their cries came and ſuckled them; but it is more probable that *Acca Laurentia*, whoſe huſband *Fauſtulus*, found the two children, and who nurſed them, was called by the nick-name of *Lupa*, or wolf, for her diſorderly life, and that this gave riſe to the fabulous miracle.

Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calpurnius Piſo, apud D. Hal. B. 1. p. 63, &c.

Fauſtulus was the chief of the King's ſhepherds, and being probably well acquainted with the birth of the twins, was ſuitably careful of their education: he ſent them to *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, to learn the *Greek* literature. As they grew up, they appeared to have ſomething great in their mein and air, which commanded reſpect, and they aſſumed a ſuperiority over the other ſhepherds, and the country people. A quarrel happening between the herdſmen of *Amulius* and thoſe of *Numitor*, the two brothers took the part of the former againſt the latter, of whom in the fray they ſlew ſome, wounded others, and put the reſt to flight. The worſted party reſolved to be reveng'd on *Romulus* and *Remus* (for ſo the twins were called) and the feſtival of the [a] *Lupercalia* yielded a favourable opportunity

p. 69. *Plutarch.* Life of *Rom.* *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 64.

Ælius Tubero, apud D. Hal. B. 1. p. 65.

[a] *Valerius Maximus* pretends, that the feſtival of the *Lupercalia* was not older than the foundation of *Rome*. He is contradicted by *Livy*, L. 1. §. 5. *Dion. Hal.* B. 1. p. 25. 6

nity to put their deſign in execution. While the two brothers were ſcouring the plain with their whips in their hands, according to the ceremonies uſed in this feſtival, *Remus* was on a ſudden ſurrounded, taken priſoner, and led away to *Numitor*, before whom he was accuſed of exerciſing a kind of tyranny in the foreſts. The depoſed King for the moſt part led a private life in the country, in the utmoſt ſubjection to the Uſurper's will. He durſt not proceed againſt the perſon accuſed, without the conſent of *Amulius*; but he had no ſooner obtained it than he condemned the priſoner to death. The ſentence was juſt going to be executed, when either out of inſtinct, compaſſion, or eſteem for a young ſhepherd, whoſe perſon and courage ſpoke ſomething ſuperior to his condition, he found himſelf ſtrongly inclined to ſave him. He therefore deferred the execution, and reſolv'd to have a moment's conference with the criminal. He aſked him in what part of *Latium* he was born, and who were his parents. *Remus* replied, that his family and the place of his nativity were equally unknown to him. All I could learn, ſaid he, from the ſhepherd who brought up my brother *Romulus* and me, is, that we are twins, and that we were found expoſed upon the bank of the river; an anſwer which immediately ſtruck *Numitor* with a lively remembrance of his two grandſons: Their age, which was about eighteen years, agreed with the time when the two Princes were expoſed upon the *Tyber*, and there needed no more to change his anger and threatnings into tenderneſs.

In the mean time *Romulus*, impatient at the detaining of his brother, was eager to purſue and attack thoſe who had carried him off; but *Fauſtulus* diſſuaded him from it, and on this occaſion diſcloſed to him his birth; a diſcovery which awaken'd in his breaſt ſentiments worthy of his high extraction. He reſolv'd at all hazards to attempt the delivering of his grandfather and mother from the oppreſſion they were under. And while he was aſſembling the country people, and diſpoſing every thing for the execution of his deſign, *Numitor* made the ſame diſcovery to *Remus*, concerning his parents, and the injuſtice they ſuffered, preſs'd him to revenge it, and then bid him go and ſend *Romulus* to his houſe. *Romulus* came, and the ſhepherd *Fauſtulus* made haſte to follow, taking with him the trough, or ſkiff, in which the twins had been expoſed on the river, in order to ſhew it to *Numitor*. But as he entered the gate of the city, he was ſtop'd by the guards, who perceiving an air of

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 66.

Plutarch's Life of *Rom.* *D. Hal.* B. 1. p. 68.

and *Plutarch*, who are poſitive that this feſtival was brought by *Evander* out of *Greece*. The ceremonies obſerved in it were theſe. Firſt, two goats and a dog were killed; then the foreheads of two young men of diſtinction were touch'd with the bloody knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. When this was done, the skins of the victims were cut into thongs and whips for the young men; who, arm'd in this manner, and cover'd only with a pair of drawers, ran about the city, and the fields, ſtriking all they met. The young married women ſuffered themſelves to be ſtruck by them, and believed thoſe ſtrokes were a help to fruitfulneſs. This feſtival was celebrated the 15th of *February*. The prieſts who preſided at theſe ſacrifices were at firſt divided into two colleges, one whereof was for *Remus*, the other for *Romulus*; but afterwards there was a third added in honour to *Julius Cæſar*. This feſtival was chiefly celebrated in the villages.

haſte

haſte and confuſion in his looks, imagined he was loaded with ſomething of conſequence. By chance there was one among them who had been at the expoſing of the children, and employ'd in the office; he ſeeing the trough which *Fauſtulus* could not conceal, and knowing it by its make and inſcription, gueſs'd at the buſineſs, and without farther delay, telling the King of it, brought in the man to be examined. The ſhepherd, without loſing his preſence of mind, confeſs'd what his burthen was, and own'd that the twins were living, but pretended that they were feeding flocks in a remote deſart. This was gaining time, and the brothers made the beſt uſe of it. *Remus* undertook to raiſe the city, and *Romulus* to inveſt the King's palace. The country people came at the time appointed, and form'd themſelves into companies of an hundred each. Their enſigns were bundles of hay, hanging upon poles, which the *Latins* at that time called *Manipuli* [a], and from thence came the name of *Manipulares*, which was originally given to troops raiſed in the country.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

With this tumultuous army *Romulus* beſet the avenues of the palace, forced the guard, ſlew the tyrant (who had reigned 42 years) and reſtored his grandfather to the throne.

Such was the adventure, according to the common tradition, by which the birth of *Romulus* and *Remus* came to be diſcover'd. *Plutarch* concludes his account of it with theſe words. "Theſe are for the moſt part the relations of *Fabius* and *Diocles Peparethius* (who, I think, is the firſt that writes of the building of *Rome*) which ſome ſuſpect are only fabulous, and invented ſtories; but they are not wholly to be rejected, if we conſider fortune, what ſtrange things it ſometimes brings about, and alſo how improbable it is, that the *Roman* Empire could ever have arrived at ſuch a pitch of greatneſs and power, if the Gods had not laid the foundation of it, and given it a miraculous beginning.

§. XI. *NUMITOR* not long after his re-eſtabliſhment on the throne, finding that *Alba* was overſtock'd with inhabitants by the inundation of thoſe ruſtick troops which *Romulus* had brought thither, propoſed to his grandſons, that they ſhould make a ſettlement elſewhere. To this [b] *Remus* and *Romulus* very willingly conſented, and the King gave them for their new ſettlement thoſe lands near the *Tyber*, upon which they had been caſt by the waves, and where they had been brought up. *Numitor* alſo ſupply'd them with all manner of inſtruments for breaking up ground, and with ſlaves, and beaſts of burthen, and granted to his ſubjects full liberty to join the two brothers. Upon which, ſome of the beſt families, and among the reſt, ſeveral who were deſcended from the *Trojans*, choſe to follow the fortune of *Remus* and *Romulus*; ſo that even in *Auguſtus*'s time

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 70.

Ibid.

[a] Hence came the word *Manipulus* for a battalion, which at firſt conſiſted of 100, afterwards 200, and in the decline of the empire of leſs than 100.

[b] *Plutarch* thinks it very poſſible that *Remus* and *Romulus* reſolved to ſeek another habitation, rather through neceſſity than choice, being probably diſcountenanced by the people of *Alba*, who had reaſon to fear every thing from ſuch a troop of fugitive ſlaves and outlaws as attended the two brothers.

there

there were in *Rome* fifty great families ſprung from *Trojan* anceſtors, and which had ſubſiſted there ever ſince its foundation.

As that handful of people, who came from *Alba*, were of themſelves in no condition to found a colony any thing conſiderable, the two brothers got together all the inhabitants of *Pallantium* and *Saturnia*, two ſmall towns, and it was thought proper to divide thoſe who were to be employ'd in building the new city into two companies, one under the command of *Romulus*, the other of *Remus*. But this diviſion, which was made purely with a view to the publick welfare, and for the better carrying on the work, inſtead of anſwering the end propoſed, gave birth to two rival factions, and produced a jealouſy between the brothers. It chiefly broke out when they came to fix upon a place where to plant their colony. *Romulus* declared for mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* for mount *Aventine*. There was no law whereby they could decide their difference; nor could either of them pretend a ſuperiority by years or merit. The matter was therefore referred to their grandfather. *Numitor* being very much prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Augury*, with which the *Hetrurians* had infected *Italy*, declared it his opinion, that the contending parties ought to have recourſe to the Gods, in order to put an end to a diſpute which no man had a right authoritatively to decide; and accordingly they agreed, that it ſhould be determined by the flights of birds [a]. When the day appointed for the ceremony came, ſome perſons were deputed from both ſides to be witneſſes of the truth of the auguries, and the two brothers poſted themſelves each upon his mountain, *Remus* upon mount *Aventine*, and *Romulus* upon mount *Palatine*. *Vulturs* were the birds that were to decide the affair; whoever ſhould ſee any of theſe birds firſt, or the greater number of them, was to gain his cauſe; for, ſaid they, theſe birds are very ſcarce, and ſent by the Gods from foreign countries to foretel extraordinary events. Beſides, they remembred that *Hercules* uſed to judge of the ſucceſs of his undertakings from the flights of vulturs. When the two rivals had a while gazed round the horizon, watching the appearance of a favourable augury, we are told, that *Romulus*, either to divert his brother's attention, or to ſecure to himſelf the publick voice by a fraud, ſent to tell him that he had ſeen ſome vulturs. Whilſt the meſſengers were yet on their way, *Remus* actually perceived ſix. He ran therefore to mount *Palatine* to examine the truth of his brother's augury; and he had no ſooner got thither, than by an unexpected good fortune, twelve vulturs appeared to *Romulus*, who inſtantly cried out in a tranſport of joy, and pointing to them with his hand, be judge, be judge yourſelf, brother, of the truth of what my meſſengers have told you. *Remus* nevertheleſs diſcovered the cheat; he was informed that *Romulus* did not ſee the twelve vulturs, till after he

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 71.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

[a] *Augury*, or the art of divination, and foretelling future events by the flight, cries, or motions of birds, came from the *Chaldeans* to the *Greeks*, from thence it was tranſmitted to the *Hetrurians*, and from them to the *Latines* and the *Romans*. *Vid. Ciceron. de divin.* and *Orig. l.* 4. *contra Celſ.*

himſelf had ſeen ſix: and then one inſiſted on the number of birds, the other on the time of ſeeing them. The people were divided, each man taking the part of his leader; and the diſpute growing warm, from words they came at length to blows.

The ſhepherd *Fauſtulus* throwing himſelf unarmed into the crowd to part the combatants, an unlucky blow laid him dead upon the ground; and ſome hiſtorians are of opinion, that *Remus* loſt his life in the ſame ſkirmiſh; but the greater number place his death later, and ſay that he was ſlain by one *Fabius*, who in a paſſion ſtruck him on the head with a mattock, for having, in deriſion, leap'd over the wall of the new city: and they add, that the murderer was, from this action, afterwards called *Celer*, *i. e.* haſty or paſſionate; but *Livy* ſays, the more common report was, that *Remus* died by his brother's own hand.

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 72.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

§. XII. *ROMULUS* being now head of the colony, by the advantage of more favourable auguries than thoſe of his brother, or rather by having got the better in the late engagement, apply'd his thoughts wholly to build the city, which was to be call'd *Roma* [a], in alluſion to his name. Mount *Palatine* was the place choſen for its ſituation: and the founder on this occaſion perform'd all thoſe ceremonies which the ſuperſtition of the *Hetrurians* had introduced, and made cuſtomary at the building of towns. He offer'd ſacrifices to the Gods, and order'd all the people to do the ſame, every man according to his abilities: and from that time decreed that eagles ſhould be the auſpices of his new colony. After this, great fires were kindled before their tents, and all the people leap'd through the flames to purify themſelves. This ceremony over, they dug a trench round that ſpot where the *Comitia* or aſſemblies of the people were afterwards held, and into this trench they threw [b] the firſt fruits of whatever they were allowed to make uſe of for food, beſides which, every man of the colony caſt in a handful of earth, brought either from his own, or ſome neighbouring country. This trench they called *Mundus* (the world)

D. Hal. B. 1. p. 72.

[a] *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Romulus*, ſays, that authors are not agreed by whom and for what reaſon the city of *Rome* was ſo called; that ſome are of opinion, the *Pelaſgians*, who had over-run the greater part of the habitable world, fixed themſelves there; and from their own military *ſtrength* (in *Greek* Ρωμη, *Roma*) called the city by that name: that others ſay the city was built by ſome *Trojans*, who eſcaping from *Troy*, were driven upon the coaſts of *Tuſcany*, among whom was a woman of diſtinction named *Roma*, and that the city was called ſo from her: but that others ſay the *Roma* from whom the city had its name, was daughter of *Italus* and *Lucaria*, others of *Telephus*, *Hercules*'s ſon, and that ſhe was married to *Æneas*. Others make her the daughter of *Aſcanius Æneas*'s ſon. The ſame author ſpeaks of *Romanus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*, *Romus* the ſon of *Emathion*, whom *Diomed* ſent from *Troy*, and of one *Romus* a King of the *Latines*, who drove out the *Tuſcans*; to each of theſe the building of *Rome* has been aſcribed. *Solinus* beſtows the honour of it upon *Evander*, and ſays, that it was in old times called *Valentia*. Others ſay, that it was antiently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*, witneſs St. *Aug. de Civit. Dei Lib.* 3. But *Livy* and others will have the building of the city to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation.

[b] The deſign of this ceremony, was to admoniſh the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their principal ſtudy to procure for their fellow citizens all the conveniencies of life, to maintain peace and union amongſt a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this means to form themſelves into one body, never to be diſſolved.

and

and made it the center round which the city was to be built. Then *Romulus* yoking a cow and a bull to a plough, the coulter whereof was braſs, mark'd out, by a deep furrow[a], the whole compaſs of the city; and thoſe two animals (the ſymbols of marriage by which towns are peopled) were afterwards ſlain upon the altars. All the people follow'd the plough, throwing inwards the clods of earth which the plough-ſhare ſometimes turned outwards: and when they came to thoſe places where they intended to make the gates, they took up the plough and *carried* it. Hence the *Latin* word, *Porta* a gate, *à portando aratrum.* *Plut.* Life of *Rom.* *Plut.* Life of *Rom.*

The people's throwing inwards the clods of earth, was a ſignificant ceremony, importing, that plenty in cities is owing to the fruitful lands about them; and withal, how careful the inhabitants ought to be to bring every thing from abroad, which might contribute to the publick welfare. The whole length of ground where the plough had paſs'd, was by the ancients looked upon as ſacred and inviolable. For this reaſon it was, that they thought themſelves obliged to ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in defending their walls; and to break through them was a crime of the higheſt nature. But the gates were not ſacred; otherwiſe, as *Plutarch* obſerves, the city could not have been ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life, without a breach of the law, nor could the filth, dead bodies, and other things which they reckoned unclean, have been carried away.

As mount *Palatine* ſtood by itſelf, and was not joined to any other hill, the whole was incloſed within the line made by the plough, which form'd almoſt the figure of a ſquare, for which reaſon *D. Hal.* calls it *Roma Quadrata.* The walls were built upon this Line, which was therefore called *Pomœrium*, according to *Plutarch*, from *Pone mœnia:* But *Livy* defines the *Pomœrium* to be that ſpace of ground both within and without the walls, which the Augurs at the firſt building of cities ſolemnly conſecrated, and on which no edifices were ſuffered to be raiſed. B. 2. p. 121. *Liv.* B. 1. c. 44.

[b] As to the exact year of the foundation of *Rome*, the hiſtorians differ about

[a] The antients oftentimes deſcribed the compaſs of their cities by a train of white earth. We read in *Strabo*, B. 17. p. 1142. that for want of this earth, *Alexander* mark'd out *Alexandria* with meal.

[b] Chronologiſts are not agreed about the exact year of the foundation of *Rome*. *Timæus* of *Sicily*, by a very palpable miſtake, places it much about the time in which *Carthage* was built by the *Tyrians*; that is, thirty-eight years before the firſt olympiad. *L. Cincius* fixes it in the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; *Fabius Pictor* in the firſt year of the eighth. *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus* ſay, that *Rome* was founded in the ſecond year of the ſeventh olympiad; *Portius Cato* and others, in the firſt year of the ſame olympiad: And according to *Marcus Verrius Flaccus*, the ſuppoſed author of the *Capitoline* tables, and *Livy*, it happen'd in the fourth year of the ſixth olympiad. But the majority of the beſt *Roman* writers follow *Varro*'s calculation, according to which the foundation of *Rome* is placed near the end of the third year of the ſixth olympiad. *Plutarch*, from the teſtimony of ſome authors, tells us, that an eclipſe of the ſun happened the firſt day that *Rome* was founded, which was ſeen by *Antimachus* of *Teos*. *Tarrutius Firmianus*, a famous aſtronomer, and who followed the *Egyptian* calendar, at the perſuaſion of *Terentius Varro*, had endeavoured to determine the day of *Romulus*'s birth by an aſtronomical computation; the reſult of which was, that this firſt King

about it. *Varro* places it in the third year [a] of the ſixth olympiad, that is, 431 years after the deſtruction of *Troy*, and 753 before the beginning of the Chriſtian Æra. The *Romans*, (according to *Plutarch*, and others) began to build on the twenty-firſt of *April*. This day was then conſecrated to *Pales*, Goddeſs of ſhepherds, ſo that the feſtival of *Pales*, and that of the foundation of the city, were afterwards jointly celebrated at *Rome* on the ſame day.

Year of ROME I.

Val. Max. B. 4.

When *Rome* had received near the utmoſt perfection, which men rude and indigent were able to give it, it conſiſted only of about 1000 poor huts, which had no upper ſtories, nor any kind of ornament. The walls even of *Romulus*'s palace were made of ruſhes, and it was covered with thatch. Every man having choſen his ground to build upon according to his fancy, without any regard to the regularity or beauty of the whole, the ſtreets (if they might be called ſtreets) were both crooked and narrow. *Rome*, properly ſpeaking, was at firſt but a ſorry village, whereof even the principal inhabitants followed their own ploughs; and until

of *Rome* had been conceived in the firſt year of the ſecond olympiad, on the twenty-third day of that *Egyptian* month, which anſwered to *April* in the *Roman* calendar; and he adds, that on this day there had been an eclipſe of the ſun. The birth of this Prince he placed in the month of *January*, and made the firſt year of *Rome* to be the third of the ſixth olympiad. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, B. 2. p. 115. mentions another eclipſe which happened the ſame day that *Romulus* died, and from this ſeveral aſtronomers have attempted, by the help of the tables of eclipſes, to aſcertain the true æra of the foundation of *Rome*. Yet the fruit of all their labours has been nothing but endleſs diſputes, in which every perſon is at liberty to chooſe what ſide he pleaſes. *Petavius* contends, that *Varro*'s opinion is the moſt agreeable to the rules of chronology, *Lib.* 1. *de doct. temp.*

[a] If *Rome* was built, as *Varro* believed, in the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, it muſt, as *Petavius* obſerves, have been in 3960 or 3961 of the *Julian* period. For the firſt olympiad beginning at the ſummer ſolſtice in 3938, the third year of the 6th olympiad will begin in the ſummer of 3960, and end in the ſummer of 3961. And if, as *Petavius* thinks, *Rome* was founded in the *end* of the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, that will fall in 3961. Father *Catrou*, in his *Rom. Hiſt.* p. 59. ſays it is inconteſtable, that *Rome* was founded 21 *April*, and yet, that it appears to have been founded in autumn, and that *April* was then a month in autumn, and was afterwards ſet back in the calendar. Upon this ſuppoſition, the date of the foundation of *Rome*, according to the *Julian* period, will be 3960. Yet father *Rouillé*, as we ſee in the preceding note, which is taken from him, tells us, that the majority of the beſt *Roman* writers following *Varro*'s calculation, place the foundation of *Rome* in the *end* of the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, conſequently, if it was in *April*, *April* muſt have been a month in the ſpring as it is now, and the year of the foundation of *Rome* will be 3961 of the *Julian* period.

As to the year of the world, when *Rome* was founded, there is yet leſs agreement among the chronologiſts, than concerning its date computed by the olympiads.

According to the uſual way of counting, there are 710 years difference between the beginning of the *Julian* period, and that of the world, and ſo *Rome* was built in 3251 of the world, that is, ſuppoſing the Æra of its foundation to have been in 3961 of the *Julian* period.

But *Petavius* reckons the world to begin in the 731ſt year of the *Julian* period, making 730 years difference between the two Æra's, and ſo according to him the foundation of *Rome* falls in 3231 of the world.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his chronology, makes the *Julian* period to exceed the year of the world, by only 682 years, and as he agrees with *Dion. Hal. Solinus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, in placing the foundation

until it was rebuilt after the burning of it by the *Gauls*, did not deſerve the name of a city. Such were the Beginnings of the capital of the world.

dation of *Rome* in the 1ſt year of the 7th olympiad, and 3962 of the *Julian* period, his year of the world for the building of *Rome* is 3280.

Father *Catrou*, Mr. *Vertot*, and Mr. *Collier*, ſay, it was founded in 3301 of the world. It were endleſs to reckon up the various conjectures of the ſeveral hiſtorians and chronologiſts concerning the age of the world.

CHAP. II.

ROMULUS.

Sect. I. Romulus *is choſen King of* Rome. §. II. *He puts on a robe of diſtinction; and appoints* 12 LICTORS *to attend him.* §. III. *He divides his colony into* 3 TRIBES, *and theſe into* 30 Curiæ. §. IV. *He diſtinguiſhes the people into* PATRICIANS *and* PLEBEIANS, PATRONS *and* CLIENTS. §. V. *He conſtitutes a* SENATE. §. VI. *He appoints himſelf a guard of* 300 *horſemen called* Celeres. §. VII. *He ſettles the reſpective prerogatives of the King, Senate, and People.* §. VIII. *The religious laws of* Romulus. §. IX. *His civil laws.* §. X. *To augment his colony, he opens an aſylum for fugitive ſlaves and outlaws.* §. XI. *The rape of the* Sabine *women.* §. XII. *The* Sabines *endeavour to recover their women by a treaty. In the mean time* Romulus *defeats the* Cœninenſes, *ſlays* Acron *their King in ſingle combat, and decrees himſelf a* TRIUMPH *for his victory. He reduces* Cruſtuminum *and* Antemnæ, *and gains other advantages.* §. XIII. Romulus's *war with the* Sabines. §. XIV. *He concludes a peace with them, and admits* Titus Tatius, *their King, to be his partner on the throne. The followers of* Tatius *are tranſplanted to* Rome, *and become one people with the* Romans. §. XV. Tatius *creates* 100 *new ſenators choſen out of the* Sabines. *The creation of the firſt* ROMAN KNIGHTS. *The feſtival of the* MATRONALIA *inſtituted.* §. XVI. *The death of* Tatius. §. XVII. Romulus *defeats the* Camerini, Fidenates, *and* Veientes. *He renounces the kingdom of* Alba *upon the death of* Numitor. §. XVIII. *The murder of* Romulus *by the Senate, and the artifice of* Julius Proculus *to appeaſe the people.*

§. I. AS *Romulus* had not taken upon him the chief command of the colony for any longer time than while the city was building, he, as ſoon as the work was finiſhed, ſubmitted the form of its future government to the choice of the people. He called the citizens together, and harangu'd them in words to this effect: *If all the ſtrength of cities lay in the height of their ramparts, or depth of their ditches, we ſhould have great reaſon to be in fear for that which we have built. Are there in reality any walls too high to be ſcaled by a valiant enemy? And of what uſe are ramparts in inteſtine diviſions? They may ſerve for a defence againſt* ſudden *incurſions from*

Year of *ROME.* I.

ROMULUS Firſt King.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 77.

Year of ROME I.
ROMULUS First King.

from abroad; but it is by courage and prudence chiefly, that the invaſions of foreign enemies are repell'd, and by unanimity, ſobriety and juſtice, that domeſtic ſeditions are prevented. Cities fortified by the ſtrongeſt bulwarks, have been often ſeen to yield to force from without, or to tumults from within. An exact military diſcipline, and a ſteady obſervance of civil polity, are the ſureſt barriers againſt theſe evils. But there is ſtill another point of great importance to be conſidered. The proſperity of ſome riſing colonies, and the ſpeedy ruin of others, have in a great meaſure been owing to their form of government Was there but one manner of ruling ſtates and cities that could make them happy, the choice would not be difficult. But I have learnt that of the various forms of government among the Greeks *and* Barbarians, *there are three which are highly extoll'd by thoſe who have experienced them; and yet, that no one of theſe is in all reſpects perfect, but each of them has ſome innate and incurable defect. Chuſe you then in what manner this city ſhall be governed; Shall it be by one man? Shall it be by a ſelect number of the wiſeſt among us? Or ſhall the legiſlative power be in the people? As for me, I ſhall ſubmit to whatever form of adminiſtration you ſhall pleaſe to eſtabliſh. As I think myſelf not unworthy to command, ſo neither am I unwilling to obey. Your having choſen me to be the leader of this colony, and your calling the city after my name, are honours ſufficient to content me; honours of which living or dead I can never be deprived.*

Thus ſpake the founder of *Rome*, by the advice of his grandfather *Numitor*; and the people having been accuſtomed to kingly government, and having lived eaſy under it, were in no diſpoſition to try any other; they had likewiſe experienced the courage and capacity of *Romulus*, and therefore when they had conſulted together, they unanimouſly choſe him to be their King.

As the chief religion of theſe times lay in the regard paid to the prognoſticks, which the [a] *Augurs* and *Haruſpices* drew from thunder, lightning, the wind, the flights of birds, or the entrails of beaſts, the Prince elect,

a It may not be improper to ſay ſomething here of the different offices of the *Haruſpices* and *Augurs*, of whom frequent mention will be made in the courſe of this hiſtory. The *Roman Haruſpices* were all taken at firſt from *Hetruria*, where their art had moſt credit. Afterwards young *Romans* were ſent into *Hetruria*, to be there brought up in the ſcience. It conſiſted in foretelling future events, by attending to various circumſtances of the victims. Firſt, it was an ill omen, when the victim would not come to the altar without dragging, when it broke its rope, fled away, avoided the ſtroke, ſtruggled much after it, made a great bellowing, was long a dying, or bled but little. Secondly, preſages were drawn from inſpecting the noble parts of the victim when opened, as the heart, lungs, ſpleen, and eſpecially the liver. If all theſe were ſound, if the top of the liver was large and well made, and if its fibres were ſtrong, it preſaged well for the affair in queſtion. Thirdly, Knowledge was alſo drawn by the *Haruſpices* from the manner in which the fire conſumed the victim. If the flame brightened immediately, was pure and clear, roſe up in a pyramid without noiſe, and did not go out till the victim was conſumed; theſe were happy ſigns. Fourthly, The ſmoke likewiſe was conſidered; whether it whirled about in curls, or ſpread itſelf to the right or left, or gave a ſmell different from the common one of broil'd meat. Fifthly, It was a lucky omen, if the incenſe they burned melted all at once, and gave a moſt agreeable ſmell.

The *Augurs* or *Auſpices* were very different from

elect, before he aſcended the throne, would needs conſult the will of the Gods by augury. 'Tis ſaid, that when he had offered ſacrifice in an open place, a flaſh of lightning gleamed from the left, a lucky omen, according to the augural divinity. Be that as it will, it became a cuſtom eſtabliſhed by an expreſs law of *Romulus*, not to raiſe any perſon to the royal dignity, the prieſthood, or any of the publick magiſtracies, nor to undertake any war, till the Auſpices had been firſt conſulted; and this practice laſted above 700 years. For tho' it owed its origin to nothing but the ignorance of thoſe early ages, the prieſts and ſacrificers perſuading the people, that in the flights of birds, and the entrails of beaſts, they could plainly read the deſtinies of men, yet in proceſs of time, it became one of the chief myſteries of ſtate policy, as there will be frequent occaſion to obſerve in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Year of ROME I.

ROMULUS Firſt King.

D. Hal. p. 78.

Cic. l. 3. *de Leg.*

Cic. l. 31. *de Nat. Deor.*

§. II. *Romulus* being thus declared King of *Rome* by the voices of the people,

Livy, B. 1.

from the *Haruſpices*. *Romulus*, who was himſelf skilled in their art, firſt eſtabliſhed them at *Rome*. There were only three in his time, one to each *Tribe*. *Servius Tullius*, who added a fourth *Tribe*, is alſo ſaid to have added a fourth *Augur*. But their college (for ſo it was called) was afterwards increaſed to 15, under a head, or *Maſter of the Augurs*. Their offices, comprized in the augural law, which we find in *Tully's ſecond book of Divination*, were theſe. They were the interpreters of the will of the Gods, with reſpect to the making war and peace. And according to the divinity of that time, all were obliged to obey them, in ſo important an article. They drew their predictions from the different ſigns, which they ſaid appeared in the air, and upon the earth. Thus what they pronounced to be contrary to the intentions of heaven, was deem'd unlawful; and it was capital to act contrary to their deciſions. They likewiſe appointed the expiations they thought neceſſary, on account of the ſigns the Gods ſeemed to give of their anger. And from hence it appears how powerful they were in the *Roman* ſtate; ſince by pronouncing any affair, any aſſembly of the *Comitia*, election of magiſtrates, war or peace, to be diſagreeable to the Gods, they prevented them. They pretended to make theſe diſcoveries of the will of the Gods ſeveral ways. Firſt, By the flight, or chirping of birds. Secondly, By thunder or lightning. Thirdly, By the ſetting of the wind. Fourthly, By the hunger and different poſtures of chickens which were bred up in cages on purpoſe for the *Augur*'s uſe, and were carried about in the *Roman* armies. When the Augur, in the execution of his office, was to obſerve the heavens, he went up upon ſome high place; took the augural ſtaff (which was a ſort of croſier, bent at one end) in his hand, and mark'd out the four quarters of the heavens with it. Then he turn'd to the eaſt, having the weſt behind him, the ſouth to his right, and north to his left; and this is what the *Romans* called, *Servare de cœlo*. In this ſituation he waited for a ſign, whether it were given by thunder, birds, or the wind. Firſt, as to thunder; when it was heard to the left, when the lightning came from the eaſt, and was driven back by the wind to the ſame point, without darting forward to the weſt; when it did not upon the falling ſtrike into the earth, but rebound towards heaven: theſe were happy preſages. Secondly, as to birds: ravens, owls, and ſuch like, were thought to preſage things by their croaking and ſcreeching; but eagles, vulturs, and eſpecially wood-peckers, by their flying, which they obſerved whether it was from the right to the left, or from the left to the right. Thirdly, as to the wind; its changes were obſerved, eſpecially if ſudden. When theſe ſorts of ſigns fail'd, they had recourſe to the chickens, bred in cages, for this purpoſe. Betimes in the morning, the augur that was make the obſervation, called from thence *Pullarius* (tho' perhaps the keeper of the chickens had rather that name) in the firſt place commanding a general ſilence, ordered the pen to be opened, and threw down a handful of crumbs or corn. If the chickens did not immediately run fluttering to the meat; if they ſcattered it with their wings; if they went by without taking notice of it, or if they flew away, the omen was reckoned unfortunate,

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ROMULUS First King.

people, and with the approbation of the Gods, immediately put on a habit of diſtinction, to give himſelf a greater air of majeſty. He alſo appointed twelve lictors or ſerjeants to attend him whenever he ſhould appear in publick, each of them bearing a battle-ax ſtuck in a bundle of rods, which was then the uſual ſymbol of ſovereignty in the petty ſtates of [a] *Hetruria*. But notwithſtanding theſe enſigns of royalty, his power was confined within very narrow limits. For the form of government eſtabliſhed by the *Romans* was, as we ſhall preſently ſee, a kind of mixt monarchy, the ſovereignty being divided between a Head or Prince of the nation, a ſenate that was to be his council, and the aſſembly of the people.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 76. *Romulus* having numbered the citizens of *Rome*, found them to be about 3000 foot, and 300 horſe. He divided them into three equal parts, which were called Tribes or *Thirds*, each being commanded by its Præfect or Tribune.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

B. 2. p. 80. Theſe tribes he divided into ten *Curiæ* or companies of a 100 [b] men, each company commanded by an officer, whom *Dionyſius* calls *Curio*.

Again, the thirty *Curiæ* were each ſubdivided into ten *Decuriæ*: over which were appointed diſtinct officers, named *Decuriones*.

Strabo B. 5. p. 351. As *Rome* had at firſt no lands belonging to her, but what ſhe got by ceſſion from the city of *Alba*, her territory was very ſmall, not above five or ſix miles in extent. *Romulus* nevertheleſs ſhared it into three parts,

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 80. but not equal. One was conſecrated to the expences of religious worſhip, another reſerved for the King's revenue and the uſes of the ſtate, and the third and moſt conſiderable was divided into thirty portions, to anſwer to the thirty *Curiæ*.

The next thing which *Romulus* did, was to diſtinguiſh thoſe of the people who were better born, more rich or more eminent for virtue, from the poorer and more ignoble. The former he called [c] *Patricians*, the latter *Plebeians*. All civil and military dignities, and eſpecially thoſe of the prieſthood, were to belong to the former, excluſive of the latter.

nate, and to portend nothing but danger or miſchance: but if they leapt preſently out of the pen, and fell to ſo greedily as to let ſome of their meat drop out of their mouths upon the pavement, there was all the aſſurance in the world of happineſs and ſucceſs This augury was called *tripudium quaſi terripavium*, the old word *pavire* ſignifying as much as *ferire*. We meet with *tripudium Soliſtimum* and *tripudium Sonivium* in *Feſtus*, both derived from the crumbs falling to the ground. The Augurs had ſeveral other ways of diving into futurity.

[a] *Livy* thinks, that not only the lictors, and the number of them, were taken from the *Hetrurians* (who inhabited the country now called *Tuſcany*) but alſo the *Sella curulis*, and the *Toga Prætexta*

[b] *Dionyſius* ſeems here to differ from *Polybius* and *Varro*. Theſe tell us, that this diviſion took place among the ſquadrons of horſe called *Turmæ*; which has made *Grævius* ſay, p. 7. *of the præf. to* 1 vol. *of Rom. Antiq.* that *D. Hal.* is miſtaken. Nevertheleſs we cannot draw thence a deciſive proof againſt the *Greek* hiſtorian. What was done in later times, with reſpect to the cavalry, does not contradict the order *Romulus* at firſt eſtabliſh'd in the *Curiæ*.

[c] *Dionyſius* (in this place) ſays Πατρίκας, Fathers; but this title ſeems to have properly belonged to the ſenators only; he himſelf telling us (page 83.) that the ſenators were choſen out of the *Patricians*, which ſuppoſes the diſtinction of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, before the election of the Senators or Patres. *D. Hal.* p. 81, 108.

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But to prevent the ſeditions which ſuch a diſtinction might produce through the pride of the higher order, and the envy of the lower, he endeavoured to engage them to one another by reciprocal ties and obligations. Every *Plebeian* was allowed to chooſe, out of the body of the *Patricians*, a Protector, who was obliged to aſſiſt him with his intereſt and ſubſtance, and defend him from oppreſſion. Theſe Protectors were ſtyled [a] *Patrons*; the protected, *Clients*. It was the duty of the *Patron* to draw up the contracts of his *Clients*; to extricate them out of their difficulties and perplexities, and to guard their ignorance againſt the artfulneſs of the crafty. On the other hand, if the *Patron* was not rich, his *Clients* were obliged to contribute to the portions of his daughters, the payment of his debts, and the ranſom of him or his children, if they happen'd to be taken in war. The *Client* and *Patron* could neither accuſe, nor bear witneſs againſt each other; and if either of them was convicted of having violated this law, the crime was equal to that of treaſon, and any one might with impunity ſlay the offender, as a victim devoted to *Pluto* and the infernal Gods. For more than 600 years, we find no diſſentions nor jealouſies between the *Patrons* and their *Clients*, not even in the times of the Republick, when the people frequently mutiny'd againſt the great and powerful.

§. V. THE eſtabliſhment of a [b] SENATE to aſſiſt the King in the adminiſtration, ſucceeded the inſtitution of the patronage. *Romulus* compoſed it of a hundred men choſen out of the *Patricians*; but the choice was not made by the King himſelf; [c] he named only the firſt, who was to be chief Governour of the city, whenever the King ſhould be in the field; then each tribe elected three, after which each of the thirty *Curiæ* choſe three, which compleated the number of a hundred Senators. They were called *Patres*, [Fathers] either upon account of their age, or their fatherly care of their fellow citizens. "Thoſe who antiently compoſed the

D. Hal. B. 2. P. 83.

[a] Mr. *Vertot* quoting only *Dion. Hal.* makes the *Patrons* to be choſen out of the body of the Senate, yet *Dion. Hal.* ſays, out of the *Patricians*, and he mentions the inſtitution of the patronage before the creation of the Senate: and *Plutarch* affirms, that the *Patrons* were taken from the wealthier ſort, who were not of the Senate.

According to *Plutarch*, the word *Patron* comes originally from one *Patro*, an *Arcadian*, a companion of *Evander*. He was a man very aſſiſtant to the defenceleſs, and a protector of the poor. Be that as it will, the inhabitants of *Rome* were not the only perſons who had their *Patrons*. The colonies, and other cities allied to, or conquered by the *Romans*, had afterwards their *Patrons* alſo at *Rome*. The only alteration in the *Patronage*, as inſtituted by *Romulus*, was of the cuſtom of the *Clients* ſometimes parting with their goods in favour of their *Patrons*. The *Romans* thought it unworthy of them to ſell their protection. Of this *Plutarch* aſſures us.

[b] *Plutarch* ſays, that *Romulus* ſtiled his hundred Counſellors, *Patricians*, and the whole body of them the Senate, which ſignifies properly (ſays he) a conſiſtory of old men. He adds, ſome ſay the *Patricians* were ſo called, becauſe they were the fathers of legitimate children; others, becauſe they could tell who their fathers were, which every one of the rabble that poured into the city could not do; others from the word *Patrocinium*, Patronage, becauſe they were the defenders of the poor and weak, but he ſeems to think it moſt probable, that they were ſo ſtiled from the peoples calling them and eſteeming them as *Patres* or Fathers, on account of their being ſo protected by them.

[c] *Livy*, B. 1. §. 8. aſcribes the choice of all the Senators to *Romulus*.

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"council of the Republick (ſays *Salluſt*) had indeed bodies enfeebled by "years, but their minds were ſtrengthen'd by wiſdom and experience." Their deſcendants, to whom alone ſome appropriate the name of *Patricians*, were the prime Nobility among the *Romans*.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 83.

§. VI. THE Senate being thus eſtabliſhed, *Romulus* ordered a draught to be made out of each *Curia*, of ten horſemen, the whole number amounting to three hundred. Theſe were called *Celeres*, either from their firſt captain, whoſe name was *Celer*, or elſe upon account of their *celerity* or ſwiftneſs, becauſe of the expedition with which they executed the orders they received. *Romulus* made them his guard. They fought on foot or on horſeback, according as the occaſion required, or the ground would allow [a].

§. VII. *ROMULUS* after this immediately proceeded to ſettle the reſpective powers and privileges of the King, Senate, and People.

p. 84. The KING was to be in all religious affairs ſupreme; he was to be the guardian of the laws and cuſtoms, to take cognizance of the weightier cauſes between man and man, referring thoſe of leſs moment to the Senate, upon whoſe decrees he had nevertheleſs a controul. It belonged to the King to convene the Senate and the aſſemblies of the people, propoſe affairs to them, give his own opinion firſt, and then do what was concluded upon by the majority. He was alſo to command the army in time of war with abſolute authority, and he had the care of the publick money [b].

p. 85. The SENATE were not only to be judges in private cauſes, but to deliberate upon ſuch publick affairs as the King propoſed, and to determine by the plurality of voices.

Ibid. To the ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE three things were committed; to create magiſtrates, make laws, and reſolve upon any war that was propoſed by the King; yet in all theſe things the Senate's approbation was neceſſary.

Ibid. The people for many years gave their voices by *Curiæ*, in which every private man had his vote. The majority of votes in each *Curia* determined the ſenſe of that *Curia*, and what the major part of the 30 *Curiæ* agreed

[a] Thus far *Dion. Hal.* concerning the *Celeres*. M. *Vertot* adds, that the ſtate found each of them a horſe (*Equus*) from which they were called *Equites*, and that they were diſtinguiſhed by a gold Ring, and thus he makes theſe *Celeres* or life-guards the firſt *Roman* Knights, and ſpeaks of them as a kind of middle order, between the *Patricians* and the people. But *Dion. Hal.* tho' he mentions the forming of this Life-guard, immediately after the creation of the Senate, he ſays nothing of the Ring, nor of any of thoſe marks by which the Equeſtrian Order was afterwards diſtinguiſhed from other *Plebeians*. And *Livy* does not mention the creation of any Knights till the union of the *Romans* and *Sabines*. He ſeems to think, that the *Celeres* or life-guard which *Romulus* kept in pay in time of peace as well as war, were not formed till towards the end of his reign, when he affected deſpotiſm and tyranny. *Plutarch* ſeems alſo of that opinion.

[b] M. *Vertot* ſays (p. 6. Tom. 1.) that he directed the diſpoſal of the publick money which was under the care of two treaſurers, afterwards called *Quæſtors*; but I do not find this in the authors cited by him, and it ſeems not well to agree with what he himſelf ſays (p. 59.) of the inſtitution of two treaſurers in the time of *Poplicola*; till then the Kings or Conſuls ſeem to have had the keeping of the publick treaſure. See the Conſulſhip of *Poplicola* in this hiſtory.

to, was deemed the reſolution of the whole aſſembly, which aſſembly was therefore called *Comitia Curiata.* Year of ROME I. ROMULUS First King.

Such was the fundamental conſtitution of this ſtate, neither purely monarchical, nor entirely republican; the King, the Senate and the People, were in a ſort of mutual dependence on each other, from whence reſulted a ballance of power, whereby the Regal Prerogative was reſtrained, a uſeful authority preſerved to the Nobles, and the liberty of the People ſecured.

§. VIII. *ROMULUS* conſidering that the happineſs of ſtates depended upon the favour of the Gods, which was only to be obtained by the piety and virtue of the people, proceeded to the eſtabliſhment of religious and civil laws.

With reſpect to RELIGION, *Romulus* did not give it all that form in which it was afterwards modell'd: he only regulated the worſhip of thoſe Divinities which *Evander* had introduced, of thoſe which *Æneas* had brought from *Phrygia*, and of thoſe which the *Aborigines* had honoured in their time. He neither introduced the infamous fables of the *Greek* Divinities into the publick faith, nor ſuffered any licentious ceremonies in the publick worſhip. He appointed that every *Curia* ſhould have its own temple [a] (which was itſelf called *Curia*) and its peculiar God and Prieſt; that the people ſhould aſſemble on certain ſtated days, in *Cænacula* or publick halls built for that purpoſe, each of which was conſecrated to its particular Deity, and that they ſhould there feaſt in common upon the victims offered to the Gods. *Romulus* likewiſe eſtabliſhed feſtivals, whereby religion became an eaſe and relief to a laborious people. *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 88.

The miniſters of the Gods were to be at leaſt 50 years old, and none but their wives could perform the functions of prieſteſſes. Their ſons, to the age of *puberty*, were to wait at the altars, and their daughters ſo long as they continued virgins. The girls were called *Camillæ*, the boys *Camilli*. When a prieſt had no children of his own, he might chuſe the handſomeſt children in his *Curia* to attend him in the ſacrifices. To the ſacerdotal families were granted diſtinguiſhing privileges. The laws exempted them from paying taxes, and from bearing arms. As the Prieſt's office was for life, it excited the ambition of many; but *Romulus* forbad all intriguing and caballing to obtain it, as alſo the purchaſing it with money, and the truſting it to the hazard of lots. He left to the *Curiæ* the free choice of their Prieſts; and as theſe miniſters of religion were laid under an obligation of being well acquainted with the laws and cuſtoms of their country, and of recording the principal events that happened in the ſtate, they were its firſt hiſtorians and firſt lawyers. *Cic.* B. 2. *de Orat.*

§. IX. AS to the civil laws of *Romulus*, we have only ſome few fragments of them remaining. The firſt relates to marriages; it decrees that the wife ſhall not leave her huſband upon any pretence whatſoever, at the ſame time that it allows the huſband to put away his wife [a], and even to

[a] The Prieſt who preſided over the ſacrifices in it was called *Curio*; whence, without doubt, came the word *Curate*.

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punish her with death (her relations concurring in the sentence) in case she were convicted of adultery, poisoning, making false keys, or only of drinking wine [b]. *Romulus* thought it necessary to be thus severe in the article of wine, in order to prevent adultery, which he looked upon as a second drunkenness, and a natural effect of that dangerous liquor. Each husband was confined to one wife, and their [c] goods were in common between them, but under the administration of the husband. The wife was declared universal heiress [d] to her husband, if he died intestate, and without children; but if he had children by her, they were to be equal sharers with her in the inheritance. It is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the power given to husbands to put away their wives, there was no instance of a divorce among the *Romans* for 520 years.

A. Gellius, C. 23.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 92.

Nothing ever equalled the severity of the law which *Romulus* made in relation to children. He gave their fathers an absolute power over them. A father by his own private authority could imprison his children, put them

[a] *Plutarch* in his Life of *Romulus*, says, that if the husband put away his wife for any other cause, but for poisoning his children, counterfeiting his keys, or adultery, he was to give one moiety of his goods to his wife, and consecrate the other to *Ceres*.

[b] This law was so severely observed, that, according to *Valerius Maximus*, B. 6. *de Severitate*, *Egnatius Metellus*, who caught his wife drinking wine, and killed her upon the spot, was neither brought to a trial, nor censured for it: And *Fabius Pictor* mentions another woman whom her relations starved to death, for having broke open the chest in which were the keys of the cellar. *Aulus Gellius* and *Pliny* likewise assure us, that in consequence of this law, it was customary at *Rome* for the ladies to be saluted by their near relations whenever they met them, not so much out of civility and friendship, as to find out by their breath whether they had been drinking wine. But in process of time, the severity of this law was somewhat abated. Women who had drunk wine, were only condemned to lose their portions.

[c] This community of goods was thus expressed in the marriage ceremonies: The persons to be married came to a sacrifice, in presence of ten witnesses; and the priest, among other offerings presented a wheat loaf, and scattered pieces of it over the victim. This was to shew that bread, the symbol of all other goods, should for the future be in common between the husband and wife; and this rite was called *confarreatio*. Hence it is said in *Romulus*'s law, *Uxor farreatione viro juncta, in sacra & bona ejus venito*. It appears likewise by the same law, that the wife, upon marriage, professed the same Gods, and the same worship with her husband; both as to the household Gods of each family, and the respective God of each *Curia*. The law adds, *jus devortendi ne esto*, *i. e.* let not the husband have an absolute and unlimited power of *divorcing* his wife. This is the strict meaning of *devortendi*; but it is also sometimes used to signify a power of refusing to accept the person who had only been betrothed.

[d] This is what *D. Hal.* says of the wife's interest (in *Romulus*'s time) in the husband's effects after his decease. But this law is not among those of *Romulus*, which now remain. There were two sorts of marriages among the *Romans:* The first was to marry their wives without any other covenant but that of keeping them in their houses. But these were not truly wives, till they had continued with their husbands a whole year, without three days interruption: And this was called *a marriage by use*, *usu*. The other way was, to marry a woman after marriage-covenants had been made; and this was called *a marriage by mutual sale*, *ex coemptione*. In this case the woman gave her husband three pieces of money called *Asses*, to express that she purchased of him a right of sharing in his goods; and the husband gave the wife the keys of the house, to shew he committed to her the care of the family. These latter only were called *mothers of families*, *matres-familias*; and it is probable that they only were sole heiresses to their husbands.

to

to death, and even ſell them for ſlaves three times over, of whatever age they were, or to whatever dignity they had arrived [a]. Year of *ROME* I.

Plutarch obſerves it as a ſingular thing in *Romulus*, that calling all murder parricide, he ordained no puniſhment for real parricide, believing it an impoſſible crime, and indeed, for near 600 years, it was not once known in *Rome*. ROMULUS Firſt King.

By another law of *Romulus*, who knew that the power of a ſtate conſiſts not ſo much in the extent of its territory, as in the number of its people, it was made criminal to kill an enemy who yielded, or ſo much as to ſell him. His chief view in making war, was to conquer men, being ſure of not wanting lands, if he did not want troops. *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 86.

As this Prince was of opinion, that the ſedentary arts and occupations emaſculate men's minds, and enervate their bodies, he permitted none but ſtrangers or ſlaves to be employ'd in them. He confined the citizens to the two profeſſions of war and agriculture; and conſidering the ill conſequences that might ariſe from dividing the employments, he made every *Roman* of free condition exerciſe both. p. 95.

§. X. THUS was the colony ſettled; and the form of its government, and the wiſdom of its laws, attracted ſtrangers to *Rome* from all parts. But what contributed moſt to people the city, was an aſylum or ſanctuary of refuge, which *Romulus* opened for runaway ſlaves, homicides, outlaws, and perſons plunged in debt. Nor was the appearance of religion wanting to cover the King's policy. This ſanctuary was dedicated to a new ſort of Divinity, called the *Aſylæan* God, under whoſe protection all ſorts of criminals and diſcontented perſons who fled from their own countries to *Rome* were to live ſecurely. *Romulus* made them all ſoldiers, and *Rome* in a little time became formidable to her neighbours. The *Romans* wanted nothing but women to ſecure the duration of their ſtate. The King therefore ſent Deputies to the *Sabines* [b], and the other neighbouring nations, to propoſe alliances with them by marriages of their daughters with his *Romans*. He repreſented to them, that new colonies were not always contemptible, and that the Gods had hitherto ſhewn favour enough to *Rome*, to make it no diſhonour to enter into alliances with her. But as the *Sabines* had begun to look upon *Romulus*'s new ſettlement with a jealous eye, they abſolutely rejected his propoſal, and ſome of them added raillery to the refuſal, aſking the deputies why their Prince did not open an aſylum for vagrant women, and ſlaves of that ſex, as he had

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Livy B. 1. §. 8. *Plut.*

Year of *ROME* III and IV.

Livy, B. 1. §. 9.

[a] In caſe a child was born with any monſtrous deformity, the father might make away with it; but if it was a ſon, or an eldeſt daughter, he was firſt to adviſe with five of his neighbours; if he did not obſerve this rule, the half of his goods were confiſcated to the publick uſe. *Inſtit. Juſtin.* B. 1.

[b] The *Sabines* poſſeſſed that part of *Italy* which lies between the *Tiber*, the *Teverone*, and the *Apennines*. They inhabited divers little towns, ſome of which were governed by petty Princes, and others only by magiſtrates, and in form of a republick; but tho' their particular governments were different, they were all united by a kind of league and community which formed the ſeveral ſocieties of that nation into one ſtate. The *Sabines* were ſome of the neareſt neighbours to *Rome*.

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done for men: your people then, ſaid they, will be well matched; a pack of vagabond and looſe women will make the fitteſt wives for a crew of fugitives loaded with crimes or debts..

§. XI. WHEN this inſulting anſwer was brought to *Rome*, *Romulus* heard it with the quickeſt reſentment, reſolving to be revenged, and to take away the daughters of the *Sabines* by force. He communicated his deſign to the Senate, and had their approbation of it. The only queſtion was, how to ſucceed in the enterprize. It happened, or ſo it was pretended, that as workmen were digging in a field near *Rome*, they found a ſubterraneous altar dedicated to the God *Conſus*, or the God of council, who is the ſame with *Neptune the Creator of the Horſe* [a]. The diſcovery of this altar furniſh'd *Romulus* with a pretext to proclaim a feſtival and publick ſports in honour of the God. He notify'd the day he had fixed for theſe games [b] in the neighbouring towns, and made all the pompous preparations for them, that the poverty of his colony would admit.

Livy.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

Thoſe of the *Sabines* who lay neareſt to *Rome*, flock'd thither in crowds upon the day appointed for the ſolemnity, as *Romulus* had foreſeen they would; no ſmall numbers came alſo from the little towns of *Cænina*, *Cruſtumerium*, and *Antemnæ*. The ſtrangers were received by the *Romans* with great demonſtrations of joy. Every citizen had his gueſt, whom, when he had treated him in the beſt manner he could, he conducted and placed where he might conveniently ſee the ſports. The peace and harmony that continued for ſome days [c], lull'd the ſtrangers into ſecurity; for the *Romans* did not put their enterprize in execution till the laſt day of the feſtival. They had received orders to come armed that day, but to conceal their arms under their cloaths. When the multitude were moſt attentive to the ſhow, *Romulus*, who preſided at it in a ſtriped robe called *Trabea* [d], riſing from his ſeat, gathered up his robe, and threw it over his body. This was the ſignal agreed upon. Inſtantly the *Romans* drawing their

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 96.

Plut. Life of *Rom.*

[a] See page 6.

[b] As to the nature of theſe games, it is probable they chiefly conſiſted of races, wreſtling, and the like, ſince this was the manner that afterwards prevailed of celebrating the *Conſualia*, which were perpetuated at *Rome* in memory of this firſt ſhow given by *Romulus*, and according to *Plutarch*, annually obſerved on the 18th of *Auguſt*, becauſe the rape of the *Sabines* was on that day.

[c] The feſtival began in the beginning of the month *Sextilis*, and did not end till the 20th reckoning from *March*, which was the firſt month of the year in *Romulus*'s calendar, the 6th month was *Auguſt*, which was for that reaſon called *Sextilis*, even after the regulations made by *Numa Pompilius* and *Julius Cæſar*.

[d] The learned have wearied themſelves with enquiries about the habits of the ancient *Romans*, eſpecially the *Trabea*. All things conſidered, *Dion. Hal.* and other ancient authors, incline one to believe it was very like the *Toga*; with this difference, that it was adorned with ſtripes of purple, at due diſtances, on a white ground. This was the ordinary habit of the Kings of *Rome*: and it will hereafter appear, that the chief magiſtrates of the republick, and the *Roman* Knights, appeared in it, on certain days of ceremony. But there was likewiſe another ſort of *Trabea*, worn only by the *Augurs*; of which more in its place.

ſwords,

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ſwords, ruſh'd in among the ſtrangers, and ſeiz'd their daughters. The men being unarmed and frighted, ran away, and the *Romans* who had no deſign of ſhedding blood, let the fathers and mothers depart in ſafety. In the hurry of the action, ſome *Romans* of diſtinction perceiving a body of their people carrying off a young woman of ſingular beauty, envy'd them ſo fine a prey, and attempting to take her from them, the latter cried out *Thalaſſio, Thalaſſio,* meaning that the young perſon was deſigned for *Thalaſſius*[a], a brave and worthy *Roman,* much eſteemed in the colony; and hence it was, that the crying out *Thalaſſio* became cuſtomary at *Rome* in the marriage ceremony, as *Hymen* and *Hymenæe* prevailed among the *Greeks.* *Plut.* *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 96.

As this violence had been dictated by publick neceſſity, rather than brutal paſſion, *Romulus*'s orders are ſaid to have been obſerved with great exactneſs; he had forbid any further attempts upon the women, till marriages ſhould be ſolemnized in form. For this purpoſe he commanded the *Sabine* virgins (for they were all called *Sabine,* becauſe the greater number was of that nation) to be brought into his preſence the next day. They were by this time a little recovered from their fright, and the King comforted them under the loſs of their relations by words to this effect:

"The *Romans* have not uſed this violence with an intention to diſhonour, but to marry you; ſuch methods of procuring wives are antient in *Greece,* and, to women, more honourable than any other. Soften therefore the fierceneſs of your anger, impute our offence to your own fathers, who ſcornfully rejected our civil requeſts, and ſurrender your hearts to thoſe men to whom fortune has given poſſeſſion of your perſons. Wrongs and injuries are often the forerunners of love and friendſhip; you will find your huſbands behave themſelves with ſo tender an affection, as ſhall leave you no cauſe to regret the loſs either of your parents or your country." To theſe words of the King the young men added careſſes and flatteries, pleading violent love in excuſe of their fault; of all pleas, ſays *Livy,* the moſt eaſily admitted by womankind. *Livy,* B. 1. §. 9.

After this, *Romulus* without delay married the women to his *Romans* by the ſame form, which was ever after uſed in marriages, *Partake ye of your husband's fire and water*[b]: and it was not long before they experienced the

[a] This is the opinion of *Livy* and *Plutarch. Varro,* as quoted by *Sex. Pompeius,* differs from them. He thinks the word *Thalaſſio* antiently ſignified thoſe little baſkets in which the ladies put their work to this day. As the *Sabine* virgins would not afterwards give themſelves voluntarily to the *Romans,* but on condition that they ſhould only be obliged to work in wool, they carried little baſkets to their huſbands houſes, on the day of marriage, to put their work in. Others ſay, *Thalaſſio* was the word *Romulus* had agreed to pronounce, when the *Romans* were to begin the rape. And indeed this cry ſuited very well with the God of the ſea, whoſe feſtival they then celebrated: And therefore the poets always give him the ſurname of *Thalaſſios. Ariſtophanes* ſpeaking of *Neptune,* calls him Θαλάσσιος Ποσειδὼν.

[b] It is an antient hiſtorical tradition, that the

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the truth of what *Romulus* had foretold them. The merit and fondneſs of their huſbands made them forget their native country and their father's houſes.

As to the number of theſe *Sabine* women, ſome hiſtorians make them to have been 683, others 527, and others reduce them to 30 only, deriving the word *Curia* from *Cures*, the name of the town of which the women were for the moſt part natives, but no eminent hiſtorian is of this opinion.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 97. *Plut.*

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 106.

But whatever was their number, it is agreed, that among them all, there was only one married woman; whoſe name was *Herſilia*. She either was miſtaken for a Virgin, or, as ſome ſay, would not leave her only Daughter. One *Greek* hiſtorian, mentioned by *Plutarch*, ſays, that *Romulus* made her his wife, and had a daughter by her, named *Prima*, becauſe ſhe was his firſt child, and a ſon named *Abilius*. But other writers contend, that *Herſilia* was married to a noble *Roman* named *Hoſtus*, and that *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King of *Rome* deſcended from her.

p. 131. Year of ROME V.

§. XII. THE *Sabines* are held by ſome to have been a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*, tranſplanted into *Italy*; and it is not improbable. At leaſt the moderation, wiſdom, and frugality of theſe two nations, gave them a great reſemblance to each other. Their ſtate was a pretty extenſive one, if compared with the little neighbouring ſovereignties; but the people lived moſtly in villages that were open on all ſides, or only encloſed with paliſades. And therefore, tho' their courage excited them to revenge the affront they had received in the perſons of their daughters; yet their prudence made them ſeek to repair their honour by a treaty, before they would run the hazard of a war. They ſent to demand the reſtoration of their daughters, promiſing on that condition to enter into a friendly and neighbourly alliance with the *Romans*. But *Romulus* was inflexible. He on his part demanded, that the *Sabines* ſhould confirm the marriages of his *Romans*, which were made indeed by violence, but a violence that was become neceſſary. Whilſt the treaty, which went on ſlowly, ſuſpended hoſtilities on both ſides, *Acron*, whom the hiſtorians call King [a] of *Cænina*, prevented the *Sabines*,

the brides never ſtepped upon the threſhold, when they went into their huſbands houſes. They were held up to prevent it.

Turritâque premens frontem matrona coronâ
Tranſiatâ vitat contingere limina plantâ.
Pharſ. B. 2.

Varro indeed contends, that it was out of reſpect to this part of the houſe which was conſecrated to *Veſta*: but *Plutarch* ſays, it was to ſhew, that the firſt marriages were made by rapes. And from hence, ſay ſome authors, comes the cuſtom of parting the Hair of the new married women with the point of a lance. This was intended to ſhew, that iron and violence gave the firſt *Romans* their wives: and the truth of this cuſtom ſeems to be confirmed by *Ovid*, in theſe words,

Comat virgineas haſta recurva comas.

[a] *Cænina* was ſituated on the confines of *Latium* and *Sabinia*. *Plutarch* and *Stephens* make it a city of the *Sabines*; but the authority of *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Feſtus*, who think this a city of antient *Latium*, is againſt them. *Cluverius* thinks, that *Cænina* was on this ſide the *Anio*, four miles from *Rome*. *Holſtenius* places it beyond that river, in the neighbourhood of *Monticelli*.

and

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and took the field before them. He was a man of valour, and had ſignalized himſelf in many battles. He thought the neighbourhood of the *Romans*, which had given him jealouſy from their firſt eſtabliſhment, was now indeed become formidable ſince the audacious Rape committed upon the *Sabine* women, and that it was neceſſary to cruſh, in its infancy, a colony which otherwiſe would increaſe in ſtrength as it grew in age: And for this reaſon he ſollicited the *Sabines*, as alſo the inhabitants of [a] *Cruſtumerium* and *Antemnæ*, to join their forces with his. Their ſlowneſs made him impatient. He imagined he could, without their help, ſubdue a handful of Men, got together in a city newly founded, and very little fortified: But the march of his army had more the air of an incurſion of robbers, than of a regular expedition. The *Cæninenſes* having ravaged the lands of the *Romans*, *Romulus* did not confine himſelf within his walls: He inſtantly marched out againſt the enemy, and joined battle with them in the open field, where the *Romans* fought for every thing that was dear to them, and even for the hopes of poſterity. In the heroic times it had been a common cuſtom, and it was not yet aboliſhed, for the two commanders in the heat of an engagement mutually to provoke each other with their eyes and voices to ſingle combat: Upon which the Armies opened, and left a ſpace where their leaders were to fight. *Romulus* and *Acron* challenged each other, and on this occaſion the former made a vow to *Jupiter*, that if he came off Conqueror, he would erect a *trophy* [b] to him of the ſpoils of the conquered. As impreſſions of religion frequently exalt a man's courage, the young King performed the hero ſo well, that he ſlew his enemy, an experienced warriour, and ſtripped him of his armour. The death of *Acron* was followed by the rout of the *Cæninenſes*; and *Romulus* purſued them to their town, which they had of late ſlightly fortified. The *Romans* enter'd it with the fugitives, and took it without oppoſition. And then did the Conqueror give a ſignal proof both of his moderation and his good policy. He ſpared the blood of the conquered, and contented himſelf with [c] razing *Cænina*, and carrying the inhabitants

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 98.

Plutarch.

[a] *Cruſtumerium* and *Antemnæ*, were either ſubject to, or in the neighbourhood of *Sabinia*. Some geographers think the former was ſituated near the place where *Marcigliano Vecchio* now ſtands. They place the latter upon the *Tyber*, almoſt between the *Tiburtine* and *Nomantine* ways. But it is uncertain where they ſtood. *Plutarch* ſays, that *Fidenæ* made a league with *Cruſtumerium* and *Antemnæ*, againſt the *Romans*.

[b] The uſe of trophies, eſpecially among the *Greeks*, is immemorial. It was cuſtomary to erect them upon the field of battle. The ancient trophies conſiſted of a poſt, a ſtake, or a trunk of a tree dreſſed up with the ſpoils of the enemy. The figures of them are to be ſeen on ſeveral medals, which were ſtruck after the gaining of great and important victories. In after-times, conquerors erected pillars of braſs, or marble, or ſtone, and towers, and triumphal arches, with inſcriptions to perpetuate the memory of their victories. But according to *Plutarch*, in his *Roman queſtions*, thoſe who firſt made uſe of marble and braſs for trophies, were abhorred, becauſe, ſays he, it ſeemed inhuman to tranſmit the ſhame and misfortunes of people to future ages: and he adds, that in conſequence of this, they would not ſuffer the triumphal arches to be repaired. Theſe monuments were generally dedicated to ſome divinity.

[c] If we may believe *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Romulus* preſerved the city, and gave the

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ROMULUS First King.

inhabitants to *Rome*, to augment his colony: And the eſtabliſhment he gave them, upon the ſame foot with his firſt citizens, was a rule of conduct from which he never after departed on the like occaſions. And now, either out of oſtentation, or to animate his people with an ardent love of glory, he celebrated his victory with a new kind of pomp. He decreed himſelf the honours of a *triumph* [a]; for ſo was called the reception given to Generals at their return from ſucceſsful expeditions. Nor is it improbable, that this example of *Romulus*'s triumph, excited the emulation of ſucceeding commanders, and contributed as much as any thing to the conqueſt of the world: But the preparations for this ceremony were ſuitable to the poverty of the *Romans* in thoſe days: *Romulus* did not ride in a chariot, but entered *Rome* on foot[b], with his troops marching ſome before and ſome after him. His long hair flowed upon his ſhoulders, and his head was crowned with lawrel. He had fixed the ſpoils of *Acron* to the trunk of a ſmall oak, and covered it with them. This trophy repreſented a man armed, which the King carried in triumph on his right ſhoulder. All the people came out of the city to meet the conqueror, ſinging his praiſes; and lined the road on both ſides. As ſoon as he enter'd *Rome*, they preſented him wine, and ſpread tables before the houſes, for thoſe of the ſoldiers who had a mind to refreſh themſelves. *Romulus* proceeded in the ſame order he entered the city, to the hill *Saturnius*, where, after the proceſſion was over, he erected a ſmall temple, of only ten foot long, and five broad; and here the triumphant victor depoſited his trophy, conſecrating it to *Jupiter* * *Feretrius* [c]. This Name was then given to *Jupiter*, becauſe *Romulus* had himſelf *carried* thither the preſent he had vowed: And a name of diſtinction was likewiſe given to the ſpoils of the King of *Cænina*; they were called [d] *opima Spolia*, becauſe they were more honourable than any other, being taken by the General

* *a ferendo.*

the order, laws, and pomp of the antient triumphs will be ſpoken of hereafter.

the inhabitants their choice, either to ſtay at home, or ſettle at *Rome*: and the ſame author adds, that the conqueror thought fit to ſend a colony of three hundred *Romans* to *Cænina*.

[a] This was the firſt *Roman* triumph. The word comes originally from θριαμβος, one of the names of *Bacchus*, who conquered the *Indies*; and who, according to *Pliny* and *Diodorus Siculus*, firſt received the honours of a triumph. They who followed the conquerors, made the air reſound with this name of *Bacchus*; whence the acclamation, *Io Triumphe!* which is thus expreſſed by *Horace*:

Teque dum procedis, Io Triumphe!
Non ſemel dicemus Io Triumphe!
Civitas omnis.

[b] *Dion. Hal.* repreſents *Romulus* as carried in a chariot drawn by four horſes τεθρίππω παρεμβεβηκώς, during the ceremony of his triumph; but *Plutarch* and *Zonaras* affirm, that the elder *Tarquin* was the firſt that triumph'd, drawn in a chariot: and the former of thoſe writers ſays, there were ſtatues at *Rome* in his time repreſenting *Romulus* on foot loaded with his trophy.

[c] *Plutarch* derives the word *Feretrius* from *ferire* to ſtrike; and ſupports his conjecture by *Romulus*'s prayer to *Jupiter* to ſtrike *Acron*. But this interpretation does not very well agree with what he ſays in another place, that the *Greek* tongue was in uſe in the reign of *Romulus*. What he ſays in his life of *Marcellus*, is moſt probable, namely, that *Feretrius* came originally from φέρετρον, which ſignifies any machine for carriage.

[d] *Feſtus* derives the word *Opima* from *Ops*, which ſignifies the earth, and the riches it produces; ſo that *opima Spolia*, according to him, ſignifies *rich* ſpoils. But *Plutarch* derives

neral of the *Roman* army, from the General of the enemy's army, after he had killed him with his own hand.

Year of *ROME* V.

Not long after this, *Romulus*, with one [a] Legion, levied in haſte, ſubdued the *Antemnates* and *Cruſtumini*, who had taken arms on the ſame account as the *Cæninenſes*. *Herſilia*, who was of *Antemnæ*, interceded with him for her countrymen; and as lenity ſuited beſt with the King's policy, having firſt conſulted with the Senate, he tranſplanted the inhabitants of both the conquered cities to *Rome*, where they were admitted to all the privileges of *Roman* citizenſhip; and he ſent colonies from thence into their towns. By this conduct, the reputation of his clemency, as well as bravery, became ſo great, that ſeveral cities of *Hetruria* voluntarily ſubmitted to him. *Cælius* an *Hetrurian* Leader brought to *Rome* all the troops under his command, and ſettled on a hill near the city, which from him took the name of *Mount Cælius*.

ROMULUS Firſt King. *Plut. Livy.*

Romulus was now obliged to enlarge the bounds of *Rome*. The city had hitherto contained only the hill *Palatinus*, which was encompaſſed with a ſquare wall: But upon this augmentation of inhabitants, it ſpread itſelf to the *Capitol*, then called the hill *Saturnius*; and on the top of that hill they built a citadel, which was committed to the government of a noble *Roman* named *Tarpeius*; it was ſurrounded on all ſides with ramparts and towers, which equally commanded the city and the country: They likewiſe built a wall from the foot of the hill *Saturnius* to the *Tyber*, and opened a gate in it which they called *Carmentalis*.

§. XIII. BUT this increaſe of the *Roman* forces and fortifications did not terrify the *Sabines*. They ſent a ſecond deputation to *Romulus*, to demand back their daughters, and upon his refuſal, they march'd towards *Rome* with an army of 25000 foot, and 1000 horſe, under the command of their King *Titus Tatius*. The troops which *Romulus* led againſt them, are ſaid to have been not much inferior in number, for he received ſupplies from his grandfather *Numitor*, and from *Hetruria*; the *Hetrurians* being commanded by one *Lucumo* a brave warrior, or rather by one of their 12 *Lucumones* or governors. *Romulus* poſted his army on the hills *Eſquilinus* and *Quirinalis*.

Year of *ROME* VI, VII, VIII

rives it from *Opus*, as if one had ſaid *ſpoils difficult to be obtain'd*. This name was given only to ſuch ſpoils as the General of the *Roman* army had taken from the General of the enemy's troops; at leaſt this is *Plutarch*'s opinion. Tho' *Varro* aſſures us, that not only a ſubaltern officer, but even a common ſoldier might make a trophy of the ſpoils he had taken from him who commanded in chief the enemy's army. In the ſpace of about five hundred and thirty years after *Romulus*, only *Cornelius Coſſus* and *Claudius Marcellus* are recorded to have had the glory of carrying off this ſort of ſpoils.

[a] The word *Legion* comes from *legere*, which ſignifies to *chuſe*. And indeed the *Roman* legions were all *choſen* men. The number of men in a legion, was different at different times, as will be occaſionally obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory. It is ſufficient to obſerve here, that when *Livy* ſays, *Romulus* led one legion againſt the *Antemnates*, he muſt be underſtood to mean, that he led three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe againſt them; which were then the beſt part of the *Roman* forces. *Plutarch* ſays, that the *Roman* legion conſiſted at that time of three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe.

Year of *ROME.* VI, VII, VIII. ROMULUS First King.

The *Sabines* advanced in good order, and encamped at the foot of the hill *Saturnius*, in that plain ſince called the *Campus Martius*. *Tatius* ſeeing all the poſts guarded, was extremely uneaſy about the ſucceſs of his enterprize: But an unforeſeen adventure extricated him out of his difficulties. As the *Sabines* were roaming round the hill, to find a paſſage whereby they might get into the citadel, the Governor's daughter, named *Tarpeia*, who went accidentally to draw water for a ſacrifice, was much taken with the bracelets and rings with which the enemies were adorned. She therefore privately ſent one of her maids to deſire a conference with the *Sabine* General; and at night *Titus Tatius* came to the Poſtern-Gate that had been ſhewn him, and agreed to give *Tarpeia* what the ſoldiers wore on their left arms, provided ſhe would facilitate their entrance into the citadel, by that very gate. It is probable the young woman, whoſe eyes were at firſt ſo dazled with the ornaments of the *Sabines*, repented of her treachery: And then, in order to turn the ſtratagem againſt the *Sabines* themſelves, ſhe ſent to *Romulus*, deſiring a ſtrong body of troops to oppoſe *Tatius*, who expected to enter the Citadel the night following, by a gate that ſhe was to open to him. But it unfortunately happened, that the meſſenger proved a traitor, went to the camp of the *Sabines*, and informed them of the ambuſh that was laying for them. *Tatius* did not fail of being at the gate at the time appointed, but with a greater body of men than *Tarpeia* expected. As ſoon as it was opened, he led in his troops and made himſelf maſter of the citadel: And then the *Sabines* are ſaid to have cruſhed *Tarpeia* to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking themſelves to have diſcharged their promiſe by thus giving her what they wore on their left arms.

Lucius Piſo, apud Dionyſ. & Aurel. Vict.

From her the hill *Saturnius* took the name of *Tarpeius*, which it retained till it got that of *Capitolinus* (from the head of one *Tolus*, which was found there when workmen were digging to lay the foundations of a temple to *Jupiter*.) And even then, the ſteepeſt part of it, down which criminals were thrown, continued to be called *The Tarpeian Rock*.

The *Sabines*, now maſters of the Citadel, had the advantage of being able to continue the war with more ſecurity. For a long time, only light ſkirmiſhes paſt between the two parties without much advantage on either ſide. At length both armies reſolved to come to a general engagement. The firſt action determined nothing, the ſucceſs being equal on both ſides, and the night put an end to it. In a ſecond, the *Romans* at the beginning had the advantage, till a brave *Sabine*, named *Metius Curtius*, turned the ſcale in favour of his countrymen. He broke into the center of the *Roman* army, and rallied the wings of the *Sabines* which had been put into diſorder. But *Romulus* meeting this brave man, who was already wounded, engaged him in ſingle combat, and obliged him to quit the field: *Curtius* being ſurrounded by enemies on all ſides, choſe rather to throw himſelf into a pool, which was made by the inundation of the *Tyber*, than to go a great way about. This pool was deep, and full of mud, ſo that *Romulus*, thinking his enemy loſt, rejoined his Army. But the *Sabine* was

taken out of the water, and left his name to the place; it was ever after called [a] *Lacus Curtius*, even when it was dried up, and almoſt in the center of the *Roman Forum*. Year of *ROME* VI, VII, VIII

ROMULUS First King.

Romulus, upon his return to his army, puſhed the enemy with ſuch vigour, that they fled in confuſion, and took refuge in the Citadel. The *Romans* followed them, and, fluſhed with their ſucceſs, expected to have retaken it. But the *Sabines* rolling great ſtones from the top of the hill, one of them hit *Romulus* on the head, and ſtunn'd him, ſo that falling down ſenſeleſs, he was carried out of the field into the city. This accident revived the courage of the *Sabines*; the *Romans* were put to flight in their turn, and purſued to the very gates of *Rome*. However, *Romulus* having by this time recovered his ſenſes, rallied his troops, put himſelf again at their head, and drove the enemy back to the Citadel. *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 105.

We are told that in the moſt critical minute of the day, when the *Romans* were flying before the enemy, *Romulus* made a vow to *Jupiter* in order to obtain his favour for the ſpeedy rallying of his troops, and that, as fortune would have it, they ſtopped at the ſight of their General, upon his return to the field battle. Out of a belief therefore, that this was a particular bleſſing of Heaven, he erected a temple to *Jupiter*, whom he called *Stator*, becauſe the *Romans* recovering from their fright made a *ſtand*, and faced the enemy. *Livy* and *Plutarch* ſay, that in this very moment the *Sabine* women coming out of the city with their hair diſhevelled, and their children in their arms, threw themſelves between the two armies, and by their tears and intreaties put a check to the fury of their fathers and huſbands. But *Dionyſius* gives a different and more probable account of the part which thoſe women had in the reconciling of the two nations. *Aurel. Victor*, *&c.*

§. XIV. NEITHER *Romulus* nor *Tatius* was very forward to hazard another engagement. The *Sabines*, who remained maſters of the Citadel, debated whether they ſhould not content themſelves with only ravaging the lands of the *Romans*, and then return home; or whether they ſhould ſend for new levies from *Sabinia* to continue the war, till it could be finiſhed with more advantage. The *Romans*, on their ſide, were no leſs doubtful and undetermined what to do. Their enemies they knew to be a powerful nation, that could more eaſily repair its loſs than they. But, on the other hand, could the *Romans* with honour reſtore the women? Would not that be a confeſſion of weakneſs which might render the *Sabines* more haughty and more difficult to treat with? Whilſt both parties were thus deliberating and in ſuſpence, the women for whoſe ſake the war had been undertaken, met together without the knowledge of their huſbands, and, at the perſuaſions of *Herſilia*, formed a deſign of mediating between the two nations. Before they could put their project in execution it was neceſſary to get it approved by the King and Senate; this, in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, they found no difficulty to effect. A decree was paſſed, *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 106.

[a] *Procilius* ſays, that the *Lacus Curtius* was ſo called, from the famous *Curtius*, who leap'd into the gulph that opened in that place. And others think that it received its name from *Curtius* the Conſul (collegue to *M. Genucius*) who wall'd it in.

permitting

Year of *ROME* VI,VII,VIII ROMULUS *Firſt King.*

permitting the women to go upon the negotiation they propoſed, on condition however that they left their children behind them; yet thoſe who had ſeveral were allowed to take one or more with them, as it might be a means to promote the ſucceſs of their enterprize.

The women being thus authorized, laid aſide their ornaments, put on mourning, took ſome of their children in their arms, and leaving the city, advanced towards the camp of the *Sabines*. They no ſooner arrived there, but caſting themſelves at the feet of their relations and countrymen, they by their tears and lamentations excited a general compaſſion. King *Tatius* having aſſembled his chief officers in council, and ordered the women to declare the intention of their coming, *Herſilia*, in the name of her companions, is ſaid to have made a long and pathetic ſpeech to this effect.

That if it was love to them which had moved the *Sabines* to begin the war, the ſame love ſhould now induce them to put an end to it. "We "were indeed, ſaid ſhe, unjuſtly raviſhed from our relations by the men "who are now our husbands; but you neglected ſo long to revenge the "injury, that we became engaged by the ſtricteſt ties of affection, to thoſe "whom we formerly hated: we are full of anxiety for them when they "are fighting, and we lament their deaths when they fall in battle. You "do not now come to vindicate the honour of virgins, but to force away "wives from their husbands, and mothers from their children; this is not "to reſcue us, it is to make us a ſecond time captives."

When ſhe had thus ſpoken, ſhe begg'd a truce, that the chiefs of the two armies might have an opportunity to treat of an accommodation. As the *Sabines* wanted only a pretence to lay aſide their reſentments, they readily accepted the propoſal, and ſoon after the two Kings had a conference, which ended to the ſatisfaction of both parties. A treaty of union was made and confirmed by oath. It was agreed, that the two Kings ſhould reſide in *Rome*, and be equal in power; that as many of the *Sabines* as were willing might come hither and be incorporated in the *Tribes* and *Curiæ*; that their common city ſhould continue to be called *Rome*, but that the *Romans* ſhould take the name of *Quirites*[a], till then peculiar to the *Sabines*; and that the latter ſhould be admitted to publick offices both civil and religious. Three conſiderable *Sabine* families are particularly mentioned to have followed the example of their King, and

[a] *Dion. Hal.* ſays, that each particular citizen was to be called *Romanus*, and the collective body of them *Quirites*; yet it appears by this antient form of words uſed at funerals, *Ollus Quiris letho datus eſt*, that each private citizen was alſo called *Quiris*.

The origin of the word *Quirites*, which was at firſt peculiar to the *Sabines*, and became, in *Romulus*'s Time, the general name of the inhabitants of *Rome*, has been much ſought for; and the moſt probable account antiquity gives us of them, is this. The word *Quiris*, according to *Plutarch* and ſome others, ſignified in the *Sabine* language, both a dart, and a warlike Deity armed with a dart. 'Tis uncertain whether the God gave name to the dart, or the dart to the God. But be that as it will, this God *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, was either *Mars*, or ſome other God of war; and the worſhip of *Quiris* continued in *Rome* all *Romulus*'s reign: but after his death, *he* was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, and took the place of the God *Quiris*.

Year of ROME VI, VII, VIII

ROMULUS First King.

ſettled at *Rome*. The head of one of them was *Valerius Voleſus* (to whom *Plutarch* gives the honour of negotiating the peace); of another, *Talus Tyrannus*; and of the third, that *Metius Curtius* who had ſignalized himſelf ſo much in the laſt battle: and theſe brought with them a multitude of their relations and dependents.

§. XV. A TREATY ſo advantageous to *Rome* conſiderably increaſed the colony, and made it formidable. *Dion. Hal.* tells us, that the number of the new inhabitants equalled that of the old. *Tatius*, that he might imitate and equal *Romulus* in all reſpects, formed a council of a hundred Senators of his own nation. They were ſtyled *Fathers*, and enjoyed the ſame privileges with thoſe who had been inſtituted by the founder of *Rome*. The *Roman* and *Sabine* Senators held their firſt aſſemblies on affairs of ſtate ſeparately, at the houſes of their reſpective Kings. But afterwards they all met together, near the temple of *Vulcan*, in a place which becauſe the *Sabines* and *Romans* went thither to form one aſſembly, was called *Comitium* [a].

And now it was that, according to *Livy*, were formed the three centuries of *Roman* [b] Knights, called [c] *Ramnenſes*, *Tatienſes* and *Luceres*. The firſt corps had its name from *Romulus*; the ſecond from the *Sabine* King; and the third from the *Lucus* or grove where the *Aſylum* ſtood, and where the Knights of this century had formerly dwelt. Theſe three bodies of horſe were incorporated into the *Roman* legions, which, according to *Plutarch*,

[a] *A coeundo, quaſi comeundo.* The *Comitium* was part of the *Forum* at *Rome*; and was at the foot of the hill *Palatinus*, over againſt the *Capitol*.

[b] Originally the Knights alone formed the body of the *Roman* or legionary cavalry. They, who aſpired to the honour of being admitted into this order on account of their fortunes or birth, often ſerved in the army as voluntiers; with this difference, that the ſtate furniſhed the former with horſes out of the publick treaſury, whereas the latter were obliged to furniſh themſelves with horſes at their own coſts. This cuſtom continued to the time of *Marius*. Then *Rome* had recourſe to her allies, to ſupply the deficiency of the *Roman* Knights: And from that time, the provinces furniſhed as many horſe, as were wanted to recruit the legions. Indeed the Equeſtrian Order never had any ſettled form, till after the *Cenſus* appointed by *Servius Tullus*. They who had the honour of being joined to them, engaged themſelves to be ſoldiers by profeſſion. They fought equally on foot or on horſeback, as occaſion or the diſpoſition of the ground required. They were ſometimes poſted in the advanced guard, ſometimes in the center, but more frequently in the wings, of each legion. But in length of time this illuſtrious body degenerated, and the *Roman* Knighthood became a bare title of honour. Thoſe who enjoyed it, were diſtinguiſhed from the *Plebeians*, by a gold ring they wore on their fingers. In the latter times of the Republick, the *Roman* Knights were no more confined to war, than any other citizens. On the contrary, they undertook to collect the publick taxes, under the name of publicans. But of this, more hereafter.

[c] *Varro*, *Plutarch*, and *Feſtus* give the ſame names to the three tribes eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*, which *Livy* gives to theſe three centuries of Knights drawn out of the tribes. They are eaſily reconciled, if we will ſuppoſe each century to bear the name of its reſpective tribe. *Dion. Hal.* dates the diviſion of the colony into tribes, from the firſt year of *Rome*. *Plutarch* brings it down to the time of this union of the *Romans* with the *Sabines*. And what can we infer from theſe different accounts, but that *Romulus* inſtituted the tribes from the beginning of his reign, thereby to ſettle his form of government; and that each tribe had no particular name, till after the concluſion of his treaty with *Tatius*.

What

Year of ROME VI,VII.VIII. ROMULUS First King.

Plutarch, conſiſted from this time of [a] ſix thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe each. But the moſt common opinion is, that the *Roman* legion did not then conſiſt of above four thouſand men at the moſt.

Rome could not without ingratitude forget the ſervices that had been done her by the *Sabine* women, who were become entirely *Roman*, by affection as well as marriage. Honourable privileges and marks of diſtinction were decreed them. Every body was to give way to them when they paſſed along; all immodeſt and too free diſcourſe was forbidden in their preſence: it was a law, that indecent objects ſhould never be brought into their ſight; they were exempted from the juriſdiction of the ordinary judges, in capital caſes; and laſtly, they were permitted to hang a ball [b] of gold about their childrens necks, to diſtinguiſh them from the vulgar. A particular robe was

What confirms this conjecture, is, that the ſecond tribe was called *Tatienſis*, or *Titienſis*, from the name of *Titus Tatius*. Some authors indeed give all the three names, *Ramnenſes*, *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*, an *Hetrurian* derivation. But the generality of hiſtorians agree in calling the colony of the inhabitants of *Alba* that went to *Rome* with *Romulus*, *Ramnenſes*; and ſo they do, in calling the ſecond tribe, *Tatienſes*. The others who fled into the *Aſylum*, were called *Luceres*, if we may believe *Feſtus*, from *Lucerus*, King of *Ardea*, who, according to him, joined with *Romulus* againſt the *Sabines*.

[a] The moſt learned criticks have obſerved, that *Plutarch* is miſtaken, when he ſays the *Roman* legion conſiſted of ſix thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, after the concluſion of the treaty between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. But it is probable, that *Plutarch* meant no more, than that *Romulus* formed two legions, of the two united nations, which conſiſted each of three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. Αἱ λεγιῶνες ἐγένοντο πεζῶν μὲν ἑξακισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ ἑξακοσίων. And by the help of the ſame interpretation, we may explain *Dion. Hal.*'s ſaying, that *Romulus* incorporated into his legion or army, three thouſand of the *Cæninenſes* and *Antemnates*. Tho' it were true, as ſome authors conjecture, that each legion did conſiſt of above three thouſand three hundred men at this time; yet it is certain, that, *ordinarily ſpeaking*, it did not exceed four thouſand foot; for which reaſon, *Feſtus* calls a legion *ſquare*; tho' this denomination owed its origin to their order in battel. I ſay, *ordinarily ſpeaking*, becauſe on ſome occaſions, the legion did conſiſt, if we may believe *Vegetius*, of five thouſand foot, and two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, and ſometimes ſeven hundred horſe. *Livy* tells us, the legions which were appointed to go over into *Africa* with *Scipio*, conſiſted of ſix thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. And therefore *Feſtus* is miſtaken, when he ſays that *Marius* firſt made the *Roman* legion to conſiſt of ſix thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. The number of ſoldiers in a legion was different at different times. Nevertheleſs, it is probable, that from *Marius*'s time, the legions did more commonly conſiſt of ſix thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe.

[b] It is difficult to find out exactly what was the form of this ornament, which the *Sabine* women had leave to hang about their children's necks. It was called *Bulla*. *Plutarch* ſays, that this *Bulla* was like the little bubbles which the drops of rain make, when they fall up n running water: and it is therefore probable, that theſe little golden balls were both hollow and light. But ſeveral think, that they were but half globes, with one ſide flat, and the other globular. *Macrobius* pretends, that *Tarquin the Elder* extended the right of wearing theſe ornaments to all the children of the *Patricians*, and began with his own. The young *Romans*, when they came to the age of manhood, quitted the *Bulla*, and made an offering of it to the *Dii Lares*, which were then called *Lares Bullati*. Hence *Perſius*:

Cum primùm pavido cuſtos mihi purpura ceſſit,
Bullaque ſuccinctis Laribus donata pependit.

and this ornament was alſo ſometimes conſecrated to ſome other divinity, as appears by this inſcription which *Gruterus* gives us from an antient monument:

JUNONI. PLACIDÆ,
CONSERVATRICI. AUGUSTÆ.
CLAUDIA. SABBATIS.
BULLAM. D.D.

Th:

was also assigned these children, called [a] *Prætexta*, the use of which was forbidden to all others. Year of *ROME* IX, X, XI, XII, XIII.

For five years together, the two Kings lived at *Rome* in a surprising harmony. *Romulus* had his palace on the declivity of the hill *Palatinus*; *Tatius* resided on the hill *Tarpeius*; and his *Sabines* had fixed their settlements on the hill, which they called *Quirinalis*, either in memory of their city *Cures*, or in honour to their God *Quiris*. The space between the hills *Palatinus* and *Tarpeius* became a common market-place for the two united nations, and they gave it the name of *Forum*, which it retained ever after; and there they also held their assemblies for publick affairs. ROMULUS First King.

The union of the two nations soon produced a mixture of manners, customs, and Religion. *Rome* readily adopted the *Sabine* Gods; and *Tatius* built temples to the *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, *Vulcan*, *Diana*, and *Mars*, who was probably the same with the God *Quiris*. *Juno Quiritia* was introduced to preside over the public feasts of all the *Curiæ* in *Rome*: and the two nations agreed to institute some new festivals, by common consent: That called [b] *Matronalia* was instituted in memory of the peace, which had been brought about by the mediation of the women. The *Romans* also changed the form of their bucklers, which were before small, after the manner of the *Argives*, and wore larger ones, like those of the *Sabines*: And the latter conformed themselves to *Romulus*'s calendar [c]. In a word, never was a more sudden or more perfect union between two nations which had been such bitter enemies. *Plutarch.*

During the time that *Romulus* had an associate on the throne, the conquest of *Cameria*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, was the only military atchievement of the *Romans*: The *Camerini*, by their incursions on

The *Romans* used also to inclose in these *Bullæ*, certain preservatives which paganism had consecrated, to secure their children against enchantments: and they perhaps attributed this virtue to certain hieroglyphicks, or other mysterious characters. Or it may be, the figures of the Deities and of animals were made use of for this purpose; as in that particular kind of preservatives, which the *Latines* called *Amuleta*, whose form was arbitary.

[a] These robes were laced at the bottom, and perhaps on the two lappets, if what *Rubenius* thinks be true, that they were open before. They were called *Prætextæ*, from this purple edging or lace. They were worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen, and took the *Toga Virilis*, or *Manly Robe*. But what was in *Romulus*'s time a mark of distinction for the children of the *Sabine* women, was afterwards very common. All, even to the children of the *Liberti*, or men who were made free, wore robes bordered with purple in their youth: and at length, the gravest of the magistrates wore them likewise, not only at *Rome*, but in the colonies, and *Municipia*, or free cities.

[b] This festival was celebrated on the first of *March*. *Ovid*, in his *Fasti*, gives other reasons for the institution of it; but grants that the chief of them was the remembrance of the benefits the *Romans* had received from the *Sabine* women. The *Matronalia* was to the *Roman* wives, what the *Saturnalia* was to their husbands. They now served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did of their wives in the *Saturnalia*. The *Matronalia* was consecrated to *Mars*, and according to some, to *Juno Lucina*; and on it the women sacrificed to these two Deities. *Plutarch* says, the two Kings instituted likewise the *Carmentalia*, in honour of the Goddess *Carmenta*.

[c] *Solinus* reports, *Chap.* 3. that before the foundation of *Rome*, the year consisted of thirteen months, and of three hundred and seventy-

Year of *ROME* XIV.

ROMULUS First King.

on the *Roman* territory, gave occaſion to the war. Being twice defeated, 4000 of them were tranſplanted to *Rome*, and a colony ſent from thence to *Cameria*.

§. XVI. BUT as it is ſcarce poſſible that concord ſhould be perpetual in a ſtate which is governed by two Kings, whoſe powers are equal, and whoſe intereſts will at length prove not to be the ſame, the union between *Romulus* and *Tatius* which policy had formed, and reciprocal condeſcenſions maintained, was broke in the ſixth year of their government. The occaſion of it was this. Some of *Tatius*'s people having ravaged the territory of the *Lavinians* [a], the latter ſent envoys to *Rome* to demand ſatisfaction. *Romulus* declared himſelf for delivering up the aggreſſors to the injured party; but *Tatius* interpoſed. He alledged, that it was not juſt to deliver up *Roman* citizens into the hands of ſtrangers, their enemies; and that the complainants ought to come and plead their cauſe at *Rome*: Nor was his conduct hitherto greatly to be condemned. But ſome of the envoys, in their return home, being murdered by the very robbers they had complained of, *Tatius* ſtill continued to ſkreen theſe aſſaſſins from puniſhment. However, when the *Lavinians* renewed their complaints, *Romulus*, of his own authority, ſurrendered up the murderers to them. *Tatius* looking upon this as an inſult offered him by his collegue, put himſelf at the head of ſome armed men, purſued the *Lavinians*, and reſcued his people out of their hands. This exceſſive partiality of *Tatius* to his friends, accompanied with ſuch grievous injuſtice, coſt him his life. For not long after, going to *Lavinium* [b] with *Romulus*, to offer certain ſacrifices, as the Kings were obliged to do, to thoſe *tutelar* Gods of their ſtate, which had been brought from *Troy*, and ſtill remained at *Lavinium*, the relations and friends of the envoys who had been murdered, fell upon him and ſlew him at the foot of the altar with the prieſt's knives and the ſpits for roaſting the victims. As for *Romulus*, he was conducted out of the town with the acclamations of the people. He conveyed the body of his collegue with pomp to *Rome*, and afterwards honourably buried it on mount *Aventine*.

D. Hal. p. 110.

Romulus, being now a ſecond time ſole King of *Rome*, to clear himſelf entirely of the violence offered to the ambaſſadors of the *Lavinians*, pronounced ſentence of baniſhment againſt the murderers, who on the death of *Tatius* had immediately fled from the city. After this he ſummoned

venty-four days: nevertheleſs, it is probable, that the people of the ſouthern parts of *Italy* followed the *Greek* calendar, which made the year firſt to conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty, and afterwards of three hundred and fifty four days, which are a lunar year. Be that as it will, the *Sabines* thought fit to conform themſelves to *Romulus*'s calendar. The common opinion is, that he made his year to conſiſt of only ten months, *viz. March, April, May, June, Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November* and *December*. *March, May, Quintilis* and *October*, had each thirty one days, the other ſix months but thirty.

a *Plutarch* ſays, it was the *Laurentes* who were injured, and who ſlew *Tatius* at *Lavinium*.

b According to *Licinius apud D. Hal. Tatius* did not go to *Lavinium* with *Romulus*, nor to offer ſacrifices, but went by himſelf to exhort the *Lavinians* to pardon the criminals.

Year of *ROME* XIV.

ROMULUS First King.

Year of *ROME* XV to XXXVII.

the *Lavinians* who had ſlain his collegue, and who had been delivered up to him, to anſwer for their crime; but they alledging, that they had only taken a juſt revenge for the murder of their ambaſſadors, he allowed their plea to be good, and diſmiſſed them with impunity.

§. XVII. ABOUT this time a cruel plague, which a famine made ſtill more terrible, raged in *Rome*, and the people of *Cameria* took advantage of the heavy affliction the *Romans* laboured under, to ſhake off the yoke. *Romulus* conquered them a ſecond time, and on this occaſion had the honours of a ſecond triumph. He entered *Rome* with the acclamations of the people, as after the defeat of *Acron*. After this he vanquiſhed the *Fidenates*, who had invaded the *Roman* territory, and took their city, which ſtood about 40 furlongs from *Rome*. The *Veientes* [a] demanded it back, as a city in their dependance, and, upon *Romulus*'s refuſing to comply, laid ſiege to it. However, they were defeated in two battles, in which *Romulus* made a vaſt number of them priſoners, together with their commander, who had acted a very weak part. And what was now done at the ſale of theſe ſlaves, laid the foundation of a cuſtom which prevailed ever after. When the people offered ſacrifices to the Gods, in thankſgiving for any victory, they dreſs'd up an old man in a purple robe, with a child's bulla about his neck, and cried all around him, [b] *Sardians to ſell.* By which cries and ceremony, they originally alluded to theſe two things: That the old governor of the *Veientes* had ruled his ſtate like a child: And that the *Veientes*, an *Hetrurian* people, were a colony of *Lydians*, whoſe capital city was *Sardis*.

Romulus, being intent upon making the beſt advantage of his victory, paſſed the *Tyber*, and purſued the *Veientes* to the gates of their city; whoſe ſituation preſerved it. *Veii* was built upon a ſteep rock, and *Romulus* had then neither the troops, nor the proviſions neceſſary to beſiege it. He therefore retired, but with a full purpoſe of returning in a little time, and reducing to aſhes that city, which had no motive to conſpire againſt *Rome*, except jealouſy or ambition. But two defeats had taught the *Veientes* wiſdom; and they prevented their total ruin by their ſubmiſſion. They ſent a deputation to *Rome* to ſue for peace; and *Romulus* granted them a truce for 100 years, upon their ſurrendring ſeven ſmall towns on the *Tyber*, with ſome ſalt-pits at the mouth of that river, and their ſending 50 of their principal citizens to *Rome*, as ſecurities for their fidelity. A war ſo advantageouſly ended obtained him a third triumph.

This was the laſt military exploit of *Romulus*. It is ſurprizing, and not eaſy to be accounted for, that this Prince, who ſeemed ſo eagerly bent up-

[a] *Veii*, the city of the *Veientes*, ſtood about 100 furlongs from *Rome*. *D. Hal.* compares it to *Athens* for extent and riches.

[b] This account is taken from *Plutarch*. But *Sinnius Capito* gives the cuſtom a later date. He ſays, that when *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* the Conſul had conquered *Sardinia*, he brought ſo great a number of ſlaves from thence, that for a great while together, nothing was to be ſeen in the markets but *Sardinians*, or *Sardi*, to be ſold. Which gave riſe to the proverb, *Sardi venales, alius alio nequior.* That is, Sardinians *to ſell, every one worſe than his fellow.*

Year of *ROME* XV to XXXVII.

ROMULUS First King. *Plutarch.*

on extending his domination over his neighbours, ſhould, after the death of his grandfather *Numitor*, leave *Alba* in poſſeſſion of her laws and liberty. The ſovereignty of that ſtate devolved upon him, and he might have ſubjected it to the *Roman* laws; yet he reſerved to himſelf no other power over it, than that of naming annually a magiſtrate, with the title of Dictator, to govern it, in form of a republick.

§. XVIII. SO great an inſtance of moderation in the firſt King of *Rome* is the more extraordinary, as the hiſtorians all agree, that being elated with his continual proſperity, he now affected an abſolute tyranny. He paid no longer any deference to his great council; the Senators were aſſembled merely for form ſake; he made himſelf the ſole arbiter in all affairs. Having erected a judgment ſeat in the *Forum*, he there adminiſtered juſtice, or rather exerciſed cruelty, attended by his 300 [a] *Celeres*, and his 12 *Lictors*, the miniſters of his deſpotic will. But that which more than all things elſe provoked the *Fathers* was, that, of his own authority, and without conſulting them, he ſhared the conquered lands among the ſoldiers, as he pleaſed; and, even againſt their opinion, reſtored the *Veientes* their hoſtages. The Senators not able to endure that the government ſhould be thus changed into a direct monarchy, conſpired his deſtruction; and it was not long before they effected it.

D. Hal. B. 2. *& Plutarch.* Year of *ROME* XXXVII.

On the ſeventh day of *July*, in the thirty-ſeventh year of *Rome*, *Romulus* (now ſixty years old, or, as ſome ſay, only 55.) appointed a review of his troops in a plain, without the city; and the Senate for the greater ſtate attended him thither. Whilſt the King was haranguing his army, near a pond, called *Goats-pond*, a ſudden ſtorm of hail and thunder came upon them. The ſtorm diſperſed [b] the ſoldiers; and the Senators remaining alone with the King, thought this a favourable opportunity of executing their deſign. The King was [c] ſlain, and his body conveyed out of ſight in an inſtant. Some pretend, that, the better to conceal the fact, the Senators cut him into pieces, and that every Senator carried away one under his robe. Be that as it will, the circumſtance of the ſtorm gave occaſion to the fable which the aſſaſſins ſpread among the people, that the King was all on a ſudden ſurrounded with flame, and ſnatched

[a] The three hundred horſe which *Romulus* had for his guard, were the firſt *Corps* of the *Roman* ſoldiery. They were choſen by the thirty *Curiæ*, each furniſhing ten men; and *Romulus* divided them into three companies, under the command of a general officer called *Tribunus Celerum*. The particular captain of each company was ſtiled *Præfectus Celerum*. The *Tribunus Celerum* had great authority in *Rome*, and may be ſaid to have been the ſecond perſon in the ſtate next the King. He had a right of aſſembling the people on preſſing occaſions.

[b] This adventure, according to *Plutarch*, gave riſe to the *Caprotine Nones*, or *Populi fugium*, a feſtival in the *Roman* calendar on the *Nones* of *July*. But other authors give another origin to this feſtival.

[c] The hiſtorians are not agreed about the manner in which *Romulus* was aſſaſſinated. Some ſay it was done by the people, who were enraged at the King for ſhewing more favour to thoſe who were newly come to *Rome* from the conquered cities, than to the old inhabitants: whilſt others pretend, the Senators ſtabbed him in full Senate, and having cut his body in pieces, every one took a part of it, and carried it away under his robe.

up

Year of ROME XXXVII. ROMULUS First King.

up in it from earth to heaven. The credulous were contented with a ſtory which made the founder of their colony a God; but the more penetrating conceived juſt ſuſpicions againſt the murderers; inſomuch that the Senate became odious to all the better ſort in *Rome*. This made it neceſſary to find out ſome ſecret to ſtop the complaints, and appeaſe the anger of the multitude: And *Julius Proculus*, a conſiderable man among the *Fathers*, was the perſon whom the Senate ſuborned to impoſe upon the people. He was eſteemed a man of probity, and his word had the more credit, as he had always been thought a friend to *Romulus*, having come from *Alba* with him, and preferred the doubtful fortune of his unſettled colony to the certain advantages he poſſeſſed in his own country. When the *Curiæ* were aſſembled, he told them the following ſtory, and ſwore to the truth of it. That as he was travelling along, *Romulus* ſuddenly appeared to him: His ſtature was taller than that of mortals, and his armour caſt a dazling brightneſs: The apparition filled him with a religious dread, and he addreſſed himſelf to it in theſe words. *Wherefore, O King, and for what crime of ours have you thus expoſed us to the moſt unjuſt and grievous ſuſpicions? Why have you ſo ſuddenly forſaken a city, which by your abſence is univerſally plunged in the deepeſt ſorrow?* To which *Romulus* replied: *It pleaſed the Gods, O Proculus! that I ſhould continue among mortals till I had put* Rome *into a condition of riſing to the higheſt pitch of power and glory, and that I ſhould then return to Heaven, from whence I originally came. Go therefore and admoniſh my* Romans *to love temperance and war-like exerciſes; for it is by theſe that they will one day become maſters of the* [a] *world.*

This fable averred for truth by a man who was thought ſincere and honeſt, removed all ſuſpicions; the people were tranſported with joy; divine honours were decreed to the new Deity; and the Senate concurred to make a God of him whom they could not endure for a King.

Such was the end of *Romulus*, the founder of *Rome*: A Prince, as we have ſeen, of uncertain birth, brought up by ſhepherds, and whoſe firſt empire was over a promiſcuous, undiſciplined rabble: A Prince, who, when he had built a city, peopled it chiefly with robbers, out-laws, runaway ſlaves, and fellows of deſperate fortunes, from all quarters; whom though he reſtrained by laws from injuring one another, yet they ſubſiſted by rapine, and got every thing by violence, not even their wives excepted: A Prince, who by his policy and courage, in a reign of 37 years, brought a colony from ſuch beginnings to be formidable to all the ſtates around it, having before his death increaſed his ſubjects from 3300 men to 47000, all ſtout ſoldiers, and all actuated by the ſame views of preſerving their own liberty, and invading that of their neighbours: To conclude; a Prince, who of a gang of ſlaves and profligates formed a people which in time became maſters of the world, and, what is worthy to be remarked,

[a] A feſtival was inſtituted to *Romulus*, at *Rome*, called *Quirinalia*. It was celebrated on the 17th of *February*.

more

Year of *ROME* XXXVII.

more illuſtrious by their virtue, than by the number of their victories, or the extent of their empire.

ROMULUS Firſt King.

In the relation here given of the firſt ſettlement of the *Roman* government, the acts and inſtitutions of *Romulus*, &c. *D. Hal.* has been chiefly, tho' not entirely followed, with reſpect to the order in which thoſe events are placed. As the accounts left us by that author, *Livy* and *Plutarch*, of the beginnings of the *Roman* ſtate, do not perfectly agree, either as to matter, or time, it may perhaps be a ſatisfaction to the reader to let him ſee by a ſummary of each, in what particulars they differ.

DIONYSIUS,

after the building of *Rome*, and a formal election of *Romulus* to be King of it, mentions

1. The diviſion of the colony into tribes, *Curiæ* and *Decuriæ*.

2. The diſtinction of the people into *Patricians* and *Plebeians*.

3. The inſtitution of the patronage.

4. The conſtituting of a Senate. Of 100 Senators, the King chuſes but one, the Tribes and *Curiæ* the reſt.

5. The appointment of the 300 *Celeres* for the King's life-guard.

6. The ſettling of the reſpective powers and privileges of the King, Senate, and aſſemblies of the People.

7. The opening of the *Aſylum*, or ſanctuary of refuge.

8. *Romulus*'s religious and civil laws.

9. The erecting of a judgment-ſeat in the *Forum*, where the King adminiſtred juſtice, attended by his 300 *Celeres* and 12 *Lictors*, with their faſces and axes.

10. The rape of the *Sabine* women, the union of the *Sabines* and *Romans*, and the creation of 100 new Senators by *Tatius*.

N. B. D. Hal. makes no mention of the 3 centuries of Knights, elected, according to *Livy*, in the time of *Romulus* and *Tatius*, nor of any other horſemen, but the 300 *Celeres*, till the reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, when he ſays, this King would have created 3 new tribes of Horſe-men, and was oppoſed by *Navius* the Augur. He afterwards tells us, that *Servius Tullius* compoſed the Equites or Knights of thoſe citizens who were moſt eminent by birth and riches, and divided them into 18 centuries.

LIVY

ſpeaks of *Romulus* and *Remus*, as being both ſaluted Kings, by their reſpective followers, before the building of *Rome*. After the building of the city and the death of *Remus*, he relates,

1. *Romulus*'s making religious and civil laws.

2. His putting on a habit of diſtinction, and being attended by 12 *Lictors*.

3. His opening an *Aſylum*.

4. His conſtituting a Senate of 100 men, he himſelf naming all the Senators, who were ſtiled *Patres*, and their poſterity *Patricians*.

5. The rape of the *Sabine* women, and the union of the two nations; after which,

6. The diviſion of the citizens into 30 *Curiæ*.

7. The inſtitution of 3 centuries of Knights, the *Tatienſes*, *Ramnenſes*, and *Luceres*.

8. *Livy* does not mention the *Celeres* till the cloſe of *Romulus*'s reign.

N. B. Livy ſays nothing of TRIBES, till he comes to the 4 Tribes of *Servius Tullius*; nor ever mentions the 100 new Senators created by *Tatius*.

He ſays, p. 45. that *Tarquin the Elder*, without increaſing the number of *Romulus*'s *Centuries* of Knights, increaſed the number of the *Knights* to 1800, which were ſtill called three Centuries: And p. 51. he tells us, that *Servius Tullius* made ſix Centuries of the three inſtituted by *Romulus*, but that they retained the old names; and that theſe ſix with 12 other Centuries of Horſe-men made a part of the firſt and richeſt of *Servius*'s claſſes.

PLUTARCH

does not ſpeak of any formal election of *Romulus* to be King, but he being ſuppoſed ſuch,

1. Opens the *Aſylum*, ſoon after the firſt foundations of the city were laid, and thereby greatly augments his colony.

2. Liſts all who were fit to bear arms into military companies, each company conſiſting of 3000 foot, and 300 horſe. Theſe companies were called *Legions*, from the word *Legere*, to chuſe, becauſe they were ſelect and choſen men. The reſt of the multitude were called *Populus* (People).

3. Chuſes 100 Senators, whom he ſtiles *Patricians* and *Patres*.

4. Diſtinguiſhes the *reſt* of the wealthier ſort from the common people, by making the former Patrons to the latter, who are called Clients.

5. Then

5. Then follows the rape of the *Sabine* women, and the union of the two nations. After which,

6. The people are divided into 3 Tribes, called *Ramnenſes*, *Tatienſes* and *Luceres*, (the names *Livy* gives to his 3 Centuries of Knights.)

7. Then the religious and civil laws are mentioned; and

8. *Plutarch* ſpeaks for the firſt time of *Romulus*'s robes of ſtate, his *Celeres* and *Lictors* juſt before his death, and as proofs of that haughtineſs of ſpirit which provoked the Senators to murder him.

Year of *ROME* XXXVII.

CHAP. III.

NUMA.

§. I. *The death of* Romulus *is followed by an interregnum, A deſcription of that ſort of government. The people grow weary of it; whereupon it is unanimouſly reſolved to chuſe a King.* §. II. *The character of* Numa Pompilius, *a* Sabine *philoſopher.* §. III. *He is elected to ſucceed* Romulus; *but is with difficulty perſuaded to accept of the kingdom. He conſults the will of the Gods by augury.* §. IV. Numa *is no ſooner upon the throne, than he applies himſelf to quiet the diſſentions at* Rome, *and to moderate the warlike ardor of the* Romans *by the impreſſions of religion.* §. V. *He divides the miniſters of religion into eight claſſes. The* Curiones, Flamines, Celeres, Augurs. §. VI. Veſtals. §. VII. Salii. §. VIII. Feciales. §. IX. Pontifices. §. X. *He directs an eſpecial reverence to be paid to the God* Janus; *and makes a Goddeſs of* Bona Fides. §. XI. *He introduces a new ſort of Gods, called* Termini *or* Boundaries. §. XII. *He amends ſome of* Romulus's *laws; and makes new ones.* §. XIII. *He ſends away the idle ſoldiery to cultivate the lands conquered by* Romulus. §. XIV. *He diſtributes the citizens into diſtinct companies, according to their trades.* §. XV. *He reforms the calendar.* §. XVI. Numa *dies, and his books are buried with him.*

§. I. *ROMULUS* dying without iſſue, the kingdom, which, had he left a ſon, might perhaps have proved hereditary, as that of *Alba* had been, continued elective; and *Rome* was greatly divided about the choice of another King. The minds of the antient *Romans*, and of the new inhabitants, were not at preſent in ſo perfect a union as formerly; there were diverſities of factions among the commonalty, and jealouſies and emulations among the Senators. All agreed, that it was neceſſary to have a King; but what perſon, or of what nation, was the diſpute. Thoſe who had been builders of the city with *Romulus*, though they had yielded a ſhare of their lands and dwellings to the *Sabines*, thought it by no means adviſable to reſign to them the regal authority. On the other hand, the *Sabines* alledged, that they after the deceaſe of *Tatius*, having peaceably ſubmitted to *Romulus*'s government, it was but juſt, that the King ſhould be choſen out of their nation: nor did they eſteem themſelves inferior to the *Romans*, or to have contributed leſs to raiſe *Rome* to that pitch of wealth and power to which ſhe was arrived.

Year of *ROME* XXXVII. *Plutarch.*

During

Year of *ROME* XXXVIII.

Dion. Hal. Livy. Plut.

During theſe diſputes, the Senators [a], to prevent anarchy and confuſion, took the ſovereign power into their own hands. They divided themſelves into decuries or tens, and each ten poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority alternately five days, yet ſo as one perſon only of the governing ten had the badges of ſovereignty at one time, and when he had been honoured with them twelve hours, he reſigned them to another. This ſort of government, which was called *Interregnum*, laſted little more than a year; for the people grew weary of ſuch a frequent change of maſters, who had not all the ſame views and inclinations; and they were likewiſe jealous of certain of the *Fathers*, who ſeemed to aim at the eſtabliſhing themſelves in the ſupreme power. The Senate therefore finding it neceſſary to proceed to the election of a King, the *Inter-rex* for the time being, ſummoned the people, and addreſſed himſelf to them, in theſe words. *Elect yourſelves a King, O Romans! the Senate give their conſent, and if you pitch upon a Prince worthy to ſucceed* Romulus, *the* Fathers *will confirm your choice.*

In order to this important election, a general aſſembly of the *Roman* people was held. By an *Aſſembly of the People* is to be underſtood a convention not only of the *Plebeians*, but of the Senators, Patricians, Knights, and all the *Roman* Citizens without exception, who had right of ſuffrage, of what rank or condition ſoever. Nevertheleſs, what was done in theſe Aſſemblies, was properly ſaid to be the act of the *Plebes*, or *Commons*, becauſe they being here more numerous than all the reſt, had in reality the deciſion of all affairs: Their decrees however in theſe early times were of no effect, unleſs they were afterwards approved by the Senate.

The *Fathers* having thus left it to the people to chuſe a King, the latter were ſo well pleaſed with the conceſſion, that in return they remitted the choice to the Senate. But the old difficulty ſtill remained, whether the Sovereign to be elected ſhould be a *Sabine*, or one of the ancient *Romans*. At length they came to this concluſion: That the *Romans* ſhould chuſe the King, but ſhould be obliged to chuſe a *Sabine*. *Plutarch.*

§. II. THERE was at this time in *Sabinia* a man of diſtinguiſhed birth and virtue, who led a retired life, and had no thoughts of empire, but over his own paſſions. His name was *Numa Pompilius*. He was the fourth ſon of *Pompilius Pompo* (an illuſtrious *Sabine*) and born the year that *Rome* was founded. He had married the daughter of King *Tatius*, but had not followed his father-in-law to *Rome*. *Tatia* having the ſame inclinations with her huſband, had preferr'd the tranquillity of a private life to the honours and ſplendour of a Court. She lived with him thirteen years, at *Cures*, and after her death he gave himſelf up entirely to the ſtudy of wiſdom, and the ſearch of the one God. He left the city, and in a ſolitary manner frequented thoſe groves and fountains which religion had made ſacred. And hence doubtleſs came the fable, which was very early received among the *Sabines*, that *Numa* lived

[a] *Plutarch* reduces the number of the Senators who divided the regal power between them to 150, and *Livy* to 100, but *Dion. Hal.* makes them 200; which ſeems to come nearer the truth, ſince it is certain, that *Titus Tatius* added 100 Senators to the 100 created by *Romulus*.

in

Year of *ROME* XL.

in familiarity with the Nymph *Egeria* [a]. It is certain, that when he was upon the throne he took advantage of this general perſuaſion to give credit to his laws, and bring about a reformation at *Rome*.

§. III. THE *Romans* having pitched upon this man to be King, two Senators, *Julius Proculus* and *Valerius Voleſus*, the firſt of *Alban*, the other of *Sabine* extraction, were deputed to go and make him an offer of the kingdom. They addreſſed him in few words, imagining there needed no long arguments to perſuade him to an acceptance of it: But, contrary to their expectations, they found themſelves obliged to uſe many reaſons and intreaties to allure him from his quiet and retired life. In preſence of his father and of his kinſman *Martius*, he returned the deputies an anſwer to this effect. "Since in every alteration of a man's life the ſuc- *Plut.*
"ceſs is doubtful, it would be madneſs for one who is eaſy, and pro-
"vided with all things neceſſary and convenient, to endeavour after any
"change of his condition, or even to conſent to it; were there nothing
"more in it than this, that he prefers an uncertain ſatisfaction to an aſſured
"tranquillity. It is not difficult to form a judgment concerning the
"temper of the *Roman* people, by what happened to the late King, who
"did not eſcape the ſuſpicion of having plotted againſt the life of his
"Collegue, *Tatius*; nor is the Senate free from the accuſation of having
"treaſonably murdered their Prince *Romulus*. And yet *Romulus* had
"the advantage to be thought of divine race, and to be preſerved in a
"miraculous manner in his infancy: Whereas my deſcent is merely hu-
"man, and if I have gained any reputation, it is for ſuch qualities as
"are in no wiſe proper to make me ſhine upon a throne; a love of
"peace, retirement, ſtudy, and divine worſhip. But as *Rome* is envied
"by her neighbours, and threatned with foreign wars (for which *Romulus*
"perhaps gave no provocation) ſhe has need of an active and warlike
"Prince to govern her. What benefit could you receive in theſe circum-
"ſtances from a King who would be wholly employed in eſtabliſhing
"peace, juſtice, and the neglected worſhip of the Gods? Such a Prince
"muſt needs appear deſpicable to a people entirely actuated by views of
"ambition, and the inſatiate deſire of conqueſt.

The deputies perceiving by theſe words, that he refuſed the kingdom, became now more urgent with him, intreating him not to ſuffer them to relapſe again into their former ſeditions and civil diſcord, which they muſt

[a] Some perſons not favourable to *Numa*'s reputation, have thought that under his affected paſſion for woods and caves, was concealed another which was more real and leſs chaſte. Hence *Juvenal*, ſpeaking of the grove, called *Lucus Egeriæ*, ſays,

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa conſtituebat amicæ.
Sat. 3.

But St. *Auſtin*, building upon a paſſage taken out of *Varro*'s book of antiquities, gives an allegorical interpretation to theſe frequent meetings between *Numa* and *Egeria*. He ſays, that this King being verſed in hydromancy, ſaw ſeveral *Dæmons* in the water, whom he conſulted, and from whom he received the laws he propoſed to his people; and that becauſe *Numa* drew water for his magical Operations, *eo quod aquam egeſſerit*; this gave occaſion to the fiction, that he had married the Nymph *Egeria*, who took her name from the *Latin* word *Egerere*.

Year of *ROME* XL.

unavoidably do, if he continued to reject their offer, there being no other person on whom both parties could agree to fix their choice. His father likewise, and *Martius*, taking him aside, endeavoured to persuade him to accept the kingdom, as conferred on him rather by Heaven than by men. "Though you are contented, *said they*, with your own for- "tune, and court neither riches nor power, ought you therefore to pay no "regard to the appointment of the Gods, who have chosen you to fill a "throne? Have they indued your heart with so great a love of equity, "only to lie useless in a desart? The throne is an eminent place, from "whence virtue shews itself to advantage, and exercises a power which "subdues and captivates the hearts of men. *Tatius*, though a foreigner, "was higly esteemed by the *Romans*; and the memory of *Romulus* was "so precious to them, that after his death they voted him divine honours. "And who knows but *Rome*, influenced by the royal example, may mo- "derate her pride and fury, and the love of arms be succeeded by a re- "spect for religion.

This discourse made some impression upon the philosopher, and when his own countrymen, the people of *Cures*, understood what message the *Roman* ambassadors had brought him, they earnestly pressed him on all sides to accept the offer, as the only means to appease all civil dissentions, and effectually incorporate both nations into one body. *Numa* yielded at length to these reasons and persuasions, and, having first offered sacrifices to Heaven, set out for *Rome*. He was met in the way by the Senate and people, who with an impatient desire came forth to receive him; and the women also welcomed him with acclamations of joy. *Spurius Vettius*, the *Inter-rex* for the day, having assembled the *Curiæ*, *Numa* was elected King in due form, and this choice was unanimously confirmed by the Senate.

Dion. Hal.

Plutarch.

But when the royal robes were brought to the new Sovereign, he refused to be cloathed with them, till (like *Romulus*) he had first consulted the will of the Gods by augury. He was conducted therefore to the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, and was there seated upon a stone, with his face to the south, and his head covered with a veil. The chief of the augurs stood behind him, and, stretching his right hand over the King's head, turned himself to the east and pray'd for him. Then gazing around to discover a favourable omen, he saw some birds, which were presumed to be fortunate; and this was sufficient. The King came down from the hill, the people renewed their shouts and acclamations; and, what seldom happens to a state that receives a new master, the joy was universal and sincere.

Year of *ROME* From XLI. to LXXXII.

§. IV. THE reader is not here to expect the history of a reign memorable for battles and conquests. *Numa*'s particular glory was his quieting all contentions at home, reforming the manners of the *Romans*, and establishing good policy among them.

NUMA Second King. *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 118.

At the time of his accession to the throne, there were some disputes and heart-burnings between the Senators of *Romulus*'s election and those which *Tatius* had added to them; the former claiming certain honours and pre-eminences, which destroyed that perfect equality for which the latter con-

6 tended,

tended. Many of the new-comers among the *Plebeians* were alſo greatly diſſatisfy'd. *Romulus* had left them utterly unprovided for; and the want of a neceſſary ſubſiſtence made them ready to join in any ſedition by which they might hope to better their fortune. *Numa* had no ſooner taken into his hands the reins of government, than he ſilenced the complaints of theſe poor *Plebeians*, by diſtributing ſome of the conquered lands among them; nor was he leſs ſucceſsful in his endeavours to quiet the animoſities among the *Patricians:* And when the citizens of *Rome* were all brought to a perfect concord and harmony among themſelves, ſo as to have no view but the publick good, and when he had enlarged the city, by incloſing within its walls the hill *Quirinalis*, he applied himſelf to form ſuch regulations as might preſerve peace, and make juſtice flouriſh among his ſubjects.

Year of *ROME* XLI—LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

He began his reformations with himſelf, diſmiſſing the three hundred *Celeres*, whom *Romulus* had made his guards; for, he ſaid, it would ill become him to reign over a people he diſtruſted, and as ill to diſtruſt a people that compell'd him to reign over them. And being ſenſible, that the chief ſource of the diſorders in the ſtate had been the too paſſionate love of arms, he laid a ſcheme for moderating the warlike ardor of the *Romans*, by the impreſſions of religion.

Plutarch tells us, that *Numa* acknowledged a firſt Principle of all things, who is impaſſible, inviſible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible; and for this reaſon forbad the *Romans* to repreſent God in the form of man or beaſt; and he adds, that there was no painted or graven image in their temples and ſanctuaries, for the firſt 160 years. *Numa* likewiſe prohibited all bloody ſacrifices; and appointed loaves and meal to be preſented to the Gods, with Libations of wine and milk. And becauſe *Pythagoras*, the *Samian*, brought the like ceremonies from *Greece*, *Numa* has been thought by ſome to have learned them from him; but *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* are all againſt this opinion: And indeed it ſeems highly probable, that *Pythagoras* did not live till long after *Numa*'s time.

But notwithſtanding the right notions which this Prince had of the Deity, he did not introduce the worſhip of him; he authorized both the *Alban* and *Sabine* ceremonies of religion, and contented himſelf with eſtabliſhing order and decency in the performance of them.

§. V. THE miniſters of religion he divided into eight claſſes. *D. Hal.* B. 2. p. 120.

The firſt was the *Curiones*, they were the particular Prieſts of each *Curia:* and as there were thirty *Curiæ* in *Rome*, ſo were there thirty *Curiones.*

The ſecond claſs was the *Flamines* [a], who took their names, as ſome ſay, from the flame-coloured tufts upon their caps: But *Plutarch* tells us, that theſe

[a] The *Flamines* were choſen by the People: after which, they received an inauguration, or rather a ſort of conſecration, at the hands of the *Pontifex Maximus*, to whom they were abſolutely ſubject. Their miniſtry was confined to one particular God, whoſe name they took. All other prieſtly offices were incompatible with that of *Flamen*; a dignity

Year of *ROME* XLI to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

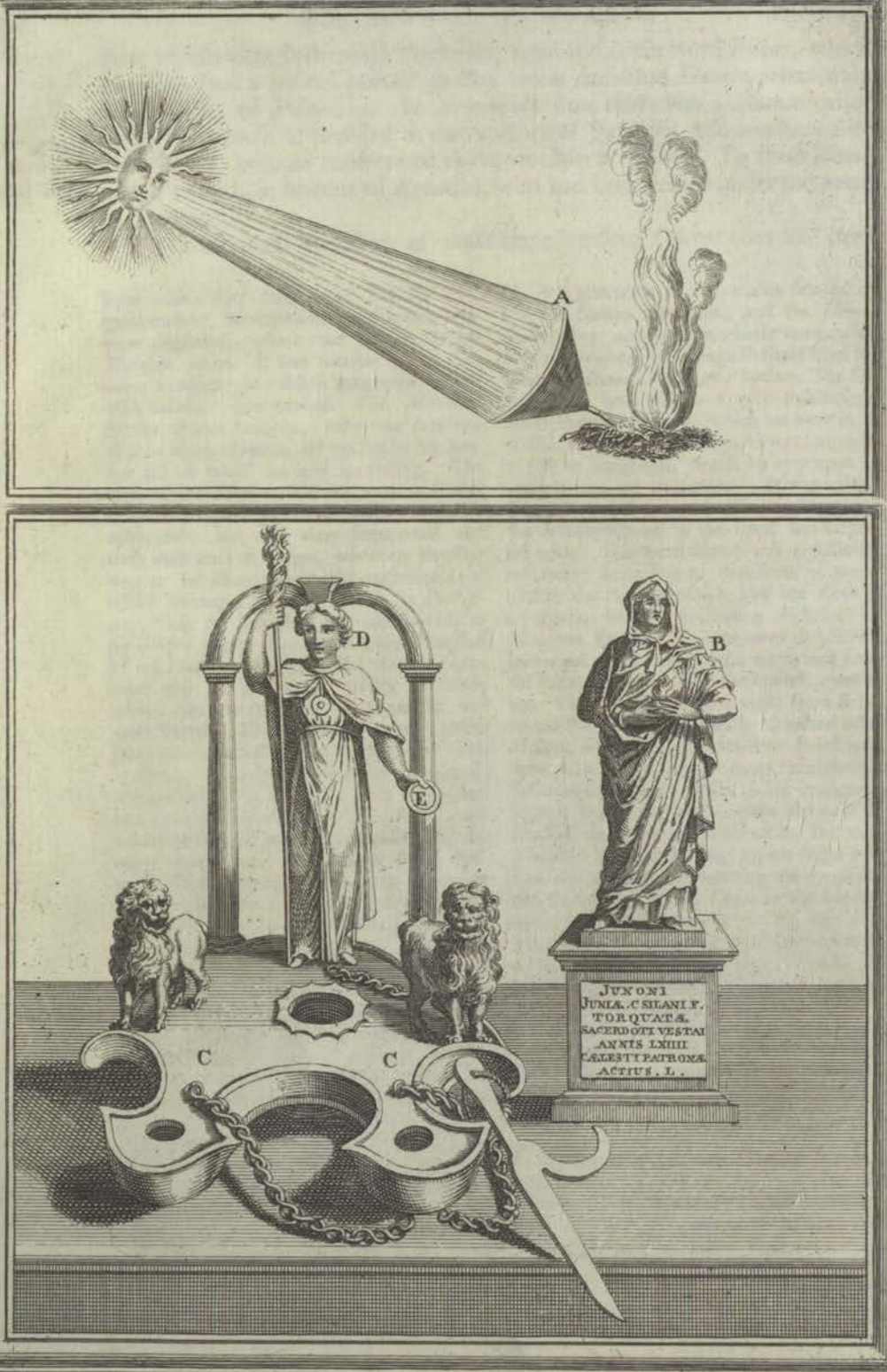
theſe Prieſts were firſt called *Pilamines*, from the *Latin* word *Pileus*, which ſignified ſuch a picked bonnet as they wore, and that *Flamines* was only a corruption of *Pilamines*. In *Romulus*'s time there was a *Flamen* called *Dialis* [a], becauſe he preſided in the worſhip of *Jupiter*; and another called *Martialis* [b], becauſe conſecrated to the worſhip of *Mars*. To theſe *Numa* added a third, in honour of *Romulus*, who had been deified under the name of *Quirinus*.

The third claſs conſiſted of thoſe three hundred *Celeres* who had been

from which they could not, but for very great reaſons, be depoſed. In this caſe they were degraded, which the *Romans* called *Flaminio abire*. It was a crime for the *Flamines* to appear in publick uncovered, or to offer ſacrifice bare-headed. *Val. Maximus* ſpeaks of one *Sulpitius*, who was deprived of the office of *Flamen*, for having let his bonnet fall off whilſt he was ſacrificing. The body of the *Flamines* did not form a ſociety or particular college, as the *Augurs* and *Pontifices* did: but they were ſummoned, and took their ſeats as judges, whenever an affair was to be determined, the cognizance of which belonged to the college of the *Pontifices*. *Tully pro domo ſua*, addreſſes himſelf to his judges thus: *Diſcite orationem Pontifices & vos Flamines*. In civil life, the *Flamines* were tied up to ſeveral trifling practices, which the extravagance of paganiſm had made ſacred. Their wives, who were called *Flaminicæ*, partook of the Prieſthood of their huſbands, and ſhared with them the care of the ſacrifices: as we learn from *A. Gellius*, and ſome of *Gruter*'s *antient inſcriptions:* and a *Flaminica* could not be divorced on any account whatſoever. Death alone could ſeparate a *Flamen* from his wife; and upon her death he loſt his ſacerdotal dignity. They had under their care ſome young girls and boys, to aſſiſt in the ſacrifices. Theſe ſorts of *Acolythes*, whoſe fathers and mothers muſt be living, were called *Flaminii* and *Flaminiæ*. The number of the *Flamines* was at firſt but three; afterwards they increaſed to twelve, and to fifteen.

[a] The *Flamen Dialis* was the moſt diſtinguiſhed of any, both by the pre-eminence of his rank, and the God he ſerved. The engagements he entered into, as Prieſt of *Jupiter*, were inconſiſtent with his bearing civil offices, which he could neither ſollicit, nor accept. But to make him amends, he had the privilege of being guarded by a *Lictor*, and wearing a magnificent robe: to which were added the honours of the *Curule Chair*. He was generally of a *Patrician* family, as alſo the *Flamen Martialis*, and the *Flamen Quirinalis*: and therefore theſe were called *Flamines Majores*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Flamines Minores*, who were *Plebeians*. The *Flamen Dialis* was ſubject to very troubleſome laws, the particulars of which we have in *A. Gellius*. Among other things, he was forbidden to ride on horſeback, or caſt his eyes upon an army drawn up in battalia. It was unlawful for him to ſwear, and therefore his taking the oaths appointed by the laws, was diſpenſed with. His word alone was a ſufficient teſtimony, according to that form of words uſed by the *Prætor*, which had the force of a perpetual edict: *Sacerdotem Veſtalem, & Flaminem Dialem, in omni mea juriſdictione jurare non cogam*. He could not attend funeral ſolemnities, but with the utmoſt precautions. To be abſent but one night from *Rome*, to touch a dead body, and a thouſand other actions, which are in themſelves indifferent, were thought to be ſo many conſiderable faults in the *Flamen Dialis*. But in order to lighten this heavy yoke, great marks of diſtinction were annexed to his office. He wore a hollow or pierced ring on his finger; he had the privilege of wearing the *Prætexta*, and ſitting in a *Curule Chair* in the Senate; and only a freeman could cut his hair. In ſome caſes, the reſpect ſhewn him was carried to extravagant ſuperſtition. Witneſs this law: *Unguium Dialis, & capilli Segmina, ſubter Arborem felicem, terra integunto*.

[b] The *Flamen Martialis* was the ſecond in rank among the *Flamines*. It was not lawful for him to go out of *Italy*, at leaſt in the firſt ages of *Rome*. We learn from *Livy* and *Val. Maximus*, that *Aulus Poſthumus*, Conſul and *Flamen Martialis*, could not get leave of *Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, to command the *Roman* army in *Africa*. The *Flamen Quirinalis* was alſo ſubject to the ſame law. *Liv.* B. 37. gives us an inſtance of it in the perſon of *Q. Fabius Pictor*.



A. *A brazen Vase made to collect the rays of ỹ Sun, in order to renew the Sacred Fire.* B. Vestal, *64 years of Age.* C.C. *A Lamp consecrated to* Vesta. D. *An Image of* Vesta *representing Fire by ỹ Burning Torch she has in her hand; and representing the Earth, by the two Lions at her Feet, and the Tower with which she is crowned.* E. *A* Patera, *or vessel made to catch the Blood of ỹ Victims offered up in Sacrifice.*

Romulus's guards. *Numa* changed this military body into a company of Sacrificers.

The [a] *Augurs* compoſed the fourth claſs; their functions extended farther than the name ſeems to imply. They did not only foretel future events by the flying or ſinging of birds; all ſorts of divination were within their province. They interpreted dreams; drew preſages from ſeveral *Phænomena* both in the Heavens, and on the Earth, ſuch as monſters, earthquakes, *&c.* and their miniſtry was equally made uſe of by the publick, and by private perſons.

§. VI. THE *Veſtals* made the fifth claſs: Tho' *Numa* was not the firſt inſtitutor of theſe, yet he was the firſt who erected a particular temple to [b] *Veſta*, and cauſed a [c] fire to be kept always burning in it. This fire was looked upon by the *Romans*, as ſacred in itſelf, and the extinction of it fatal to the Republick. The care of ſupplying and preſerving it was committed by the King to four [d] virgins, whoſe names were *Gegania*, *Verenia*, *Canuleia*, and *Tarpeia*. So that *Numa*, though a *Sabine*, ſeems to have had more regard for the remains of the *Trojan* religion, than his predeceſſor, who was deſcended from *Æneas*. But *Romulus* is ſaid to have had his reaſons for not inſtituting at *Rome* this college of Virgins, which had been eſtabliſhed in *Alba* before his time: He was afraid leſt the faults of the *Veſtals* ſhould call to remembrance what had happened to *Rhea Sylvia*, his Mother. *Numa*, not having the ſame re-

[a] See what is ſaid of the *Augurs*, page 22. *Numa* allowing of no bloody ſacrifices, inſtituted no *Haruſpices*.

[b] It is probable, that the antients underſtood by *Veſta*, the whole world, or the univerſe to which they attributed a ſoul, and which they looked upon as the only Divinity, ſometimes under the name of τὸ πᾶν, and ſometimes under that of μόνας, that is to ſay, *Unity*. This was the myſtical ſignification of *Veſta*, though the vulgar worſhipped her as the Goddeſs of the Earth and of Fire. And with a view to repreſent the univerſe, under the name of *Veſta*, *Numa Pompilius* built a round temple in honour of this Goddeſs: under which form, the temples of this Goddeſs are ſtill repreſented in medals. In the midſt of the temple *Numa* placed the altar of the ſacred fire, which was ever burning, out of a perſuaſion, that the proper region of fire was the center of the world. In all probability, this King did not think the earth immoveable, but fancied it was always rolling round the fire; that is, the ſun, which he thought placed in the center of the univerſe. And *Plato* embraced this opinion towards the end of his life; as did *Pythagoras*, and his diſciples. So that, if we believe *Plutarch*, who relates all theſe facts, we muſt acknowledge, that the ſyſtem which has ſince been adopted by *Copernicus*, was known in *Italy*, ſo early as in the days of *Numa Pompilius*.

[c] The keeping up of a ſacred fire had always been a part of religion, in different nations. *The fire ſhall ever be burning upon the altar*, ſaith the Lord, *it ſhall never go out*, Lev. vi. 13. Such a fire was preſerved in the temples of *Ceres* at *Mantinea*, of *Apollo* at *Delphos* and *Athens*, and in that of *Diana* at *Ecbatan* among the *Perſians*. *Setimus* committed the care of the ſacred fire in the temple of *Minerva*, and of the ſtatue of *Pallas*, to a ſociety of young women. The *Magi* had the charge of keeping a fire always burning on altars erected in the middle of thoſe little temples which *Strabo* calls πυραθεῖα. A lamp was always burning in the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. And, if we may believe *Diod. Siculus*, this cuſtom came from the *Egyptians* to the *Greeks*, and from them to the *Romans*, who made it a principal point of their religion.

[d] *Tarquin the Elder* added two more, and this number was never increaſed. The *Veſtals* were choſen from ſix to ten years of age. None beyond that age were admitted.

ſtraint,

Year of *ROME* XLI to LXXXII.

NUMA Second King.

ſtraint, thought fit to make this eſtabliſhment, and he gave the *Veſtals* rules and privileges.

All converſation with men was not forbidden theſe Virgins; they were permitted to receive viſits from them by day; by night, none but perſons of their own ſex were ſuffered to come into their apartments. They were obliged to ſtrict continence for thirty years; of which the firſt ten were employed in learning the ceremonies of religion, the next ten in the performance of them, and the ten laſt in teaching them to the younger *Veſtals*. After this, they were permitted to quit the functions of Prieſteſſes, and marry. But as theſe late marriages were obſerved not to be very happy, few of them left their old profeſſion, even after the time of their miniſtry was expired. And indeed the reſtraints of their condition were ſufficiently compenſated by the honours that were annexed to it. They never appeared in publick, but attended by *Lictors*, in the ſame manner as the Kings. If they chanced to meet a criminal going to execution, they had the privilege of pardoning him, provided they made oath, that their meeting him was purely accidental. It was a capital crime to enter with them into the litters in which they were carried. At what age ſoever they were admitted *Veſtals*, they became immediately miſtreſſes of their own fortunes. And laſtly, they had a right of making their wills, even in their father's life-time.

But then, as the honours done them were great, ſo were the puniſhments of their faults. The leaſt levity in their behaviour, the ſmalleſt neglect in the diſcharge of their office, was, after proof made of it before the *Pontifices*, puniſhed, at their command, with ſeverity. That puniſhment eſpecially which was inflicted on them for proſtituting their honour, had ſomething in it inexpreſſibly terrible. The whole city was in a conſternation at it, and the ſight was indeed very mournful. The offender, wrapped up in cloths, and ſwathed ſo tight as to be deprived of the uſe of her voice, was carried in a litter croſs the *Forum*, and thence thro' the *Colline Gate*, to the place where ſhe was to be buried alive. Her friends and relations walked before her in tears, in the ſame order as in a funeral proceſſion, till they came near the vault, in which ſhe was to end her days. In this vault was a little bed, a lamp burning, and a ſmall quantity of proviſions. The *Pontifex* read ſome prayers over her, with a low voice; but without the luſtrations and other expiatory ceremonies which were uſed for the dead. This done, they let her down into the vault, and bricking up the entrance, covered it with earth. It is not certain, that this cuſtom of burying the *Veſtals* was ſo early as *Numa*. Some authors ſay, they were burnt; and others that they were ſtoned. As for the accomplice in the crime, he was whipped to death.

To ſuffer the ſacred fire to go out, was alſo an unpardonable piece of negligence in the *Veſtals*. The whole city was alarmed at it, and thought it foreboded approaching ruin. Freſh fire, kindled, according to *Feſtus*, by rubbing two pieces of wood together, or, according to *Plutarch*, by the rays of the ſun, was brought into the temple of *Veſta*, after many

A. *Two* Salii. B. *A Pontifical Vase for Sacrifices.* C. *A Simpulum for catching ye Blood of ye victims* D. *The* Augural *Staff.* E. *The Sprinkler for Sprinkling ye* Lustral *water.*

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many purifications; and the *Pontifices* examined into the cauſes of this wicked neglect, that it might be puniſhed with ſeverity. *Feſtus* ſays, the offender was whipt by the *Pontifex* through a veil.

§. VII. THE ſixth claſs eſtabliſhed by *Numa* was, the *Salii*. For their origin we muſt go up as high as *Evander*, who brought a company of muſicians from *Arcadia* into *Italy*; the chief of whom was named *Salius*. Their office at firſt was only to ſing at the ſacrifices: But it was afterwards changed to dancing to the ſound of the flute, in honour of thoſe *Genii*, on whoſe favour ſucceſs in war depended. *Numa Pompilius* laid hold of an opportunity that offered, to revive this order, and make it a religious one. In the eighth year of his reign, a peſtilence which ravaged *Italy* was ſeverely felt at *Rome*. Fear increaſing the ſuperſtition of the people, *Numa* took advantage of it for the promoting of his views, with reſpect to religion. He made them believe, that a ſhield of an extraordinary make fell down from Heaven to him, and that the Nymph *Egeria* and the Muſes had told him, that the health and proſperity of *Rome* depended upon the preſervation of that ſhield. For fear therefore that ſo pretious a *Depoſitum* ſhould be ſtollen, and that it might be the more difficult to diſtinguiſh it, he ordered a ſkilful workman, named *Mamurius*, to make eleven more, exactly like it. He pretended, that the Nymph *Egeria* and the Muſes had directed this, and alſo that the fountain where he uſed to converſe with them, and the fields about it, ſhould be conſecrated; and that the *Veſtals* ſhould from that fountain draw all the water with which they ſprinkled their ſanctuary. The twelve ſhields, called *Ancilia*, were hung up in the temple of *Mars*, and twelve young *Romans*, taken out of good families, were appointed to be the keepers of them. Their name of *Salii* was agreeable to their miniſterial office; for the deſcent of the miraculous ſhield, to which the ſtopping of the contagious diſtemper was aſcribed, was annually celebrated by them on the firſt of *March*, with publick [a] dancings.

Dion. Hal. *Plutarch.*

[a] In this feſtival, the twelve *Salii* marched out of the temple in good order, each carrying one of the ſacred ſhields on his left arm, and a javelin in his right hand. They were dreſſed in habits ſtriped with purple, and girded with broad belts, claſped with braſs buckles; on their heads they wore helmets, or high bonnets, which terminated in a point. As they marched, ſometimes they ſung in conſort, and ſometimes they danced, to the ſound of inſtruments, martial entries, which they diverſify'd agreeably enough. Sometimes one only danced, who was called *Præſul*, he was the head of the company, and both led the dances, and regulated them. Sometimes they all joined together, and diverted the ſpectators with their martial attitudes, and their quick and lively motions. They were particularly expert in beating juſt time, which they did with their javelins upon their ſhields. In the choice of the *Salii*, *Numa* would have theſe two rules obſerved: 1*ſt*, That they ſhould be natives of *Rome*, and free-born. 2*dly*, That their fathers and mothers ſhould be alive. By this means he made ſure of their fidelity, their parents being their ſecurity. The feſtival laſted ſeveral days. During which, the firſt *Romans* were ſcrupulous of undertaking any ſerious and important affair. It was not then lawful for them to marry, or undertake a journey, or any military expedition. In the latter ages, they ſhook off the yoke of this ſuperſtition, and became leſs ſcrupulous. The *Salii* ended all theſe days of ceremony with repaſts, in which no coſt was ſpared. Hence *Tully* uſes the words, *Saliarem in modum cœnare*, to ſignify a ſplendid entertainment.

§. VIII. THE

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§. VIII. THE ſeventh claſs of miniſters dedicated to religion, were the *Feciales*; whoſe employment being of importance to the ſtate, and their authority great, and for life, care was taken to chuſe them out of the beſt families. It is probable, that a war, with which this pacifick King was threatned by the *Fidenates*, occaſioned his thinking of this eſtabliſhment Notwithſtanding the revolt of *Fidena*, and the depredations committed by its inhabitants, on the *Roman* lands, *Numa* thought himſelf obliged to attempt an accommodation by treaty, before he had recourſe to arms. The better therefore to aſcertain the equity of this war, if he ſhould undertake it, and of all ſuch as *Rome* ſhould for the future engage in, he eſtabliſhed a ſacred college of 20 perſons, who were to be in ſome meaſure the arbiters of war and peace: It was not lawful to commit any hoſtilities on the lands of the neighbouring nations, till all means of an amicable accommodation had been firſt tried, without ſucceſs. In caſe the Republick had ſuffered any injury from a foreign ſtate, theſe *Feciales*, or Heralds were diſpatched to demand ſatisfaction, and their manner was this. When one of them had been choſen by the college, under the name of *Pater Patratus* [a], they gave him a magnificent habit, and made him carry a ſort of ſceptre, or *Caduceus*, in his hand, to diſtinguiſh him from his collegues. In this manner he went out of the city: And when he arrived at the enemy's frontiers, he called *Jupiter* and the other Gods to witneſs, that he came only to demand juſtice in behalf of the *Roman* people. Then he advanced into the country of the aggreſſors, and took a ſecond oath, that he would ſay nothing at the place whither he was deputed to go, but what was true, and require nothing but what was equitable. He told the firſt ſtranger he met, that he had taken theſe oaths, and then went on towards the city, of which he was to demand ſatisfaction. As he entered it, he repeated the ſame oaths at the gate, in preſence of the officer who was upon guard, or at leaſt of ſome of the inhabitants. From thence he went on to the place of publick concourſe, and there declared the reaſons of his coming. This done, he deſired a conference with the magiſtrates: And if they ſubmitted to reaſon, and delivered up to him the perſons who had been guilty of the inſult offered to *Rome*, he carried them away with him. If the magiſtrates aſked time to deliberate, he gave them ten days; and, when theſe were expired, ten more; and ſo on to thirty. But if, after the 30 days, they ſtill continued to refuſe him juſtice, he called the Gods of Heaven and Hell to witneſs againſt them; and forthwith declared, that he was going to make his report at *Rome*, where it would be conſidered of at leiſure. Upon his return to the Senate, he reported, that he had performed all the duties of his office, and that nothing hindred the

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 126.

[a] No perſons were ever deputed to treat of peace or war, but ſuch, whoſe fathers were living, and who were themſelves the fathers of ſeveral children. And from hence comes the name of *Patris Patrati*, i. e. *Fathers in reality*, [or perhaps, *Fathers who had Fathers*] according to *Plutarch*; who adds, that this law was a political invention of *Numa*. This King thought, that a man who had a father and children alive, would be the more inclined to be faithful to his country, and promote its intereſts.

Romans

Romans from declaring war[a]; and then was the time for the Senate to come to a reſolution. But before theſe formalities had been obſerved, it was not lawful for either King, or Senate, military tribunes, or ſubaltern officers, to attempt any thing againſt the enemy. In this manner did *Numa*, perhaps a little at the expence of his own authority, put a check to the precipitate ſallies of the *Romans*, who attended more to the ſuggeſtions of their ambition, than the rules of equity, in making war. It was probably owing to theſe regulations, that the *Fidenates* eſcaped the reſentment of the *Romans*; for the latter undertook no war in *Numa*'s time.

§. IX. THE eighth, and moſt venerable of all the different bodies conſecrated to religion, was the *Pontifices*[b]; the origin of which name is uncertain. Their[c] office was, to give judgment in all cauſes relating to religion; to enquire into the lives and manners of the inferior prieſts, and to puniſh them if they ſaw occaſion; to preſcribe rules for publick worſhip; to regulate the feaſts, ſacrifices, and all other ſacred inſtitutions;

[a] If the Senate determined to declare war, the *Feciales* returned to the enemy's country, and, in the preſence of three witneſſes, who were arrived at the age of *Puberty*, declared the cauſe of the war. After which he committed the firſt act of hoſtility, by throwing a bloody javelin: and at the ſame time uttered this form of words, which *A. Gellius* has preſerved: The *Hermondulian people, and thoſe of this country, have offered violence to the* Roman *people, who for that reaſon declare war againſt them.* The name *Hermondulian* is of no determinate ſignification, and was then univerſally applied to all nations.

[b] Moſt of thoſe who have written of the *Roman* antiquities, derive the word *Pontifices*, from *Pons* and *facere*, the repairs of the bridges being committed to their care. Bridges were then thought ſacred. The moſt ſolemn ſacrifices were performed upon them. The bridge *Sublicius* is ſaid to have been built, purſuant to the directions of an oracle, which forbad the uſe of iron in the framing it, and commanded that the parts of it ſhould be joined together with wooden pins. But *Plutarch* finds fault with the abovementioned etymology of the word *Pontifex*. He ſays, this word was in uſe at *Rome* before there were any bridges there. That wooden bridge it ſelf, which was the firſt that was built at *Rome*, and called *Sublicius*, was of ſo late date, as to be the work of King *Ancus Marcius*, *Numa*'s grandſon: whereas the word *Pontifex* was in uſe ſo early as in *Numa*'s time. *Plutarch* therefore gives another derivation of the word *Pontifex*; he derives it from *Potnis*, which, in old *Latin*, ſignified *powerful*, or *abſolute maſter:* ſome authors derive it from the two words, *potis* and *facere*, underſtanding by the word *facere, to ſacrifice.*

From *Numa*'s time, to the middle of the fifth century, after the foundation of *Rome*, there were but four *Pontifices*. Afterwards, at the requeſt of the people, who were deſirous of ſharing the honours of the prieſthood with the *Patricians*, four others of *Plebeian* families were added to them. To theſe eight *Sylla* added ſeven more. The firſt eight were, according to ſome, ſtyled *Pontifices majores*, and the reſt *Pontifices minores*. According to others, theſe titles diſtinguiſhed the *Patrician Pontifices* from the *Plebeian*.

It will appear in the latter ages of the republick, that the people claimed the right of chuſing the inferior *Pontifices:* for as to the *Pontifex Maximus*, he ſeems to have been always choſen by the people, aſſembled in their *Comitia*. At leaſt, we find inſtances of this kind in *Livy*, eſpecially in B. 25. at the very time when the inferior *Pontifices* were choſen by the pontifical college. The *Pontifex Maximus* was alſo generally taken out of the other *Pontifices*. The Emperors aſſumed this dignity from *Octavius*'s time; and the Chriſtian Emperors continued to bear this title, to the time of *Gratian*, who (as we learn from *Zozimus*) abſolutely refuſ'd it.

[c] *Tully*, in his oration, *pro domo ſua*, tells the *Pontifices*, that the honour and ſafety of the commonwealth, the liberty of the people, the houſes and fortunes of the citizens, and the very Gods themſelves, were all committed to their care.

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to determine what works ſhould be deemed lawful, and what unlawful, on feſtival days. Their Preſident had the title of *Pontifex Maximus*; and his office was one of the moſt honourable in the common-wealth. Some ſay, the King reſerved this eminent dignity to himſelf; and others, that he conferred it on his kinſman *Numa Marcius*.

§. X. SUCH were the eight claſſes into which *Numa* divided the prieſts and miniſters of ſacred things, multiplying the ceremonies and amuſements of religion, in order the more effectually to divert the *Romans* from the purſuits of ambition, and the violence of arms. It was with the ſame view, or at leaſt to give a check to the haſty proceedings of this fierce and rugged people, ever ready, upon the ſlighteſt occaſions, to begin a war, that he cauſed a particular reverence to be paid to [a] *Janus*, whoſe two faces being the ſymbol of prudence, which looks backwards and forwards, and conſiders the cauſes and conſequences of things, were to be a memento to them, to recollect themſelves, before they gave way to their fury. He ordered the temple of that God to be kept ſhut in time of peace, and open in time of war.

But there is no part of *Numa*'s management, which *Dionyſius* admires ſo much, as his contrivance to make the *Romans* honeſt, by turning *Good Faith* into a Goddeſs, and appointing her a divine worſhip. It was a new invention unknown both to *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, and contributed greatly, as that hiſtorian obſerves, to bring the republick to be faithful to her treaties, and the private citizens to their contracts with one another, into which they entered without witneſſes. A ſcrupulous regard to truth became in time ſo univerſal among them, that the magiſtrates frequently determined doubtful cauſes between man and man by the bare affirmation, *ex fide*, as it was called, of the plaintiff or defendant. This *veracity*, and this ſtrictneſs in the performances of covenants were virtues ſtill ſubſiſting among the *Romans* in the time of *Polybius*, who gives them the glorious teſtimony, that they inviolably kept their word, making witneſſes and ſecurities needleſs; whereas ten ſecurities, twenty promiſes, and as many witneſſes were no fence againſt the knaveries of the *Greeks*.

Bona Fides.

§. XI. THE ſame ſpirit of equity in *Numa* made him likewiſe introduce other Deities, under the name of *Termini* or *Boundaries*. In *Romulus*'s time, neither the *Roman* territory in general, nor the eſtates of private perſons had any fixed limits. That ambitious Prince would have betrayed his own cauſe; and his encroachments on his neighbour's lands would have been too manifeſt, had he ſet bounds to his own. But *Numa*, having no views of enlarging his dominion, ordered ſtones, dedicated to *Jupiter Terminalis*, to be placed on the borders of the *Roman* ſtate, to mark the juſt extent of it. The ſame was done with regard to the

[a] *Livy* leaves it uncertain, whether *Numa* built the temple of *Janus*, or not. *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* ſay nothing of it. *Varro*, as quoted by St. *Auſtin*, ſays, that *Romulus* cauſed the firſt temple of *Janus*, in *Rome*, to be erected, after the treaty made between him, and *Titus Tatius*; and that he gave this God two faces, to ſhew, that at *Rome* two Kings reigned at the ſame time, and two nations were united, and become one.

lands

A. *A* Terminus *representing* Hercules *with his Club, and the Head of the* Nemæan *Lion in his Hand.* B. *Another* Terminus *representing an armed* Pallas. C. *A third* Terminus *with the Head of a* Mercury. D. *A Fourth* Terminus *representing* Hercules *in a Lion's Skin.* E. *A Fifth* Terminus *representing* Venus, *or some other Goddess.*

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lands of private property, and theſe land-marks became themſelves a kind of Deities. To remove them was deemed a ſacrilege of ſo heinous a nature, that any man might with impunity ſlay the tranſgreſſor. And, in order to render the law yet more inviolable, *Numa* inſtituted a feſtival, called *Terminalia*, in honour to the *Dii* [a] *Termini*: It was celebrated the 22d or 23d of the month of *February*. The owners of lands met on the confines of their eſtates, and there made their offerings, not indeed of bloody victims, as was afterwards the cuſtom, but of loaves, and the firſt gatherings of their fruits and harveſts. Thus did this wiſe King make a great variety of ſuperſtitions ſerviceable to the purpoſes of equity.

Theſe following laws of *Numa*, concerning religion, ſubſiſted in *Rome* ever after: *Let none appear in the preſence of the Gods, but with a pure heart, and ſincere piety. Let none there make a vain ſhew and oſtentation of their riches, but fear leſt they ſhould thereby bring on themſelves the vengeance of Heaven. Let no one have particular Gods of his own, or bring new ones into his houſe, or receive ſtrange ones, unleſs allowed by edict. Let every one preſerve in his own houſe the Oratories eſtabliſhed by his Fathers, and pay his domeſtick Gods the worſhip that has always been paid them. Let all honour the antient* Gods of Heaven, *and the heroes whoſe exploits have carried them thither, ſuch as* Bacchus, Hercules, Caſtor, Pollux *and* Quirinus. *Let altars be erected to the virtues which carry us up to Heaven; but never to vices.*

§. XII. BUT though religion was *Numa*'s chief care, the explaining and amending of the Civil Laws took up a great part of his attention: particularly, he reformed that law of *Romulus* which gave fathers an unlimitted power over their children; he would not ſuffer them to ſell their ſons after marriage, becauſe it was very unjuſt, that a woman who had married a freeman ſhould be conſtrained to live with a ſlave.

This King in his regulations had an eſpecial regard to the preſerving of modeſty in women. He excluded them from all publick affairs, in ſo much, that a woman having appeared in a court of juſtice to plead her own cauſe, it was looked upon as one of thoſe prodigies which foreboded danger to the ſtate, and as an ill omen which ought to be averted by expiations. He alſo forbad proſtitutes to enter into the temple of *Juno*. Nevertheleſs, he permitted husbands to lend out their wives after they had had children by them. It was a ſort of temporary divorce, in favour of thoſe men whoſe wives were barren, but the husbands ſtill continued to have the ſame power over them, and could call them home, or lend them to others, as they pleaſed.

Numa, obſerving that the expences in mourning habits and funeral [b] Ceremonies

[a] The *Dii Termini* invented by *Numa*, were in his time nothing more than ſquare ſtones, or poſts, to which a religious worſhip was paid. Afterwards they were adorned with ſtatues repreſenting human figures, were crowned with flowers, and rubbed with perfumes.

[b] The dead were antiently carried on funeral-

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remonies were carried to exceſs, put a reſtraint upon that kind of extravagance. Nor would he ſuffer the dead to be buried or burnt within the walls of *Rome*. He forbad the mourners at funerals to make loud lamentations, and aboliſhed the mad cuſtom of the womens tearing their faces upon the death of their children or huſbands; and laſtly, he limited the time of mourning to ten months.

§. XIII. NOR were theſe the only reformations made by *Numa*. *Romulus* having employed his people in continual wars, his ſucceſſor was much embarraſſed with a ſoldiery, who had been accuſtomed to plunder, and who were now without buſineſs. He ſhared therefore among them thoſe lands which the late King had obtained by conqueſt, and had left uncultivated. And the better to keep them conſtantly attentive to the improvement of their farms, he diſtributed them into *Pagi*, or villages, over each of which he appointed a Chief or Super-intendant. The buſineſs of the Super-intendant was, to have a watchful eye over the huſbandmen, to encourage them when diligent, and to puniſh them when ſlothful. He was alſo to make a report of the progreſs of agriculture in his diſtrict to the King, who, judging of every man's capacity for publick affairs by his prudence and œconomy in the management of his farm, frequently advanced the induſtrious huſbandman to the firſt dignities in the ſtate. *Plutarch* obſerves another great advantage ariſing from this manner of employing the idle ſoldiery; that hereby they were not only inured to fatigue, as in time of war, but became accuſtomed to a peaceable and regular way of living; for there is nothing which ſo reconciles the minds of men to peace, as huſbandry and a country life; it makes them abhor all violence, at the ſame time that it gives them courage and reſolution to defend their ploughed lands and paſtures from the encroachments of their neighbours.

§. XIV. BUT the maſter-piece of *Numa*'s policy, according to *Plutarch*, was his [a] diſtribution of the tradeſmen of *Rome* into diſtinct corporations. The city had been long divided into two factions, occaſioned by the mixture of the *Sabines* with the firſt *Romans*. Hence aroſe the diſſentions of the *Interregnum*; and it was an inexhauſtible ſource of diſcord. *Numa* therefore to remedy this evil, and to aboliſh the very names of *Tatian* and *Romuliſt*, made all the artiſts and tradeſmen of *Rome*, of whatſoever nation they originally were, enter into ſeparate companies, according to their reſpective profeſſions. The muſicians had the firſt rank; doubtleſs becauſe they were employed in the offices of religion, and contributed

ral-beds, which were adorned with flowers and crowns. And when luxury prevailed, the *Romans* took a pride in multiplying theſe beds, adorning them in a coſtly manner, and expoſing the images of the anceſtors of the dead upon them, to make the proceſſion the more ſtately and magnificent.

[a] This regulation of *Numa*'s is not mentioned by *Livy*, or *Dion. Hal.* and indeed it ſeems inconſiſtent with what the latter ſays, B. 2. p. 95. That only two ſorts of employment, *War* and *Agriculture*, were permitted to the freemen by *Romulus*, and that all other occupations were for *a long time* look'd upon by the native *Romans* as diſhonourable, and left to ſlaves and ſtrangers.

to the pomp of the ſacrifices. The Goldſmiths, Carpenters, Curriers, Dyers, Taylors, *&c.* formed alſo diſtinct communities. He ordained particular ſtatutes for each of them, and granted them peculiar privileges, and a power of making by-laws. Every corporation was permitted to hold lands, have a common treaſury, and to celebrate feſtivals and ſacrifices proper to itſelf; in a word, to become a ſort of petty republick. By this means, ſays *Plutarch*, the *Sabines* and *Romans* forgetting all their old partialities and party names were brought to an entire union.

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§. XV. THE laſt reformation which this ſecond King of *Rome* undertook, was that of the calendar: And if he did not bring it to its utmoſt perfection, he at leaſt purged it of its groſſeſt faults.

The year is ſaid to have conſiſted, before his time, of but 304 days; which is neither agreeable to the ſolar nor lunar year. *Numa* therefore did his utmoſt to make it agree with the courſes both of the ſun and moon: And he took this method in order to it. He knew the lunar year conſiſted of 354 days, and he made his to conſiſt of 355: The additional day was given to it out of ſuperſtition; *Numa* being perſuaded, that the Gods were pleaſed with odd [a] numbers. And upon the ſame principle, when he added [b] *January* and *February* to the old year, which conſiſted of only ten months, he appointed that the months which before contained, ſome of them more than 35 days, others fewer than 20, ſhould now have each 29 days, or 31. *February* only conſiſted of 28; and it was therefore looked on as a fatal month, and conſecrated to the infernal Gods, who were thought to be pleaſed with even numbers. *Numa* appointed likewiſe, that the year, which before begun with the month of *March*, ſhould henceforwards begin with that of *January*. And after he had in ſome meaſure regulated his year by the courſe of the moon, he turned his thoughts to make it agree with that of the ſun. He was not ignorant that the courſe of the ſun took up about eleven days more than that of the moon: And therefore he appointed that every two years an intercalary month of 22 days ſhould be added to the reſt; which month the *Romans* called [c] *Mercidinus*. And as he was

Varro, Macrob. &c.

ſenſible

[a] This whimſical notion was built on the moſt chimerical foundation. The *Pagans* looked on an even number, as the ſymbol of diviſion, becauſe it could be divided into two equal parts: whereas an odd number was, for the contrary reaſon, the ſymbol of concord. This prejudice gave birth to a thouſand ſuperſtitious practices, ſome of which are continued even among thoſe whom reaſon, enlightened by religion, ought to have undeceived. 'Twas a notion that came originally from the *Egyptians*.

[b] *January* had its name from *Janus*. *February* was ſo called from the expiations ſignified by the word *Februa*, which were in this month performed. *March* had its name from *Mars*, the ſuppoſed father of *Romulus*, which upon that account had been placed firſt. *April* from *Aphrodite* or *Venus*, becauſe of the ſuperſtitious worſhip then paid to her. *May* from *Maia*, the mother of *Mercury*, to whom this month was made ſacred. *June*, from *Juno*, or as ſome will have it, from *Juventus*, becauſe the ſeaſon is warm, or as it were, *juventile*. The reſt had their names from their order, as *Quinilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November* and *December*. Only *Quintilis* and *Sextilis* were afterwards turned into *July* and *Auguſt*, by *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*.

[c] *Plutarch*, in the life of *Julius Cæſar*, calls this month *Mercedonius*. And *Feſtus* tells us

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ſenſible that the ſolar year conſiſted of three hundred ſixty five days and ſix hours, and that theſe ſix hours made a whole day, in four years; he therefore commanded that the month *Mercidinus* after every four years, ſhould conſiſt of twenty three days. Thus did this learned Prince remedy the diſorders of the calendar, as far as he could, and put it into a condition of more eaſily admitting of new corrections.

§. XVI. *NUMA* had now filled the throne near 43 years; and was about 82 years old when he died of ſome chronical diſtemper, which gradually wore him away, without leſſening the vigour of his mind. During his whole reign no declarations of war had obliged the *Romans* to open the temple of *Janus*. He became the arbiter of all the differences among his neighbours; and his virtues ſeemed to have communicated themſelves to all the nations round about *Rome*. As to the *Romans* themſelves, it might be literally ſaid, that their weapons of war were changed into inſtruments of husbandry. No inteſtine ſeditions, no ambitious deſires of the throne, nor attempts upon it, nor ſo much as any murmurs againſt the perſon, or adminiſtration of the King, appeared among them. *Plutarch.* When he died, they lamented him as ſincerely, as if every man had loſt his own father; and the concourſe of ſtrangers to *Rome*, to celebrate his obſequies, was exceedingly great. *Numa* had forbidden the *Romans* to burn his body; they therefore put it into a ſtone-coffin, and, purſuant to his own orders, buried the greateſt part of the [a] books he had written, in the ſame ſepulchre with him. In conſequence of the law he had made, that no dead body ſhould be interred within the city, he himſelf had choſen a burial-place beyond the *Tyber*, at the foot of the *Janiculum*: And thither he was carried on the ſhoulders of his Senators, and followed by

us of certain days, which he calls *Mercedonios Dies*, becauſe they were the time appointed for the payment of workmen and domeſticks. The intercalary month began the day after the *Terminalia*. A little aſtronomy is ſufficient to ſhew, that *Numa*'s year could not agree with the courſes of the ſun and moon. The exact periods of the revolutions of the ſun and moon were not then known. There would have been a difference of ſeveral days, between 19 ſolar years, which make 6939 days, 18 hours, and 235 moons, which make 6939 days, 16 hours, 32 minutes, and upwards: tho' according to the exacteſt calculations, that difference ſhould be no more than one hour and almoſt an half. *Livy* writes, that *Numa* firſt inſtituted the days the *Romans* called *Faſti* and *Nefaſti*. *Macrobius*, B. 1. diſtinguiſhes three ſorts of days, which he calls *Feſti*, *Profeſti*, and *Interciſi*. The firſt were conſecrated to the worſhip of the Gods, the ſecond ſet apart for publick and private buſineſs; the laſt were divided between both.

[a] Theſe books, when dug up ſome time after, were burnt by a decree of the Senate. He had therein explained his reaſons for the novelties he had introduced into the *Roman* worſhip. We are indebted to *Varro* for this account. He tells us, that one *Terentius* had a piece of ground near the *Janiculum*: and that a huſbandman of his, one day accidentally running his plough over *Numa*'s tomb, turned up ſome of that Legiſlator's books; wherein he gave his reaſons for eſtabliſhing the religion of the *Romans* upon the foot on which he left it. The huſbandman carried theſe books to the *Prætor* of *Rome*, and the *Prætor* to the Senate; who, when they had read the frivolous reaſons he aſſigned for his religious eſtabliſhments, agreed, that the books ſhould be deſtroy'd according to *Numa*'s intentions: and it was accordingly decreed, that the *Prætor* ſhould throw them into the fire. *Varro, apud S. Aug. lib. 7. de Civit. Dei. cap.* 24. St. *Auſtin* thinks there were ſome footſteps of magick in theſe books; of which *Numa* had in his life-time been ſuſpected.

all

all the People, who bewailed their loſs with tears. He left no children, except a daughter, named *Pompilia*, who was married to *Numa Marcius* (the ſon of his kinſman *Marcius*, who had perſuaded him to accept of the government) and was the mother of *Ancus Marcius*, fourth King of *Rome*. Year of *ROME* XLI to LXXXII.

CHAP. IV.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

§. I. Tullus Hoſtilius *a man of a generous and martial diſpoſition is elected by the* Romans *to ſucceed* Numa. §. II. *The rivalſhip between* Rome *and* Alba *for ſuperiority.* §. III. *The diſpute is decided by the famous combat between the three* Horatii *and the three* Curiatii, *in which the latter are all ſlain, and two of the former.* §. IV. *The ſurviving* Horatius *in his return to the city, in triumph, ſtabs his own ſiſter, for reproaching him with the death of her Lover. He is tried by the* Duumviri, *and condemned to die. He appeals to the People, and they mitigate the ſentence.* §. V. Tullus, *in conjunction with the* Albans, *engages in a war againſt the* Veientes, *and defeats them. The treachery of the* Albans. Tullus *demoliſhes* Alba, *and tranſplants the inhabitants to* Rome. §. VI. *He vanquiſhes the* Fidenates, Sabines, *and* Latines; *and inſtitutes the* Saturnalia. §. VII. *In his old age, he falls into ſuperſtition, and ſtudies magick. He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace.*

§. I. THE two factions of the *Romuliſts* and *Tatians*, whoſe quarrels ſuſpended for ſo long a time the election of a ſucceſſor to *Romulus*, being now no more, the *Interregnum* which followed the death of *Numa* proved very ſhort. *Tullus Hoſtilius*, a man of a warlike genius, was unanimouſly choſen King by the People, and accepted by the Senate. He was grandſon to a noble *Roman*, named *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*, who is ſaid to have ſignalized his courage in *Romulus*'s time, in the ſecond battle with the *Sabines*, and to have married either the famous *Herſilia* or her daughter. Year of *ROME* LXXXIII. TULLUS HOSTILIUS. Third King.

Tullus having riches enough in his own patrimony, both for the maintenance of his houſhold, and the expences of the publick worſhip, was no ſooner upon the throne, than he diſtributed among ſuch of the citizens as remained unprovided for, thoſe portions of the conquered lands which his predeceſſor had reſerved for the royal demeſnes, or conſecrated to the uſes of religion: And thus he began his reign by a ſhining act of generoſity, which gained him immediately the univerſal affection of his people.

This Prince being not only generous and brave, but of an enterprizing genius, found in himſelf a greater inclination to tread in the ſteps of *Romulus* than thoſe of *Numa:* But the laws eſtabliſhed by his pacific predeceſſor laying ſuch reſtraints upon his martial ardor, as he could not inſtantly break through, he waited till fortune ſhould be ſo favourable,

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as to ſet him free: And it was not long before ſhe furniſhed him with a pretext to open the temple of *Janus*.

§. II. THE *Albans*, upon the death of *Romulus*, ſeeing the race of their antient Kings extinct, had reſumed their independence upon *Rome*; and they choſe their own Governours. *Cælius* or (according to *Livy*) *Cluilius* was now at the head of affairs in *Alba*. He is ſometimes ſtyled King, by the hiſtorians, and ſometimes Dictator. His jealouſy of the growing greatneſs of *Rome*, which by the conqueſts of *Romulus*, and the wiſe adminiſtration of *Numa*, was already become equal to any city in *Italy*, made him impatient to put a ſtop to its progreſs; and having no plauſible reaſon at preſent to give his people for engaging them in a war with the *Romans*, he made uſe of the following ſtratagem to bring them into his ſentiments and meaſures. He privately commiſſioned ſome of the vileſt and moſt indigent of his ſubjects to go and ravage the *Roman* lands, not doubting but *Rome* would immediately fly to arms to revenge her ſelf, and thereby give him a fair opportunity to make her paſs, in the minds of the *Albans*, for the firſt aggreſſor, and the beginner of the war. Nor was *Cluilius* diſappointed in his expectation. A *Roman* army entered the territories of *Alba*, attacked the robbers, ſlew many of them, and took abundance of priſoners. *Cluilius* being now ſufficiently provided with matter for his purpoſe, convened an aſſembly of the people, inveighed againſt the *Romans*, produced a great many of the wounded, as alſo the relations of thoſe who had been killed or taken, and by exaggerating the loſſes which *Alba* had ſuſtained, at length brought the Aſſembly to this concluſion: That an embaſſy ſhould be firſt ſent to the *Romans* to demand ſatisfaction of them, and in caſe they refuſed it, that then war ſhould be declared.

When the Ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome*, *Tullus*, gueſſing at their errand, reſolved to prevent them, and be the firſt who ſhould demand ſatisfaction; that ſo he might throw upon the *Albans* all the odium of the breach between the mother city and the colony: For it had formerly been agreed between them, that they ſhould never make war againſt one another, till a reparation of the damages ſuſtained on either ſide had been previouſly asked in a friendly manner. It was for this reaſon that *Cluilius* had haſtened the departure of his deputies; but *Tullus*, no leſs artful than he, made uſe of various pretences to defer giving them audience; and he contrived to have them ſo agreeably entertained in the houſes where they were lodged, that they neither cared to ſtir abroad, nor had any uneaſineſs about theſe delays. In the mean time, the *Roman* King ſent an embaſſy to *Alba*, with orders to require ſatisfaction on the part of *Rome*, and to preſs the concluſion of the affair. A *Fecialis* was at the head of the Ambaſſadors, who, ſetting out at ſun-riſing, reached *Alba* the ſame morning. They found *Cluilius* in the midſt of the publick *Forum*, and there diſcharged their commiſſion, putting him in mind to conform himſelf to the old treaty of alliance: To which *Cluilius* briſkly anſwered, *It is you alone who violate the treaty. my part has been already performed; I have ſent Ambaſſadors to your King, but*

but to no effect; and I therefore declare war againſt you. The *Fecialis* then aſked him, whether that King, of the two, who firſt refuſed to hear the other's complaints, was not to be thought guilty of the firſt breach of the alliance? and upon *Cluilius*'s replying, *Without doubt*; he called the Gods, who were guardians of the treaty between the two nations, to witneſs, That the *Romans* had been firſt refuſed their demands, and that they might therefore declare war, without any offence to religion: after which proteſtations, the Ambaſſadors inſtantly ſet out for *Rome*.

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They were no ſooner returned thither, but *Tullus* ſent for the *Alban* Deputies, received them in an obliging manner, and then enquired into the deſign of their embaſſy. They civilly made long excuſes for the diſagreeable commiſſion with which they were charged; and declared that they had accepted it contrary to their inclinations, and were very ſorry to find themſelves under a neceſſity to demand ſatisfaction of him, and to declare war, in caſe of a refuſal. To which *Tullus* replied, *Go, tell your King, that the King of* Rome *calls the Gods to witneſs, whether of the two nations did firſt refuſe the other ſatisfaction, that upon that nation they may heap all the miſeries of this war.*

Livy, B. 1.

The *Roman Fecialis* had given *Cluilius* but thirty days ſpace, before hoſtilities were to begin: and theſe were employ'd on both ſides, in making preparations, and getting ſuccours from their allies. At length, both armies took the field; *Cluilius* pitched his camp five miles from *Rome*, and fortified it with a good ditch, which continued long after, and was called *Foſſa Cluilia*; as for *Tullus*, he poſted his *Romans* on an advantageous ground, within view of the enemy.

D. Hal. B. 3.

But now, whatever was the cauſe of it, the two armies were no ſooner in ſight of each other, than their ardour for fighting cooled, and they both kept cloſe within their intrenchments. This inaction made the *Albans* begin to murmur at their Commander as the cauſe of a fruitleſs war; inſomuch, that being incited by their reproaches he reſolved at length to offer the enemy battle; but the next morning, he was found dead in his tent with all his guards about him, and without any ſigns of violence.

Upon the death of *Cluilius*, *Metius Fuffetius* was ſaluted Dictator by the army. He was a man of the ſame turbulent character, and in the ſame views with his predeceſſor; but receiving advice that the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* intended to fall upon both armies when they ſhould be weakened by a battle, he, inſtead of purſuing the war, deſired a conference with *Tullus*, in order to a reconciliation. *Tullus* having received the ſame information, was not averſe to the propoſal; and accordingly the two commanders came to a parley. Both of them expreſſed a willingneſs to have a union formed between the *Albans* and *Romans*; but in order to make it durable and perfect, *Tullus* propoſed, that all, or the chief of the *Alban* families ſhould remove to *Rome*; or in caſe they were unwilling to leave their native city, that at leaſt one common council ſhould be eſtabliſhed to govern both cities, under the direction of him of the two Sovereigns who ſhould be able to contribute moſt to the publick good. *Fuffetius*

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having liſtened to this motion, took aſide thoſe who attended him, to conſult with them upon it. The latter would by no means conſent to leave *Alba*, but they were very ready to come to a union with the *Romans*. The only difficulty remaining, was to ſettle which city ſhould have the command over the other. *Fuffetius* ſpoke in favour of *Alba*, making this his chief plea, that ſhe was the mother-city, from which *Rome* was but a colony; and *Tullus* urged in behalf of *Rome*, her ſuperiority of ſtrength and grandeur. In the cloſe of his ſpeech, he offered to terminate the diſpute by a ſingle combat between himſelf and *Fuffetius*. The *Alban* General not being brave, or perhaps not thinking himſelf a match for *Tullus*, brought ſeveral prudential reaſons, to prove that it would be better to chooſe three champions out of each camp, whoſe ſwords ſhould determine the conteſt between the two cities, than to hazard the lives of the Generals. This propoſal *Tullus* accepted, and the Chiefs retired into their entrenchments.

§. III. AS ſoon as the conditions of the union of *Alba* and *Rome* were known in the two armies, there was in both of them a ſtrong emulation among the young warriors, for the honour of being choſen to this important combat. But *Dionyſius* tells us, that *Fuffetius* caſt his eyes on three brothers, whom he imagined the Gods themſelves had pointed out to be the champions for *Alba*; believing alſo, that three brothers who were then in the *Roman* camp, were under the like deſtiny of being the champions for *Rome*. It was the extraordinary circumſtances of their birth, which made *Fuffetius* entertain this notion. *Sequinius*, an illuſtrious *Alban*, had two daughters; one he married to *Curiatius*, a citizen of *Alba*, the other to *Horatius*, a citizen of *Rome*: and theſe two women were brought to bed on the ſame day, each of three male children. The *Horatian* and *Curiatian* brothers were now in the flower of their age, and all ſix remarkable for their ſtrength and dexterity in fighting. The *Alban* General having fix'd his choice on the three *Curiatii*, and gained their conſent, communicated his thought to the King of *Rome*, and exhorted him to pitch upon the three *Horatii*. Fate, ſaid he, appears to have brought three champions on each ſide into the world, on purpoſe to decide by their ſwords the fortune of their countries. *Tullus* propoſed the matter to the *Horatian* family, but would lay no reſtraint upon them. Old *Horatius*, the father of the three brothers, was full of that *Roman* virtue, which had indeed ſomething rough and fierce in it, but did not ſtifle all ſenſe of humanity. He felt a reluctance at the thoughts of a combat, wherein ſo much of the blood of his family would be ſpilt: but the love of his country getting the aſcendant of all other conſiderations, he left his children to their own choice: and when he underſtood, that they, following the example of the *Curiatii*, preferred a glorious death, or important victory, to an inglorious life, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and embracing his ſons, cried out, *I am a happy Father*; and then commanded them to declare his conſent to the King.

When the day appointed for the combat came, *Tullus* led the *Horatii*, and

and *Fuffetius* the *Curiatii*, into the plain which lay between the two camps. After which the two Kings, conducted by their *Feciales*, advanced into the middle of it, and before the engagement concluded a [a] treaty in form. This done, the *Alban* and *Roman* champions advanced with a flow pace, each to meet his adverſary. But in the inſtant, when the people expected to ſee them in a fierce encounter, they quitted their arms, and with tears in their eyes, flew to embrace each other. The ſpectators were greatly moved at this ſight, and began to murmur at their Kings, who had engaged ſuch tender and generous friends in a cruel rivalſhip for glory. But a new ſcene quickly put an end to their pity, captivated all their attention, and employed all their hopes and fears. The triple combat began; and fortune, for a long time, held an even balance. At length, the eldeſt of the *Horatii* received a mortal wound, and fell; a ſecond of the *Roman* champions had the ſame fate, and expired upon the body of his brother. Upon this the *Albans* gave a great ſhout, while conſternation and deſpair ſpread themſelves through the *Roman* camp. But the [b] three *Alban* brothers were all wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* was yet unhurt, and undaunted. However, not thinking himſelf able to ſuſtain the attack of the three brothers at once, he made uſe of a ſtratagem to ſeparate them: He pretended fear, and fled before them. The *Curiatii* purſued him, but at unequal diſtances, and as their wounds would permit. *Horatius* turned ſhort upon the nimbleſt, and ſlew him. He then flew to the next, and at one ſtroke cut off his arm; after which he ran him thro' the body. The third was in no condition to cope with him; being deſperately wounded he could ſcarcely ſupport himſelf on his buckler. *Horatius* cried

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Livy.

D. Hal.

Livy B. 1.

[a] The form of this treaty eſcaped the injuries of time, till *Livy*'s days: he gives us the following account of it; and it ſerved as a pattern for the greateſt part of the treaties which were afterwards made by the *Romans*.

Firſt, one of the college of the *Feciales*, named *Marcus Valerius*, demanded of King *Tullus*, *Whether he gave him orders to conclude a peace with the* Pater Patratus *of the* Albans? The King anſwered, *He did. Give me then*, replied the herald, *ſome Vervein*, [the ſign of his commiſſion]. *Yes*, anſwered the King, *bring me ſome that is pure*. At theſe words, the *Fecialis* went and gathered ſome Vervein on a little hill, brought it, and went on thus: *Do you then appoint me to be* Fecialis *and Plenipotentiary of* Rome *to the* Albans, *and engage to protect my equipage and retinue? Yes*, replied the King, *as far as is conſiſtent with my intereſt, and thoſe of the* Roman *people:* and then *Valerius* the *Fecialis* appointed *Spurius Fuſius* to be *Pater Patratus* of the treaty, by crowning him with Vervein. His office was to pronounce aloud the words of the oath, in the name of the *Roman* King and people, and to repeat the whole form of the treaty.

After this ceremonial, which paſſed only among the *Romans*, the *Pater Patratus* read the articles of the convention in the preſence of the *Albans*; and then expreſſed himſelf thus: *Hear, O* Jupiter, *hear O* Pater Patratus *of the* Alban *people, hear O* Alban *people; Of theſe articles as I have juſt now read them out of theſe waxed tablets, without fraud or deceit, and as they have been from one end to the other clearly underſtood, the* Roman *people will never be the firſt violators. If they ſhould violate them by publick authority, and by fraud, may* Jupiter *at that inſtant ſtrike them, as I ſhall now ſtrike this hog! May thy ſtroke, great* Jupiter! *be as much heavier, as thy power is greater*. At which words he kill'd the hog, [that was to be offered up in ſacrifice, in confirmation of the treaty,] by a blow on the head with a flint. The heralds of the *Albans* took the like oaths, and alſo offered their ſacrifices.

[b] *Dionyſius* ſays, that there remained only two of the *Curiatii*, and that one of thoſe three brothers was killed in the beginning of the fight.

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out, *To the glory of* Rome *I ſacrifice thee*, ſtruck him on the throat, and, big with victory, ſeized the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed. Thus ended this famous combat, which gave *Rome* the ſuperiority over her mother *Alba*. *Fuffetius* immediately ſaluting King *Tullus* as his maſter, asked him, what were his commands? *I command you nothing*, ſaid *Tullus*, *but to keep the* Alban *youth in readineſs to march at my orders, in caſe I make war with the* Veientes. He likewiſe endeavoured to comfort the *Albans*, who were grievouſly caſt down, by aſſuring them, that he would change nothing in their laws or form of government.

§. IV. BUT now in the height of young *Horatius*'s joy, and when his glory was bright enough to dazzle his own eyes, and make him almoſt forget that he was a man, he met with an accident that occaſioned him a ſevere mortification. As he was returning to the city in a ſort of triumph, his temples encircled with a crown the King had put upon his head, and his ſhoulders loaded with the ſpoils of the three *Curiatii*, he ſaw, with ſome ſurprize, his ſiſter, in the crowd, unattended, and without her mother. He excuſed, in his own mind, the uncommon indecency, by imputing it to her impatience to ſee a victorious brother. But the zeal which had brought her from home was of another kind: One of the *Alban* champions had been her lover, and was to have been her huſband. Upon the firſt report of his being ſlain, ſhe had ſtolen from her mother, and was come running like one diſtracted out of the city; and when ſhe ſaw the conqueror bearing in triumph her lover's military robe (a robe which ſhe had wrought with her own hands) all ſtained with his blood, ſhe tore her hair, beat her breaſt, and reviled her brother in the bittereſt manner.

D. Hal. B. 3. p. 151. *Thou monſter of wickedneſs*, ſhe cried, *how couldſt thou dip thy hands in the blood of thy relations, whom thou haſt ſo often called thy brothers? How couldſt thou murther the man thy ſiſter ſhould have married?* *Horatius* was ſtill warm with ſlaughter, and being enraged at theſe reproaches, and the untimely grief of his ſiſter, *Go then to thy lover*, ſaid he, *with thy unſeaſonable paſſion: Is it thus that thou forgetteſt thy dead brothers, thy living brother, and thy country?* Thus *let every* Roman *periſh, who laments the death of an enemy to* Rome! As he uttered theſe laſt words, he ſtab'd her with his ſword, and went on ſtrait to his father's houſe. The father approved of the action, and refuſed to let his daughter be buried in the ſepulchre of her family.

Nevertheleſs, when *Tullus* returned to *Rome*, *Horatius* was arraigned before him upon an accuſation of murder, and ſome of the moſt eminent of the citizens concerned themſelves in the proſecution. They thought it of dangerous conſequence to ſlacken the rigour of the laws in favour of any man, meerly on account of his bravery or ſucceſs in battle; and the law expreſly forbad to kill any perſon whatſoever who had not been firſt condemned. This affair threw the King into ſome perplexity, being divided between his regard for the laws, eſpecially in the caſe of murder, and the deſire he had to ſave the young warrior, who had done him ſuch important ſervice. To avoid the odium he might bring upon himſelf by

either acquitting or condemning the criminal, he, as *Livy* tells us, turned the affair into a ſtate crime, and, having called the people together, named two commiſſioners or *Duumviri* to try him as a traitor. This was conformable to the law, in caſes of treaſon. The law ran thus. *Let two Commiſſioners be appointed to try ſtate crimes. If the criminal appeal from the ſentence of theſe judges, let his appeal be received. If their ſentence be confirmed, let him be hood-wink'd and hanged with a rope upon a curſed tree, having been firſt ſcourged either within or without the pomœrium.* The fact of which *Horatius* was accuſed being notorious, and not diſowned by the priſoner, the *Duumviri*, without delay, pronounced ſentence againſt him in theſe words: Horatius, *we judge you to be guilty of treaſon. Go, Lictor, tie his hands* The executioner had already laid hold of him, when *Horatius*, by the King's advice, appealed to an *Aſſembly of the People*; and this ſhews, that the authority of the People was ſuperior to that of the King. *Horatius* appeared there with the ſame undaunted reſolution that he had ſhewn in his combat with the champions of *Alba*, and his father pleading for him, and even juſtifying the fact, the ſentence againſt the criminal was revoked, but rather, ſays *Livy*, through admiration of his courage, than for the juſtice of his cauſe. However, that the crime might not go wholly unpuniſhed, *Horatius* was condemned to paſs under the yoke, an ignominy with which it was uſual to treat priſoners of war who had cowardly ſurrendered their arms. (The yoke was a kind of gallows, in form of a door-caſe.) The King alſo appointed expiations to pacify the anger of the Gods; and the *Pontifices* erected two altars, one to *Juno*, the protectreſs of women, and another to *Janus* (who was perhaps deemed one of the guardian *Genii* of men) ſtyled *Curiatian Janus*, from the name of *Horatius*'s couſins, whom he had ſlain. An annual commemoration of the thing was likewiſe ordered to be obſerved, with ſacrifices on theſe altars, which altars, with the yoke under which *Horatius* paſſed, were ſtill remaining in the time of *Auguſtus*. All the honour done to *Horatius* for his victory was the erecting a ſquare column in the middle of the *Forum*, on which the ſpoils of the *Curiatii* were hung.

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§. V. *TULLUS* did not forget the treacherous deſigns of the *Fidenates*, during his war with the *Albans*, and he at length reſolved to take his revenge. But to proceed regularly, he firſt cited them to appear before the Senate of *Rome*, and anſwer for their conduct. They being conſcious of guilt, and in ſecret intelligence with *Fuffetius*, who hoped to free himſelf from the *Roman* power, refuſed to obey, and, in conjunction with the *Veientes*, took the field. *Fuffetius*, in obedience to *Tullus*'s orders, joined him with the *Alban* troops; but, the day before the battle, he imparted to his chief officers his ſecret intention, which they approved. It was to ſtand neuter till fortune had decided the day, and then to fall upon that ſide which ſhould be routed. Accordingly, juſt before the action began, he retired with his men to a hill. *Tullus* had notice of his deſertion; and in this diſtreſs privately made a vow to add twelve prieſts to the college LXXXVII.

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lege of the *Salii*, and to build a temple to *Fear* and *Paleneſs*. Then telling his men, in the hearing of the enemy, that the motion *Fuffetius* had made was by his order, he confidently attacked the *Fidenates*, who being diſheartened by the apprehenſion of treachery in the *Albans*, were eaſily routed, and then *Fuffetius* poured down from his hill upon the fugitives. *Tullus* concealed his knowledge of *Fuffetius*'s treachery, went privately in the night to *Rome*, conſulted the Senate, and returned to the camp before break of day; inſtantly he detached *Horatius* with a choſen band of horſe and foot to go and demoliſh *Alba*; and while theſe orders were executing, he commanded both the *Roman* and *Alban* troops to attend him unarmed, but with private inſtructions to the *Romans* to bring their ſwords under their clothes. When they were all aſſembled, he made a ſpeech to them, in which he laid open the perfidiouſneſs of *Fuffetius*, and in the concluſion ordered him to be faſtned to two chariots drawn by horſes, and ſo to be torn aſunder. His chief accomplices were alſo put to the ſword; but the reſt of the *Alban* ſoldiers and citizens were tranſplanted to *Rome*, and the principal of them were even admitted into the *Roman* Senate. Of theſe the hiſtorians particularly mention ſix families; the *Julii*, *Quintii*, *Servilii*, *Geganii*, *Curiatii* and *Clælii*: Others were promoted to the dignity of Knights, and all without exception enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens.

This new increaſe of inhabitants obliged *Tullus* to enlarge the limits of the city; he took in mount *Cœlius*, and allotted it for the *Albans* to ſettle upon (without excluding them from other parts of the city) and built his own palace there.

§. VI. THE *Fidenates* perſevered in their revolt, and *Tullus* ſpent the winter in making preparations to attack them early in the ſpring. He then took the field, defeated them under the walls of *Fidenæ*, and obliged him to retire into the city; where by cutting off all ſuccours and proviſions from it, he reduced them to ſuch extremities that they ſurrendered at diſcretion. He puniſhed the heads of the revolt, but ſuffered the reſt to continue in their city, under the ſame form of government, only in dependance upon *Rome*. This compleat victory procured him the honours of a triumph, in which the ſpoils of the enemy were carried as trophies.

XCII. And now the *Romans*, fluſh'd with ſucceſs, and ſtrengthened by their union with the *Albans*, demanded ſatisfaction of the *Sabines* for the inſults which ſome *Roman* citizens had formerly ſuffered from them at the temple of the Goddeſs *Feronia*, (i. e. *Flora*, or *Proſerpina*) which ſtood at the foot of mount *Soracte*, upon the banks of the *Tyber*, and was frequented by both *Sabines* and *Romans*. The *Sabines* not being able to get ſuccours, kept themſelves for ſome time on the defenſive only. At length they came to ſo bloody a battle with the *Romans*, that both armies, terrified with the numbers of their ſlain, retired into their own countries, and attempted nothing more that campaign. The next year the war was renewed with greater fury. The two armies met near *Eretum*, a town about 13 miles from

Rome, and the battle continued long in ſuſpence; till *Tullus* making a vow to [a] *Saturn* and *Ops*, to inſtitute a feſtival to their honour, ſo raiſed the courage of his men thereby, that he obtained a complete victory. The *Sabines* ſubmitted, and the Senate preſcribed the conditions of a treaty with them, which were written on pillars erected in holy places, to be laſting monuments of the ſuperiority of *Rome*. Year of ROME XCIII.

So much ſucceſs carried the *Romans* to make new pretenſions. They ſummoned all the *Latin* towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, to ſubmit to the *Roman* laws. Upon this, an aſſembly of the *Latin* nation was held at [b] *Ferentinum*, where it was reſolved not to bow under the yoke of *Rome*; and two Generals were choſen to command their forces. The *Romans* however did not make war upon them in a regular way, but after the old manner of inroads and incurſions, deſtroying their harveſt. *Medulia*, which had ſubmitted to *Romulus*, and ſince revolted, was the only town taken by King *Tullus*. XCIV.

The *Sabines*, ſome years after, thinking themſelves in a condition to take revenge upon *Rome*, invaded the *Roman* territory, and ſpread themſelves all over it in ſmall parties, to pillage; and the little oppoſition they met with, encouraged them to think of beſieging *Rome*. But *Tullus* marched againſt them, and once more entirely defeated them near the *Malefactors Foreſt*. CIX.

§. VII. *TULLUS*, being now grown old, fell into ſuperſtition and credulity, and being impoſed upon by ſtories of prodigies, and voices from heaven, ordered expiatory ſacrifices for nine days, the uſual time ever after employed in expiations, when the people were frightned with prodigies. He is ſaid alſo by ſome to have ſtudied magic, and to have hid himſelf in a private place to perform a magical ſacrifice, in order to raiſe *Jupiter* [c] *Elicius*; but that omitting ſome part of the neceſſary ceremonies,

[a] Theſe feſtivals of *Saturn*, and *Ops*, or *Rhea*, were kept at *Rome*, in the month of *December*, under the name of *Saturnalia*, and *Opalia*. They, properly ſpeaking, were but one and the ſame ſolemnity, continued for ſeveral days together. The feſtival appropriated to *Saturn*, was fixed to the 16th of the calends of *January*; and that of *Ops*, which was likewiſe a part of the *Saturnalia*, to the 14th. *D. Hal.* attributes the origin of them to *Tullus Hoſtilius*'s vow. Becauſe all the fruits of the earth were gathered in in *December*, the *Romans* therefore fixed the feſtival of theſe Deities in that month, one of which repreſented the Heavens, and the other the Earth, to whoſe united influences and power all fruits owe their production. Theſe feſtivals were celebrated with mutual entertainments; the ſlaves themſelves eat at their maſters tables. Which was not only to reward them for their labours in cultivating the earth, and gathering the fruits of it, but likewiſe to renew the remembrance of the golden age, in which all men were equal. Servants had at this time a right of being ſerved by their maſters, wearing their clothes, and reproving them for their faults. In this ſenſe we are to underſtand *Horace*'s applying himſelf to his ſervant,

——————*Age, libertate Decembri,*
(*Quando ita majores voluerunt*) *utere: narrâ.*
Sat. 7. B. 2.

[b] The *Ferentinum* here ſpoken of, was in *Latium* near *Monte Albano*, in the ſame place where *Marino* now ſtands.

[c] The art of raiſing ſome Dæmon, under the name of *Jupiter Elicius*, was known in *Italy*, from the times of the old Kings of the *Aborigines*.

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monies, the God in a rage ſet his palace on fire by lightning, and the King, his wife and children all periſhed in the flames. But others are of opinion, that *Tullus* died by the hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his ſucceſſor; who, watching an opportunity when the King and his whole family were met to perform a domeſtic ſacrifice, went to the place, firſt ſlew them, and then ſet fire to the palace, to conceal his crime.

Tullus, having been more inclined to the buſineſs of war, than to works of peace, left few new laws behind him. The only one mentioned is, that whenever three male children ſhould for the future be born at a birth, they ſhould, in memory of the *Horatii*, be brought up at the publick expence.

Though the laſt years of this Prince be allowed to have caſt ſome ſtains upon his memory; yet it muſt be granted, that few Kings have ſurpaſſed him in courage. *Romulus* had firſt tried the *Roman* valour, *Numa* had depreſſed and ſunk it, and *Tullus* revived and improved it, reſtraining himſelf a little by the rules of war. His greateſt fault was his want of expedition in preventing the enemy. He thought himſelf ſo ſure of victory, that he ſcorned to prepare himſelf beforehand for the battle: But in the action, his neglect of precaution was ſupplied by his preſence of mind. In a word, by a continued courſe of victories throughout the 32 years of his reign, he reſtored the *Romans* to all their firſt ambition, and that martial ſpirit which inceſſantly puſhed them on to the conqueſt of the neighbouring ſtates.

Aborigines. We are aſſured, that *Faunus* and *Picus* practiſed it in their time; and that, by their enchantments, they forced this pretended Divinity to appear to them by the ſide of a ſpring in *Italy*, and were by him enabled to raiſe a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, when they pleaſed. *Arnob.* B. 5.

CHAP. V.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

§. I. Ancus Marcius, *the grandſon of* Numa, *is choſen to ſucceed* Tullus Hoſtilius. *He declares war againſt the* Latines *in all the forms preſcribed by* Numa. *He vanquiſhes the enemy in ſeveral battles, and takes many of their towns.* §. II. *He ſtrengthens* Rome *by new fortifications, and builds* Oſtia *at the mouth of the* Tyber. *He defeats the* Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes *and* Volſci. §. III. *He dies, leaving two ſons under the tuition of* Lucius Tarquinius, *a foreigner from* Hetruria, *who had ſettled at* Rome.

Year of *ROME* CXIV.

§. I. THE deceaſed King being look'd upon as a man ſtruck by the Gods, no honours were done to his aſhes. After a ſhort *Interregnum*, the People and Senate unanimouſly choſe [a] *Ancus Marcius* (ſon of

ANCUS MARCIUS Fouth King.

a Every *Roman* had ordinarily three, and ſometimes four names. The firſt was called *Prænomen*, the ſecond *Nomen*, the third *Cognomen*, and the fourth *Agnomen*. The *Nomen* ſhewed the family from which he was deſcended; the *Prænomen* and *Cognomen* were often nick-names, taken from the circumſtances of the perſon's birth, or his defects, or his bodily

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of *Pompilia*, the daughter of *Numa*) to ſucceed *Tullus*. The new King began his reign, by endeavouring to reſtore *Rome* to the condition in which *Numa* had left it, to revive husbandry, and the neglected worſhip of the Gods. But the natural temper of *Ancus* was not pacific; and as he found that his devoting himſelf wholly to works of peace, drew upon him the contempt of the neighbouring nations, he reſolved at length to give way to his martial inclination.

CXVII.

The *Latines* pretending that their treaty with the *Romans* was no longer binding, than while King *Tullus* lived, had committed hoſtilities in the territory of *Rome*. *Ancus* therefore determined to revenge it; nevertheleſs out of reſpect to the laws of *Numa*, he obſerved all the [a] forms appointed by him to be uſed in declaring war. He then raiſed an entirely new army,

dily qualities. And the laſt names were to ſome titles of honour, as thoſe of *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, *&c.* Thus the Prince of the *Roman* orators was called *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. The *Prænomen Marcus* ſignified that he was born in the month of *March*. His *Nomen*, or name *Tullius*, was that of his family; and his *Cognomen*, or ſir-name *Cicero*, denoted the mark or wart he had in his face, which was like a *Vetch*, called *Cicer*. *Valerius* aſſures us, that *Ancus Martius* had his name of *Ancus* from the *Greek* word ἀγκὼν, becauſe he had a crooked arm.

[a] Theſe forms were as follow. A *Fecialis* was deputed to go to the *Latines:* he no ſooner arrived on the borders of that people; but he cried out, *Hear great* Jupiter, *hear ye confines of the* Latine *nation, let juſtice hear. I am a publick meſſenger from the* Roman *people, I come juſtly and religiouſly commiſſioned; let credit therefore be given to what I ſay.* After which he laid open his demands; and then, having called *Jupiter* to witneſs, he added theſe words: *If I have unjuſtly, and impiouſly made theſe demands* [*which were of perſons or goods to be delivered up to him*] *may'ſt thou never ſuffer me to return to my own country.* He repeated theſe words at his entring the *Latine* territory, then to the firſt perſon he met, then at the gate of the city, then in the market place. If in about thirty days his demands were not ſatisfied, he ſaid, *O* Jupiter, Juno, *thou* Romulus, *and all ye Gods of Heaven, of Earth, and of Hell; hearken! I call you all to witneſs, that the* Latines *are unjuſt. We will therefore enter into deliberations at* Rome, *on the proper means of obliging them to give us juſt ſatisfaction.*

No ſooner was the *Fecialis* returned, but the King referred the affair to the Senate: which he did in the form preſcribed by *Numa*, addreſſing himſelf to every particular Senator, in theſe very words: *Say, what think you of the refuſal which the* Pater Patratus, *and whole nation of the* Latines *have given the* Pater Patratus *of the* Romans, *of reſtoring and granting us what we demanded of them?* To which every Senator gave this anſwer: *Let us again demand our rights by juſt and lawful war: This is the opinion for which I declare myſelf.* And when the greater part of the Senators had declared their opinions in this manner, the war was confidered as unanimouſly concluded on. Then the *Fecialis* went to the confines of the enemy's country, carrying in his hand a javelin, which was either headed with iron, or burnt at the end, and dipped in blood. When he came to the territory of the *Latines*, he pronounced the following preſcribed form of words, in the preſence of at leaſt three perſons, not under 14 years of age. *On account of the damages ſuſtained by the antient* Latines *have done the* Roman *people, and in obedience to a decree made by the Senate and people of* Rome, *importing, that war be declared againſt the antient* Latines; *I, and the* Roman *People declare it and begin it.* At which words, he threw a dart upon the enemy's lands. All this ceremonial had been inſtituted by *Numa*; tho' that Prince having never engaged in any war, had never put it in practice: and *Tullus*, who was of an active ſpirit, had not confined himſelf to theſe tedious formalities. But *Ancus Marcius* eſtabliſhed the uſe of them; and from his time they were always practiſed. And it ought here to be obſerved, that at this time, no uſe was made of the King's name or authority in treaties: we find nobody mentioned in them, but the Senate and the People.

Year of *ROME* CXVII. ANCUS MARCIUS Fourth King.

marched to *Politorium*, a *Latine* city, and ſurprized it. He ſhed no blood, nor deſtroyed the city, but tranſplanted the inhabitants to *Rome*; and theſe, with the inhabitants of *Tellena* and *Ficana*, two other cities of *Latium*, which he likewiſe took, he ſettled on the hill *Aventinus*, which he incloſed, and made a part of *Rome*, but without conſecrating the boundaries, as had been cuſtomary.

The next year the *Latines* repeopled *Politorium*, which obliged *Ancus* to beſiege it again; and upon the ſecond reduction of it, he demoliſhed it entirely. CXVIII. After this he led his troops four years ſucceſſively to the ſiege of *Medulia*, and at length took it and plundered it. He then laid a ſecond ſiege to *Ficana*, which he had neglected to demoliſh. It was with great difficulty that he became maſter of it, and now he deſtroyed it with fire and ſword. The *Latines*, not diſcouraged, appeared in the field again, but being defeated in one pitched battle, they durſt not venture another. They divided their troops into ſmall parties, and contented themſelves with making inroads into the *Roman* territory; and *Ancus*, to oppoſe them, CXXII. made the ſame diviſion of his army, which he left to the conduct of *Tarquinius*, (a foreigner lately come from *Hetruria*) and returned to *Rome*, full of glory.

§. II. *Rome* was exceedingly enlarged in this Prince's time, for, not content with carrying its walls round the *Aventine* hill, he likewiſe encompaſſed the hill *Janiculum*, (which ſtood on the other ſide of the *Tyber*) with a wall, and made it a fort of citadel for *Rome*; and in order to have a communication between the city and the new citadel, he built the bridge, called *Sublicius*, (the firſt perhaps known in *Italy*) over the *Tyber*, in that place where it waſhes the foot of the hill *Aventinus*. To ſuppreſs the licentiouſneſs of the people, he next built a priſon in the *Roman Forum*. And laſtly, obſerving that *Rome* lay open to ſurprizes from an enemy, in thoſe places where the country about it was low and flat, he ordered a wide ditch to be dug there, which was ever after called *Foſſa Quiritium*, becauſe all the people were employed to make it.

CXXX. When *Ancus* had finiſhed theſe works of peace, the firſt enemies that felt the return of his martial diſpoſition were the *Fidenates*, who being *D. Hal.* B. 3. p. 172. rebels, he did not ſend a *Fecialis* to them, but marched ſtrait to *Fidenæ*, which he beſieged and took by *Sap*; this being the firſt inſtance we meet with in *Roman* ſtory of that kind of attack. He next marched againſt the *Sabines*, who, ſince the death of King *Tullus*, believing themſelves diſcharged from the engagements they had entered into with *Rome*, had renewed hoſtilities. He quickly forced them to ſue for peace, and they obtained it on eaſy terms. The four following years *Ancus* employed in enlarging the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, in building the port and city of *Oſtia*, and in digging ſalt-pits on the ſea-ſhore. The diſtribution of ſalt which he made among his ſubjects at this time gave riſe to thoſe publick liberalities, *Plin.* l. 3. c. 7. called *Congiaria*, from the word *Congius*, a meaſure in uſe among the CXXXVI. ancient *Romans*, containing about a gallon. After this he twice defeated the *Veientes*, and was decreed a triumph by the Senate; and, to reward the

merit of *Tarquinius*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the head of the *Roman* cavalry, the King promoted him to the rank of a *Patrician*, and Senator. The *Volſci* were next attacked, and *Velitræ*, their capital, beſieged by *Ancus*; but the inhabitants, being reduced to extremity, and ſending out their old men as ſuppliants, obtained firſt a truce, and afterwards a peace. The King of *Rome* then turned his arms againſt thoſe of the *Sabines*, who had not yet been conquered. Succeſs attended his expedition, and he returned triumphant to *Rome*, where he paſſed ſome time in tranquillity.

Year of *ROME* CXXXVIII. ANCUS MARCIUS Fourth King.

§. III. *ANCUS*, after a reign of 23 or 24 years, (in which he ſhewed himſelf not inferior to any of his predeceſſors, either in civil or military government) is ſaid by *Plutarch* to have died by violence; but other writers ſpeak of his death as altogether natural. He left two ſons, one an infant, the other near fifteen years of age, and both under the guardianſhip of *Tarquinius*, an able politician who had found the ſecret to make himſelf equally the favourite of his maſter and of the people.

CXXXIX. *Life of Numa.*

CHAP. VI.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

§. I. *The politick management of* Tarquinius *to obtain the kingdom. He is elected King, and adds to the Senate* 100 *new Senators choſen out of the* Plebeians. §. II. *The* Latines *renew the war againſt the* Romans. Tarquin, *by repeated victories over them, reduces them to ſue for peace. At his return to* Rome, *he builds a* Circus *for the* Roman *games.* §. III. *He totally ſubdues the* 12 Lucumonies *of* Hetruria. §. IV. *He applies himſelf to cleanſe and beautify* Rome. §. V. *He renews the war with the* Sabines. *He increaſes the number of the* Roman *Knights. The adventure of* Navius *the* Augur. §. VI. Tarquin *ſubdues the* Sabines. §. VII. *He marks out the area of a temple to* Jupiter, Juno, *and* Minerva, *on the hill* Tarpeius, *afterwards called the* Capitol. *He marries one of his daughters to* Servius Tullius. §. VIII. *The ſons of* Ancus *conſpire the death of* Tarquin. *He is aſſaſſinated in his own palace. The ſtratagem of Queen* Tanaquil, *to ſecure the kingdom to her ſon-in-law, who takes poſſeſſion of it, without being legally elected to the throne.*

§. I. *TARQUINIUS* was the ſon of *Damaratus*, a merchant of *Corinth*, who to ſecure his great wealth from *Cypſelus*, the Tyrant of that place, had retired with it to *Tarquinii*, one of the moſt famous cities of *Hetruria*. The *Greek* merchant married there a woman of diſtinction, by whom he had two ſons, *Arunx* and *Lucumo*. The elder died before his father; and tho' he left his wife with child, yet his father not knowing it, and dying ſoon after him, left all his wealth to *Lucumo*: So that the poſthumous ſon of *Arunx*, diſinherited before he was born, took

Year of *ROME* CXXXIX. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

the melancholy name of *Egerius*, from *egere* TO WANT. *Lucumo* being in poſſeſſion of all his father's immenſe riches, aſpired to the higheſt dignities in *Tarquinii*; and his wife *Tanaquil* was no leſs ambitious to ſee him advanced. But being looked upon as a ſtranger in *Hetruria*, he was thereby hindered from riſing to any conſiderable poſt: and therefore, at the inſtigation of his wife, he reſolved to remove to *Rome*, where ſtrangers had been choſen *Kings*, and where merit never failed of being rewarded with honours. He was no ſooner admitted a citizen of *Rome*, but he endeavoured to appear entirely *Roman*. He changed his names of *Lucumo Damaratus*, for thoſe of *Lucius Tarquinius*; and by his polite addreſs and liberalities, quickly became popular. He artfully inſinuated himſelf into the King's favour; and leſt his great wealth ſhould create ſuſpicions, offered to depoſit it in the publick treaſury, to ſupply the wants of the city. Beſides all this, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military exploits, the ſureſt ſteps to greatneſs, and appeared to be no leſs able in council, than formidable in arms.

Tarquin thinking the demiſe of *Ancus* a critical time to attempt the throne, contrived to bring on the election of a new King with the utmoſt expedition, before the elder of the late King's ſons ſhould be full fifteen; and to keep him out of the ſight of the people during the *Comitia*, he ſent him a hunting in the country. This aſpiring *Greek* was the firſt who introduced into *Rome* the cuſtom of ſolliciting for offices, and openly making intereſt to obtain them. Nay he did not ſcruple to extol his own merit in a publick harangue, and to propoſe himſelf to the people for a ſucceſſor to *Ancus*. As he had already gained them by money and careſſes, he was choſen by a majority of votes, and the *Roman* people *commanded* him (for that was the term then uſed) to ſit down at the helm of affairs. And then to ſtrengthen his party in the *Senate*, he created an hundred new *Senators*, who were called *Senatores Minorum Gentium*, becauſe choſen out of *Plebeian* families. But this name was never authorized by any publick act. They had the ſame authority in the Senate as the other Senators, and their children were deemed *Patricians*.

CXL. §. II. ALMOST all the nations ſubdued by the *Romans*, pretending that their treaties with them were no longer binding than during the lives of thoſe Princes by whom they had been ſubdued, *Tarquin* had inevitable wars to ſuſtain. The *Latines* were the firſt who attacked him, but not the whole nation of them jointly. *Tarquin* beſieged *Apiolæ*, took it by ſtratagem, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. The *Cruſtumini*, who had

CXLI. revolted, repented and ſubmitted; the King treated them mildly, but ſettled a *Roman* colony among them. *Nomentum* likewiſe experienced the clemency of *Tarquin* upon its ſubmiſſion. *Collatia* being more obſtinate, was not ſo gently treated; the inhabitants were diſarmed, and taxed, and a garriſon was left there to keep it in ſubjection. The King gave the ſovereignty of this city to *Egerius*, his brother *Arunx*'s ſon, who from thence took the name of *Collatinus*, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. *Cor-*

CXLIII. *niculum* was beſieged next, and after a brave reſiſtance, was carried by ſtorm, and reduced to aſhes.

Tarquin's

Year of *ROME* CXLIV.

TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

Tarquin's ſucceſs made the reſt of the *Latine* cities very uneaſy, and ſeveral of them united their forces to oppoſe his progreſs: But the King defeated them in a bloody battel near *Fidenæ*; and then taking advantage of the fright his victories occaſioned, ſollicited thoſe cities to enter into alliance with him, to which ſome of them conſented, chuſing rather to ſubmit to a ſort of dependance upon *Rome*, than to run the hazard of being reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. This ſubmiſſion ſpread ſuch an univerſal terror throughout *Latium*, that in a national aſſembly held at *Ferentinum*, the *Latines* came to a reſolution to raiſe all their forces and employ their whole ſtrength to oppoſe the torrent that threatened them; and they engaged all *Sabinia*, and a part of *Hetruria* to join with them. However, *Tarquin* defeated the confederate armies in two actions; and then thoſe *Latine* cities which had refuſed his alliance, ſued for it and obtained it. CXLV.

Tarquin at his return to *Rome* after ſo many victories, had the honour of a triumph, and he applied the wealth he had brought from the conquered cities to the building of a *Circus* [a] for the *Roman Games*, otherwiſe called the *Great Games*. The place choſen for this *Circus*, was in the valley which reached from the *Aventine* to the *Palatine* hill. CL.

[a] *Tarquin* was of a *Greek* family: and this led him to think of building a *Circus* at *Rome*, in imitation of the chief cities of *Greece*. The firſt *Circus* which was ever built, and was a pattern to all the reſt, was in *Elis*, where the *Olympic* games were celebrated.

It's certain the *Roman* games were alſo called, *The great games: Livy* aſſures us of it. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not from thence conclude, that all the ſports which were celebrated in the *Circus*, and which were called *Circenſes*, were *the great games*. Some were celebrated in the *Circus*, to *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. which were different from *the great* or *Roman games:* Nor were thoſe called *Megalenſes*, the ſame with *the great games*. The former were celebrated before the *Nones of April*, and the latter on the eve of the *Nones of September*. Beſides, *the Roman games* were inſtituted in honour of *the great gods*, whence they were called *the great games*; and the *Megalenſes* only in honour of *Cybele*. Laſtly, *the great games* were inſtituted by the elder *Tarquin*; and the *Megalenſes*, not till *Junius Brutus*'s time, who appointed them to the honour of *Cybele*, then called μεγαλήσια, or *the Great Goddeſs*.

The *Circus* had four fronts; one at the bottom of it, where the poſts ſtood, round which the chariots were obliged to turn, one at the oppoſite end where the chariots ſtarted, and one at each ſide, where the ſpectators ſate in two great galleries. It is certain, that at leaſt that front, where the turning-poſts ſtood, deſcribed a portion of a circle: and it's probable the oppoſite front where the chariots ſtarted, was ſemi-circular. But that is not abſolutely certain.

Dion. Hal. plainly tells us, that this *Circus* was three *Stadia* and a half long and four *Jugera* broad: and that 150000 men could ſit in it at their eaſe: but *Pliny* makes it only three *Stadia* long. He probably omitted the half *Stadium*, mentioned by the *Greek* hiſtorian, for the ſake of a round number. Nothing therefore remains, but to compute how long and wide the *Circus* was, according to our meaſures. Now *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 1. *ch.* 3. the length both of the *Roman Stadium* and *Jugerum*. The former, according to him, contained ſix hundred twenty-five *Roman* feet, each of which feet contained twelve inches, or ſixteen fingers-breadths: ſo that conſequently the *Circus*, as it was three *Stadia* and an half, muſt have been two thouſand one hundred and eighty-ſeven *Roman* feet long. And it being four *Jugera* broad, each of which *Jugera* contained, according to him, two hundred and forty *Roman* feet; it is from thence eaſy to infer, that the *Circus* was nine hundred ſixty *Roman* feet broad, and conſequently was above twice as long as it was wide. So that the length of the *Circus* was ſomewhat more than three *Engliſh* furlongs, very near half an *Italian* mile, or about a quarter of a *French* league.

Year of ROME CL. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

§. III. THE long war which this King waged with the *Hetrurians*, and the signal victories he gained over them, greatly advanced his glory, and both enabled and inclined him to introduce magnificence into his Court. *Hetruria* was a very large country, extending itself from the *Tyrrhenian* sea to the *Apennine* hills, and from *Liguria* to the *Tyber*. The *Latines* called the inhabitants of it sometimes *Tuscans*, and sometimes *Hetrurians*; but the *Greeks* more frequently, *Tyrrhenians*; who possessing so much of the south coast of *Italy*, gave their name to the sea, which washes it. This great state was divided into twelve cantons called *Lucumonies* [a], which were subject to twelve heads, who governed them with a sort of sovereign authority, under the name of *Lucumones*. Sometimes one *Lucumony* made war with its neighbours by itself; and sometimes the *Hetrurians* all joined in a national body, in defence of their common interests. It is surprizing that the *Romans* should have been so early in a condition to oppose such a powerful and warlike people.

Strabo, Pliny, Mela.

The advantages which *Tarquin* gained over some of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies*, awakened the jealousy of the whole nation. Besides, they had reason to complain of the want of justice in the King of *Rome*, who had not only refused audience to the Ambassadors they had sent to him to demand back their prisoners, but had detained them as so many hostages for the obedience of the *Hetrurians*. The twelve *Lucumonies* therefore came to a resolution to make war upon the *Romans*, and it was decreed, that if any city of *Hetruria* stood neuter, it should be for ever cut off from the general alliance. They then took the field, made themselves
CLV. masters of *Fidenæ* by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, and ravaged the *Roman* territory. *Tarquin* not being prepared to engage them,
CLVI. suffered them to go on without opposition; but the next year he put himself into a condition to repair his losses. He divided his army into two bodies; the *Romans* he commanded himself, and gave the command of the allies to his cousin *Collatinus*, who by his ill conduct suffered a defeat. But *Tarquin* was more successful; he routed the *Hetrurians* first near *Veii*, and then under the walls of *Cære*.

CLVII. *Fidenæ* being a key to the dominions of *Rome*, the conquest of it was of the utmost importance to her. The *Romans* therefore bent their forces that way, and came to a sharp engagement with the enemy, who knew the consequence of preserving that post. The latter were defeated; and then the *Romans* besieged the place, and took it. All those of the *Fidenates* who were suspected to have been concerned in betraying it to the enemy, were whipped to death; the rest sent into banishment, and their lands
CLIX. distributed by lot among the *Roman* soldiers. Then *Tarquin* hastened to attack the *Hetrurians* once more, before the whole strength of the new ar-

[a] The names of the capital cities of the twelve *Lucumonies* were, according to *Cluverius* and *Holstenius*, *Clusium*, *Perusia*, *Cortona*, *Arretium*, *Volaterra*, *Vetulonium*, *Rusellæ*, *Tarquinii*, *Volsinii*, *Cære*, *Falerii*, and *Veii*. *Hetruria* was long the mother of all the learning and politeness of the *Romans*. Before they had conquered *Greece*, they sent their children thither to study and cultivate their minds.

my

Romans *in the* Toga.

my they were raiſing could be got together. He came up with them near *Eretum*, a ſmall city of the *Sabines*, and gave them an entire overthrow; for which the Senate decreed the King a triumph. And now the *Lucumonies* deſpairing of any future ſucceſs againſt the *Romans* ſent an humble deputation to ask peace, which *Tarquin* granted without inſiſting on any other condition, than their owning his ſovereignty over them. To this they readily agreed, and ſent him all the enſigns of authority they had among them: A crown of gold; a throne of ivory; a ſcepter with an eagle on the top of it; a tunick embroidered with gold and adorned with the figures of [a] palm branches; and a purple robe enriched with flowers of ſeveral colours. But the King deferr'd the making uſe of theſe ſtately ornaments, till the People and Senate had conſented to it by an expreſs law; he then employed them in the decoration of the triumph which had been decreed him, and never after laid them aſide. In this triumph he rode in a gilt chariot drawn by four horſes.

Year of ROME CLIX. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

§. IV. *TARQUIN* having now an interval of reſt from his wars, turned his thoughts to the fortifying, cleanſing, and beautifying the city. He built the walls of *Rome* of hewn ſtone, and made thoſe famous common-ſewers [b], which were afterwards thought one of the wonders of the world. He likewiſe adorned the *Forum*, ſurrounded it with galleries (in which were ſhops for bankers and money-changers) erected temples there, ſchools for the youth of both ſexes, and halls for the adminiſtration of publick juſtice.. CLXI.

§. V. BUT

[a] This the *Latines* called *Tunica palmata*. It is true, authors ſometimes confound it with what they alſo ca'led *Toga picta:* but theſe were two different ornaments worn by thoſe who triumphed; and it is neceſſary to ſhew here the difference between them. The *Tunica palmata* was not, properly ſpeaking, a long hanging robe, but rather a veſt, which was partly hid under the robe. It at firſt had no ſleeves, and afterwards but very ſhort ones. As all the *Romans* wore *Tunicks*, they ſhewed the difference of their rank, by that of their *Tunicks*. Some ſewed upon theirs purple flowers, which were ſtuck on like the heads of nails; and hence comes the word *Laticlavium*. Only the chief magiſtrates, and Senators, and General Officers of the army, could wear theſe. The inferior Magiſtrates, the *Roman* Knights, and ſome other officers in the army, wore indeed *Tunicks* with purple flowers; but theſe flowers were ſmaller than the others; and from hence comes the name *Angu.liclavium*. As for thoſe who triumphed, of whom we are now ſpeaking, they, inſtead of embroidered flowers, wore purple *Palm Branches* upon their tunicks, or *Tunicæ palmatæ*. As to the *Toga picta*, ſome think it was a robe common among the *Romans*, only of a purple colour: And as to the robe in general, it was nothing but a ſort of very long mantle, which hung in great folds quite down to the ground, and which they put on upon their right ſhoulders, and threw one Lappet of it over the left. The robes of the Senators were adorned with great purple flowers, as well as their *Tunicks*; and thoſe of the Knights with ſmaller. And the *Robes* of thoſe who triumphed were likewiſe probably adorned with palm-branches, as their *Tunicks* were. At leaſt, it is certain they were made of rich ſtuffs, and had ſome gold in them; and they were called *Togæ pictæ*. Only two perſons ever had the privilege of wearing them out of a triumph, and in common, who were *Paulus Æmilius*, and *Pompey*.

[b] He made all the arches of theſe common-ſewers of hard ſtone, and ſpared neither expence nor labour to make the work durable: Their height and breadth were ſo conſiderable, that a cart loaded with hay, could eaſily paſs through them under ground. But the greateſt difficulty of the work was, to convey the waters (which through theſe ſewers were to carry off the filth) into the *Tiber*. It was neceſſary

Year of *ROME* CLXVIII. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

§. V. BUT theſe works were no ſooner perfected than he entered into a new war with the *Sabines*, on pretence of their having aſſiſted the *Hetrurians*, and he came to a battle with them, which laſted the whole day. The advantage was ſo equal on both ſides, that the two armies ſtood in awe of each other, and retired into their reſpective countries, without committing any further hoſtilities the reſt of the campaign. During this ceſſation of arms, *Tarquin*, conſidering that he had often been hindred from ſufficiently purſuing the advantages of a victory, for want of horſe, reſolved to add ſome new bodies of Knights to thoſe of the firſt inſtitution: But as the firſt diviſion of the horſe into three *Corps*, had been determined by *Auguries*, *Attius Navius*, the moſt famous Augur of that time, oppoſed the King's deſign as irreligious. *Tarquin* could not perſuade himſelf that the Augur was ſerious in this oppoſition, and therefore ſent for the diviner into his preſence, being reſolved to confound and diſcredit in him this divining art, which ſuperſtition maintained to the diminution of the Royal Authority.

Livy B. 1. ch. 36. *D. Hal.* B. 3. and *Florus*.

As ſoon as *Navius* appeared before *Tarquin*, in the midſt of the *Forum*, and in the ſight of all the people, the King ſaid to him, *Diviner, canſt thou diſcover by thy art, whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not? Go and conſult thy birds.* The *Augur* did as he was ordered, and returning quickly, anſwered, *Yes*, Tarquin, *my art tells me that what you are thinking of may be done.* Upon which *Tarquin*, pulling out a razor from under his robe, and taking a flint in his hand, replied with a contemptuous ſmile, *I was thinking whether it was poſſible to cut this flint with this razor. I have taken thee in thy own craft; the introducing the Gods into thy deciſions, is all cheat and impoſture. If thou canſt perform what is impoſſible, do.* At theſe words the people burſt out a laughing: whilſt *Navius* alone diſcovered no ſurprize. On the contrary, he addreſſed himſelf to the King with an air of aſſurance, and ſaid, [a] *Put the razor to the flint, and try. I readily ſubmit to any puniſhment, if you don't do what you thought on.* In ſhort, *Tarquin*, contrary to his expectation, ſaw the hardneſs of the flint gave way to the edge of the razor, and he cut through it with ſo much eaſe, that the ſtroke reached his hand, and drew blood from it. Upon this the people gave a great ſhout, and the King's contempt for the *Augur* was turned into admiration. The art of *Augury* gained new credit in *Rome*, and *Tarquin* afterwards erected a ſtatue of braſs to the memory of *Navius*, in the place called *Comitium*, where the publick aſſemblies were held, and there it continued till *Auguſtus*'s time. The razor and flint, which were kept as monuments of the miracle, were buried

neceſſary to cut through hills, and under the city, through rocks, a channel large enough for a navigable ſtream, and covered with arches ſtrong enough to bear the weight of houſes, which were often built upon them, and ſtood as firm as on the moſt ſolid foundations. The expence of this incomparable work was never ſo well underſtood as when it came to be repaired. The *Cenſors* gave no leſs than a thouſand *Talents* to him who undertook to cleanſe theſe ſewers.

[a] *Livy* ſays, *Navius* took the flint into his own hands, and cut it, in *Tarquin*'s preſence.

near

near it[a], under an altar, at which witneſſes were afterwards ſworn, in civil cauſes. Year of *ROME* CLXVIII.

And now *Tarquin* laid aſide his project of increaſing the number of the *Corps* of horſe, but increaſed the number of the Knights in each *Corps*; making the *Roman* cavalry amount in all to 1800 men. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

§. VI. WITH this reinforcement the King marched out to renew the war with the [b] *Sabines*, who had got ſuccours from *Hetruria*, and were encamped near *Fidenæ*, by the place where the *Anio* joins the *Tyber*. The *Hetrurians* were poſted on one bank of the *Tyber*, and the *Sabines* on the other, and they had a communication by a bridge of boats. *Tarquin* having poſted himſelf above the *Anio*, at a little diſtance from the place where it diſcharges itſelf into the *Tyber*, perceived, that the current of that little river would carry into the *Tyber* any thing, which was ſent down it. He likewiſe foreſaw, that if the ſame wind which then blew, continued, it would, with a little help, carry barks up the *Tyber* againſt the ſtream, and bring them to the bridge of boats. With this view, he built flat-bottom boats, like rafts, and loaded them with dry wood, ſulphur and roſin: and in the night, while the wind continued favourable to his deſign, he ſent theſe fire-ſhips, ſome down the *Anio*, and others up the *Tyber*, at the ſame time: ſo that the enemy's bridge being thus inveſted on both ſides with fire, was quickly all in a flame. The *Sabines* ran inſtantly to extinguiſh it, and, as is very frequent on ſuch unforeſeen and ſudden accidents, left their camp unguarded. Then *Tarquin* came and attacked it with the beſt part of his forces. He had marched out of his intrenchments before the day dawned, and by break of day he made himſelf maſter of the *Sabine* camp. On the other bank, a detachment he had ſent away, and which had paſſed the *Tyber* in the night, came and fell ſuddenly upon the camp of the *Hetrurians*, in the inſtant that the bridge of boats took fire, which was the ſignal the King had given. The enemy being on both ſides of the river diſconcerted and routed by this able conduct of *Tarquin*, ſome of them periſhed by the flames, ſome by the ſword, and ſome by leaping into the *Tyber*, to ſave themſelves; and their arms which went floating *Livy*, B. 1.

[a] The reader will no doubt think it ſtrange that an event related with ſo many circumſtances, reported by all the writers of the *Roman* Hiſtory, and adopted even by ſome of the Fathers of the church, who without queſtioning it, imputed it to magick, ſhould be a mere fabulous invention: and yet this is the judgment which *Tully* himſelf formed of it, tho' an *Augur*. *Look with contempt*, ſays he to his brother *Quintus*, *look with contempt on the razor and flint of the famous* Attius; *when we reaſon as philoſophers, we ought to lay no ſtreſs upon fables*. Cic. *B.* 1. de Div.

[b] This war of the *Sabines* in conjunction with the *Hetrurians*, may perhaps be thought miſplaced, the *Romans* having made peace with the *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria*, from the time that *Tarquin* triumphed for his victory over them. Nor is it improbable, that this war of the *Sabines* againſt *Rome*, might be ſome years before their other wars which are mentioned immediately after it. But as the hiſtorians have not given us the exact dates of theſe *Sabine* wars, they are here related in one continued chain, to the triumph of *Tarquin the Elder*, upon the entire reduction of the *Sabines*. We have by this means in one view, thoſe events which did not perhaps immediately follow one another: which may ſerve for an excuſe to the reader for the anachroniſm, ſince he has notice given him of it.

Year of *ROME* CLXVIII. TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

down the ſtream, carried the news of the victory to *Rome*, before the couriers diſpatched by the King arrived.

After this, *Tarquin* would give his enemies no reſt, but immediately entered the territory of the *Sabines*; whoſe misfortunes had not yet abated their courage. They ventured to face the *Romans* again, with an army tumultuouſly aſſembled. Being once more routed, they ſued for peace; but the *Romans* did not think fit to grant them more than a truce.

This truce was no ſooner expired, than the *Sabines* paſſed the *Anio*, and made incurſions on the *Roman* lands; but tho' they were equal to their enemies in numbers and bravery, yet the *Romans* in a pitched battle defeated them by the ſtratagem of detaching a body of horſe, which fetched a compaſs and came upon their rear during the action. The *Sabines* im-

CLXIX. puting their ill ſucceſs to the incapacity of their General, choſe a more experienced Commander for the next campaign. *Tarquin* appeared early in the field, and ſhewed himſelf to the enemy: and when he found that their new General not having got together all his troops, avoided a battel, and kept within his camp, he blockaded him there, and reduced him to the utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions: however, the latter taking the advantage of a dark ſtormy night, marched his army ſecretly out of his entrenchments, and ſo the campaign ended.

CLXX. The next year, the *Sabines*, pleaſed with the conduct of their General, took courage again, enliſted all their youth capable of bearing arms, and formed a numerous army, which they divided into two bodies. *Tarquin* on the other ſide augmented his forces with troops from *Latium*, *Hetruria*, and all his allies, and divided them into three armies, which were always to encamp near each other. He commanded the *Romans* himſelf, put his nephew *Arunx* at the head of the *Hetrurians*, and gave the command of the *Latines* and other allies to *Servius Tullius*, a foreigner who had been a ſlave, and had ſince obtained the privileges of a *Roman* citizen. The battel was fought the whole day, and *Tarquin* obtained the victory; but not till he had inſpired his men with freſh courage, by making a vow to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, to build them a magnificent temple. While

CLXXI. he was marching afterwards to beſiege the *Sabine* cities, they ſent Deputies to him to ſue for peace, offering to give him poſſeſſion of their fortified places, and of all their country, if he would grant them tolerable conditions. The King treated them favourably, as he had done the *Hetrurians*, and then returning to *Rome*, entered it in triumph, and in the ſame ſtate as after the conqueſt of *Hetruria*.

§. VII. *TARQUIN*, being grown old, thought only of enjoying the ſweets of repoſe, yet he did not forget his vow to build a temple to *Jupiter*, *Juno* and *Minerva*. He level'd the top of the hill *Tarpeius* (formerly *Saturnius*) marked out the plan of the temple, and laid the foundations of it. *Navius* the *Augur* having been conſulted about what part of *Rome Jupiter* would like beſt to be placed in, had declared for the hill *Tarpeius*: but then a difficulty aroſe about removing the Gods who had already got poſſeſſion of this hill, without giving them offence. By the

the help of *Augury*, it was discovered, that they were all willing to be removed, except the God *Terminus*, and the Goddess *Youth*, who having no mind to go, were afterwards inclosed within the walls of the temple, the *Area* of which was now dedicated by *Navius*.

Year of *ROME* CLXXI. TARQUIN I. Fifth King. CLXXII.

This famous *Augur* soon after disappeared. He was supposed to be murdered; and the people were very inquisitive after the authors of his death. The sons of *Ancus Marcius* endeavoured to fix the calumny upon the King, and accused him publickly. *Tarquin* attempted in vain to appease the tumult which they excited; *Servius Tullius* was obliged to use all his interest to quiet the rage of the people. At length the falseness of the accusation being known, the sons of *Ancus* were detested for having raised the slander. However, *Tarquin* pardoned them, in consideration of the favours he had received from their father.

He was more severe to *Pinaria*, a prostitute *Vestal*. He ordered her to be buried alive, and the man who had dishonoured her, to be whipped to death. Nevertheless, he did not lose his esteem for the college of *Vestals*; on the contrary he added two to their number, and augmented it to six.

§. VIII. *TARQUIN* was now eighty years old and had reigned 37; and as he drew nearer his end, the ambition of the sons of *Ancus* grew more active. They always remembered with indignation the arts by which their guardian had secured to himself their father's kingdom, nor could they brook to see a foreigner sit upon the *Roman* throne to their prejudice: But when they perceived that the kingdom was not like to return to them even after the death of *Tarquin*, but that *Servius Tullius*, who had married one of the King's daughters, would probably succeed his father-in-law, they no longer set any bounds to their resentment. *What!* said they, *while we, the sons of* Ancus, *are living, shall the* Roman *throne lye open, not only to strangers, but even to slaves?* Nevertheless, they bent their fury rather against the life of *Tarquin* than of *Servius*, both because the revenge of a King was more to be dreaded than that of a private man, and because, should they destroy *Servius*, *Tarquin* might provide himself another son-in-law to succeed him. The method they took to compass the death of the old King was this. They hired two young men who dressed themselves like peasants, with hatchets on their shoulders as if they were wood-cleavers: These going near the King's palace pretended to have a quarrel about some goats. The noise they made reaching the inmost rooms of the palace brought the officers of the Court about them, who carried them before the King, to whom they both appealed. At first they began to bawl and rail at each other till they were restrained by a *Lictor* and ordered to speak by turns. Then one of them began to tell his story, and while the King was wholly intent to what he said, the other lifting up his hatchet gave him a great cut in the head and leaving his weapon in the wound they both ran out of doors. But while some of the company hastned to assist the wounded King, others pursued the ruffians and seized them, and being put to the torture, they confessed by

Year of *ROME* CLXXIV.

TARQUIN I. Fifth King.

whom they had been employ'd. By this time there was a great concourſe of people at the palace wondering what the matter was.

Queen *Tanaquil* did not loſe her preſence of mind upon this accident. She cleared the palace of the crowd, ſhut her ſelf up in the apartment of the expiring King, with only her ſon-in-law *Servius Tullius*, his wife, and *Ocriſia* his mother, and preſſed him to aſcend the throne, that *Tarquin*'s two grandſons [a] might be ſafe under his protection. *Servius, if thou art a man*, ſaid ſhe, *the kingdom is thine, and not theirs who have committed the greateſt villany by the hands of other men. Take courage then, and follow the Gods thy conductors, who foretold thy future glory by the divine fire which ſhone round thy head; let that celeſtial flame now warm thee, rouze thyſelf in earneſt; we that were ſtrangers have reigned here; think who thou art, not of whom thou waſt born; and if thy counſels are at a ſtand by reaſon of this unexpected accident, follow mine.* She then opened the window which looked upon the ſtreet, and bid the people be in no concern; ſhe told them that the wound was not deep, that the King was ſtunned with the ſudden blow, but was come to himſelf again, and ſhe hoped they would ſee him very ſhortly; that in the mean time he ordered them to obey *Servius Tullius*, who would adminiſter juſtice to them, and perform all other Kingly Offices. This ſtratagem ſucceeded. The report being ſpread, and believed, that the King would ſoon be well again, and appear in publick, it terrified the ſons of *Ancus*, and they went of their own accord into baniſhment.

The ſecond day after the murder of *Tarquin*, *Servius Tullius* ſat on the throne in the royal robes, attended by the *Lictors*, and heard cauſes; ſome he decided, and upon others he pretended he would conſult the King. As it became him to revenge the attempt againſt the perſon of his Sovereign, he accordingly cited the ſons of *Ancus* to appear before his tribunal; and upon their non-appearance, they were declared infamous, and their eſtates confiſcated. The Regent continued for ſome time to act this part, and he ſo managed his affairs, as to gain the hearts of the *Romans*, by his prudent adminiſtration. At length, when he thought his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, the death of *Tarquin* was proclaimed as a thing recent, with loud lamentations, and *Servius* performed magnificent obſequies for him: after which, without being legally elected King, either by [b] Senate or People, he continued to hold the reins of Government, appearing in publick with a ſtrong guard, and with all the enſigns of royalty.

[a] It is much conteſted whether the children here ſpoken of, *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Arunx*, were the ſons or grandſons of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. *Dion. Hal.* contends warmly for the latter opinion.

[b] *Livy* ſays, that *Servius Tullius* took poſſeſſion of the kingdom with the conſent of the *Fathers*.

CHAP.

A Fortuna Virilis. B. *The reverse of a Medal of* Faustina the Younger *with this inscription,* FORTUNÆ. MULIEBRI. C. *The reverse of a Medal of* Commodus, *on which we see a* Fortune *holding an Horse by the Bridle with this inscription* FORTUNÆ. MANENTI. D.D. *Two other Figures of* Fortune. *The wings and the* Cornu-Copia *denote the inconstancy of this False Goddess in the distribution of her Favours. The two heads issuing out of the* Cornu-Copia, *represents according to some* Jupiter, *and* Juno; *according to others, the* Sun *and* Moon.

CHAP. VII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

§. I. *The Birth and Education of* Servius Tullius. *The honours he pays to the Goddeſs* Fortune *upon his elevation to the Throne.* §. II. *The Patricians conſpire to diſpoſſeſs him. He gains the people to his intereſt, is legally elected King by the* Curiæ, *and though the Senate refuſes to confirm this election, keeps poſſeſſion.* §. III. Servius *defeats the rebellious* Hetrurians. *He enlarges* Rome, *and adds a fourth Tribe to the three old ones. He inſtitutes the* Compitalia *in favour of ſlaves. He divides the* Roman *territory with its inhabitants into* TRIBES. *He marries his two daughters to* Lucius Tarquinius *and* Aruns, *the grandſons of the late King. He ſubdues the* Hetrurians. §. IV. Servius *divides the* Roman *citizens into ſix* CLASSES, *and theſe into* CENTURIES. *He inſtitutes the* CENSUS *and the* LUSTRUM, *and coins money.* §. V. *He gives the* LIBERTI *or* Freed-men *the privilege of* Roman *Citizens.* §. VI. *He reforms the Regal Power and executes a ſcheme for ſecuring to the* Romans *the fidelity and friendſhip of the* Latines *and* Sabines. §. VII. *The wicked intrigues of* Tarquin *and the younger* Tullia. Tarquin *accuſes the King of uſurpation before the Senate.* Servius *pleads his cauſe there, but appeals to the People, and is by them confirm'd on the throne.* §. VIII. Tarquin *regains the King's favour by ſubmiſſions, but ſoon after cauſes him to be murdered and uſurps the kingdom.*

§. I. *SERVIUS Tullius*, the ſixth King of *Rome*, was the ſon of *Ocriſia*, a woman of extraordinary beauty and diſtinguiſhed virtue, taken captive at the ſacking of *Corniculum:* but who his father was is uncertain. *Dionyſius* reports that one *Tullius* a warrior of royal extraction, and killed in the defence of that city, was the huſband of *Ocriſia*, and at his death left his wife with child of this ſon. *Tarquin* made a preſent of the fair captive to Queen *Tanaquil*, who being ſoon after apprized of her quality and merit, conceived a particular eſteem for her and reſtored her to freedom. Nevertheleſs, *Ocriſia*'s ſon being born while ſhe was yet in a ſtate of *ſervitude* had thence the name of *Servius*. This is *Dionyſius*'s account. But *Plutarch* will have *Ocriſia* to have been a virgin at the time of her falling into captivity, and to have afterwards married one of the King's clients, by whom ſhe had *Servius Tullius*. Nor have there been wanting writers who have given this Prince a divine origin and made him the ſon of *Vulcan*, a fable which probably owed its riſe to another fable, reported for truth by *Tanaquil* and *Ocriſia*, of a ſudden flame, in form of a crown, which ſurrounded the head of *Servius* when he was a child and aſleep.

Year of *ROME* CLXXV to CLXXXII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

B. 4. p. 198.

Plut. de Fort. Rom. p. 323.

See *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 199.

From ſuch different accounts, as alſo from the ſilence of the Capitoline marbles on this head, 'tis pretty certain that nothing was leſs known to the

Year of *ROME.* CLXXV to CLXXXII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

hiſtorians than the true [a] deſcent of *Servius*; in theſe things however they all agree, That King *Tarquin* and his Queen had the ſame tenderneſs for the ſon of *Ocriſia* as if he had been their own offspring and took the ſame care of his education; and that yet, notwithſtanding ſo powerful a protection, it was chiefly to his own wife, noble, and uniform conduct that he owed his gradual elevation to the higheſt ſtep of honour.

Servius Tullius diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military atchievements, even before he was arrived to the age of manhood. The reputation of a brave warrior which he then acquired, increaſed as he advanced in years, and this with his amiable polite manners, his eloquence, and his extraordinary ability in council ſo gained him the eſteem and affection of the people, that with unanimous approbation he was raiſed to the rank of a Patrician and to a place in the Senate. The King and Queen nevertheleſs did not originally intend him the honour of an alliance with the Royal Family. They married him to *Gegania* a *Roman* lady of illuſtrious birth; and it was only after her death that they firſt thought of giving him their daughter *Tarquinia* for a wife: but after this alliance the King repoſed an intire confidence in him for the management both of his domeſtick concerns, and the affairs of the publick; in which latter *Servius* acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the people were quite indifferent whether they were governed by him or *Tarquin*; and this it was that made it ſo eaſy for him to ſeat himſelf on the throne upon the death of his father-in-law.

Plut. de Fort. Rom.

As the modeſt *Servius*, notwithſtanding his ſuperior merit, looked upon himſelf to be wholly indebted to *Fortune* for his grandeur, the firſt homage he paid after he was King was to this Goddeſs, and he erected an incredible number of altars and temples to her, ſtiling her by various epithets: And being reſolved to make the peaceful *Numa* his pattern, and aſpire to fame by eſtabliſhing as much order in the civil polity of *Rome* as that wiſe Prince had done in the religious, he like him pretended to have private converſations with a Goddeſs, and *Fortune* was his *Egeria*.

Plut. Quæſt. Rom. p. 281.

§. II. BUT how much ſoever *Servius* had been favoured by his Goddeſs in poſſeſſing himſelf of the government, the beginning of his reign was not without diſturbances. The *Patricians* eſpecially were much diſſatisfy'd with the little reſpect he had ſhewn to the antient uſages, upon the demiſe of a King. He had aſcended the throne without being elected to it, and only as a Regent; there had been no *Interregnum* as formerly. Complaints of theſe things were firſt drop'd in private aſſemblies, but ſoon improved into almoſt a general conſpiracy; and the Senators agreed among themſelves, that the firſt time they met, they would force the King to lay aſide his royalty. *Servius*, in this emergency, applied himſelf to gain the people, and employ their power againſt that of the *Patricians*. Among his other natural endowments, he had a ready and lively eloquence, proper to make impreſſions on a multitude. Having therefore called the people together, and placed one of

[a] Father *Catrou* thinks it ſtrange that none of the hiſtorians have made *Tarquin* himſelf the Father of *Servius*; but would it not have been more ſtrange if any of them had, ſince *Tarquin* thought fit to marry him to one of his daughters?

Year of ROME CLXXV to CLXXXII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

the two grandſons of the late King on each ſide of him, he made a ſpeech to the aſſembly to this effect. *See here, illuſtrious* Romans, *the tender offſpring of one of your greateſt Kings. The bare ſight of them will bring to your remembrance the virtues and victories of their grandfather. A melancholy death, and cruel parricide robbed you of him, and left his poſterity expoſed to the artifices and fury of his aſſaſſins. I alone received a charge from the dying King to protect theſe helpleſs children in their infancy: and to this I found myſelf pre-engaged, both by the alliance I had made in* Tarquin's *family, and the favours heap'd on me by that generous Prince. Be you* Romans *their joint guardians with me, and whatever gratitude you owe me for the ſervices I have formerly done you, which I need not remind you of, let it all be transferred to theſe my pupils. But why ſhould I employ many words with you in their favour? You know what is fit to be done and will do it. I ſhall only tell you now the benefits I have reſolved to procure for you, and it was for this reaſon I called you together. You ſhall no longer be the ſlaves of your creditors, nor bear the chief burthen of the publick taxes. I will provide a remedy for both theſe evils. It is not juſt, that the lands which are conquered at the expence of your toils and blood, ſhould be diſtributed only among the moſt audacious of the great; whilſt you continue without a foot of land of your own, and are obliged to cultivate the eſtates of others for hire. You have long enough born the contemptuous uſage of the* Patricians *who hardly look upon you as freemen becauſe you are poor. I will never ceaſe till I have eſtabliſhed you in perfect liberty.* Nor was this harangue of the King mere empty words: for a few days after he commanded all thoſe who were in debt, to ſend him an account of their debts, and the names of their creditors, and then ordering compting-houſes to be opened in the *Roman Forum*, he there paid all the debtors bills with his own money. He likewiſe publiſhed an edict, commanding all ſuch as had uſurped the lands belonging to the publick, to quit them at an appointed time; and ordered the citizens of *Rome*, who had no lands of their own, to petition for them. And laſtly, he revived many of the laws of *Romulus* and *Numa*, which diſuſe had in effect aboliſhed; and he made ſeveral new ones in favour of the common people. By theſe laws they were put upon an equality even with the Senators in every thing that concerned law-ſuits and the differences they might have with them; retrenching certain pretended privileges which the *Patricians* made uſe of to vex and oppreſs the *Plebeians* in caſes of contracts between them. *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 236.

But though the inclinations of *Servius Tullius* led him more to works of peace, and the eſtabliſhment of an exact polity in *Rome*, than to military exploits; yet he found himſelf obliged to embark in a long war, which brought much glory both to the *Roman* people, and the King of *Rome*. The *Veientes*, who with the reſt of the *Hetrurians* had been often ſubdued by *Tarquin the Elder*, had lately ſhaken off the yoke. The Deputies *Rome* had ſent to them, to engage them to acknowledge her ſovereignty, had been treated with ſcorn. *We entered*, ſaid they, *into no treaty with the ſon of a ſlave; nor will we ever ſubmit to* Servius's *dominion.* Tarquin *is dead, and our obligations to be ſubject to the* Romans *are dead with him.*

Year of *ROME* CLXXV to CLXXXII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

This confidence of the *Veientes* proceeded partly from the hopes they had of being able to turn the diſſentions between the Senate and King of *Rome* to their advantage. They therefore prepared for war, and drew two other *Lucumonies*, *viz.* thoſe of *Cære* and *Tarquinii*, into their party. But the confederates were briſkly attacked by *Servius*, and ſubdued by his conduct and valour: and the conqueror judging it proper to make theſe aggreſſors examples of ſeverity, deprived them of their lands, and tranſferred the property of them to ſuch of the new citizens of *Rome*, as had yet no lands of their own: After which, being ſupported by his own glory and the favour of the people, he obtained the honours of a triumph, in ſpight of the hatred of the Senate. *Servius*, with all the pomp which *Tarquin* had introduced into thoſe proceſſions, entered *Rome* on the ſixth of the calends of *December*, in the hundred and eighty-ſecond year of the foundation of *Rome*.

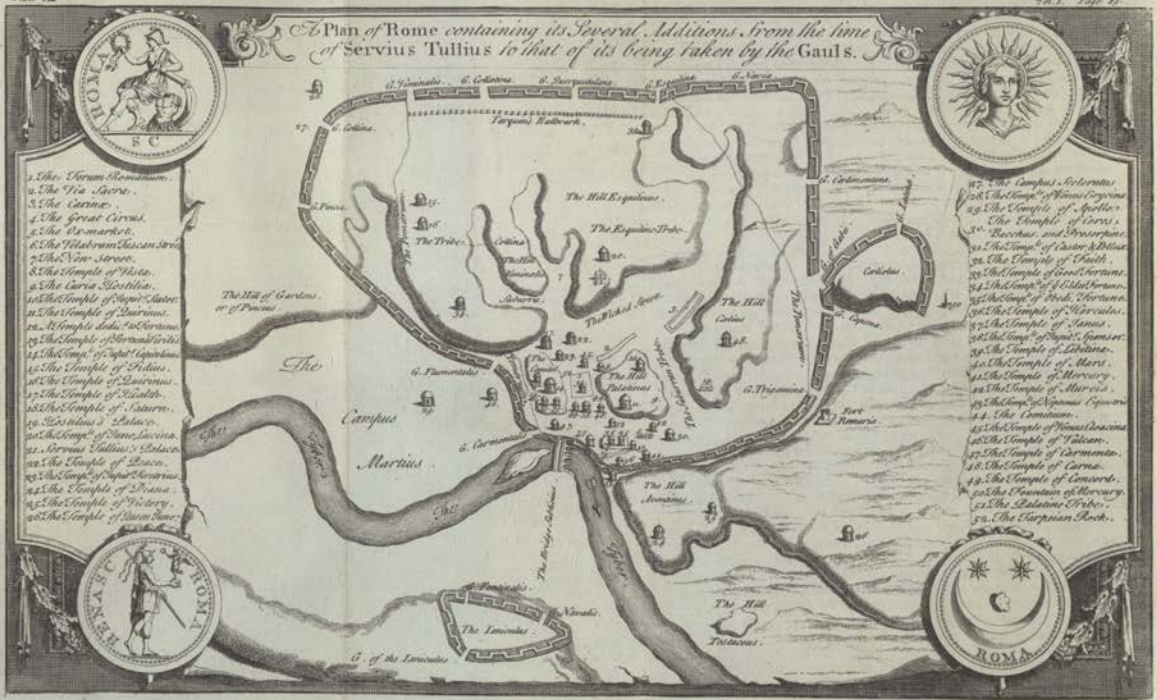
D. Hal. B. 4. p. 222.

CLXXXIII to CC.

The Senators now finding the People entirely well affected to the King, ſuppreſſed their complaints, leſt if they inſiſted on an *Interregnum*, it ſhould occaſion a legal election of *Servius* by the *Curiæ*. This Prince had too much penetration not to ſee into the myſtery of their policy, and therefore reſolved to make advantage of the preſent favour of the multitude, to render his title to the throne leſs diſputable. He aſſembled the citizens, and in a moving ſpeech, which drew tears from their eyes, complained of a deſign formed by the *Patricians* to take away his life and to bring back the ſons of *Ancus*, *And this*, ſaid he, *for no other reaſon but the kindneſs I have ſhewn to the people.* In the concluſion of his harangue he left the kingdom abſolutely to their diſpoſal, and begged them to determine between him and his pupils on one ſide, and their competitors on the other. *If you give ſentence againſt us*, ſaid he, *theſe children with the reſt of* Tarquin's *family and blood ſhall immediately leave the city. As for me, I have lived long enough for the views of virtue and glory: nor when I have once loſt the hearts of you my people, which I value above all things elſe, will I conſent to drag on an ignominious life among ſtrangers. Take then theſe* faſces, *and if you ſo think fit, give them to the* Patricians; *I will trouble you no more with my preſence.* As he ended theſe words he ſtepp'd down haſtily from the *Tribunal*, in order to leave the aſſembly; but they called to him to ſtay, intreated him to be their King, and even uſed violence to ſtop him. Some cried out, *Let the* Curiæ *be aſſembled, that we may elect* Servius *without delay.* Accordingly a day was appointed, and he was choſen King, with a greater unanimity than any of his predeceſſors. However the Senate could never be brought to confirm this election; and their faction was ſo formidable, that *Servius* deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould not renounce the dignity conferred on him by the people: but imparting his perplexities to *Tanaquil*, ſhe encouraged him, and even took an oath of him whereby he engaged himſelf not to reſign the kingdom. This great Queen and Heroine died ſoon after; and the King, to immortalize her domeſtick virtues, the true glory of a woman, hung up her diſtaff in the temple of *Hercules*.

Plut. de Fort. Rom.

§. III. AS


A Plan of Rome containing its Several Additions from the time of Servius Tullius to that of its being taken by the Gauls.
1. The Forum Romanum.
2. The Via Sacra.
3. The Carinæ.
4. The Great Circus.
5. The Ox-market.
6. The Velabrum Tuscan Street.
7. The New Street.
8. The Temple of Vesta.
9. The Curia Hostilia.
10. The Temple of Jupit. Stator.
11. The Temple of Quirinus.
12. A Temple dedic. to Fortune.
13. The Temple of Fortune's Virilis.
14. The Temp. of Jupit. Capitolinus.
15. The Temple of Fidius.
16. The Temple of Quirinus.
17. The Temple of Health.
18. The Temple of Saturn.
19. Hostilius's Palace.
20. The Temp. of Juno Lucina.
21. Servius Tullius's Palace.
22. The Temple of Peace.
23. The Temp. of Jupit. Feretrius.
24. The Temple of Diana.
25. The Temple of Victory.
26. The Temple of Queen Juno.
27. The Campus Scoleratus.
28. The Temp. of Venus Erycina.
29. The Temple of Apollo.
30. The Temple of Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine.
31. The Temp. of Castor & Pollux.
32. The Temple of Faith.
33. The Temple of Good Fortune.
34. The Temp. of Ælder Fortune.
35. The Temp. of Obedi. Fortune.
36. The Temple of Hercules.
37. The Temple of Janus.
38. The Temp. of Jupit. Sponsor.
39. The Temple of Libitina.
40. The Temple of Mars.
41. The Temple of Mercury.
42. The Temple of Murcia.
43. The Temp. of Neptunus Equestris.
44. The Comitium.
45. The Temple of Venus Cloacina.
46. The Temple of Vulcan.
47. The Temple of Carmenta.
48. The Temple of Carna.
49. The Temple of Concord.
50. The Fountain of Mercury.
51. The Palatine Tribe.
52. The Tarpeian Rock.
ROMA
S C
G. Viminalis.
G. Collatina.
G. Sacrosanctana.
G. Esquilina.
G. Narva.
Tarquin's Bulwark.
G. Collina.
G. Pinna.
The Hill Esquilinus.
The Esquiline Tribe.
The Tribe.
Collina
The Hill Viminalis
Suburra.
The Wicked Street.
The Hill Collius.
The Hill of Gardens or of Pincius.
The Campus Martius.
G. Flumentalis.
G. Carmentalis.
The Hill Palatinus.
The Hill Aventinus.
G. Cœlimontana.
G. Lucina.
G. Caelia.
Cœlius.
G. Capena.
G. Trigemina.
Fort Remaria.
The Hill Testaceus.
The Bridge Sublicius.
G. Fontinalis.
Navalis.
The Janiculus.
G. of the Janiculus.
ROMA
ROMA

A Pla… of …

1. The Forum Romanum.
2. The Via Sacra.
3. The Carinæ.
4. The Great Circus.
5. The Ox-market.
6. The Velabrum Tuscan Street.
7. The New Street.
8. The Temple of Vesta.
9. The Curia Hostilia.
10. The Temple of Jupiter Stator.
11. The Temple of Quirinus.
12. A Temple dedic.d to Fortune.
13. The Temple of Fortuna Virilis.
14. The Temp.le of Jupiter Capitolinus.
15. The Temple of Fidius.
16. The Temple of Quirinus.
17. The Temple of Health.
18. The Temple of Saturn.
19. Hostilius's Palace.
20. The Temp.le of Juno Lucina.
21. Servius Tullius's Palace.
22. The Temple of Peace.
23. The Temp.le of Jupiter Feretrius.
24. The Temple of Diana.
25. The Temple of Victory.
26. The Temple of Queen Juno.

27. The Campus Sceleratus
28. The Temp.le of Venus Erycina.
29. The Temple of Apollo.
30. The Temple of Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine.
31. The Temp.le of Castor & Pollux.
32. The Temple of Faith.
33. The Temple of Good Fortune.
34. The Temp.le of the Elder Fortune.
35. The Temp.le of Obedi.t Fortune.
36. The Temple of Hercules.
37. The Temple of Janus.
38. The Temp.le of Jupiter Sponsor.
39. The Temple of Libitina.
40. The Temple of Mars.
41. The Temple of Mercury.
42. The Temple of Murcia.
43. The Temp.le of Neptunus Equestris
44. The Comitium.
45. The Temple of Venus Cloacina.
46. The Temple of Vulcan.
47. The Temple of Carmenta.
48. The Temple of Carna.
49. The Temple of Concord.
50. The Fountain of Mercury.
51. The Palatine Tribe.
52. The Tarpeian Rock.

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§. III. AS *Servius* was now reſolved to continue on the throne, the rebellious *Hetrurians* furniſhed him with an opportunity to raiſe his glory. He ſubdued them and obtained the honour of a ſecond triumph. The interval of reſt after this victory he dedicated to the enlarging and adorning of *Rome*. *Romulus* had incloſed at firſt only the hill *Palatinus*, and afterwards added the hill *Tarpeius*; to theſe *Numa* joined the *Quirinalis*: *Tullus Hoſtilius* took in the hill *Cœlius*; *Ancus Marcius* incloſed mount *Aventine* and joined the *Janiculum* to the city by a wooden bridge; *Tarquinius Priſcus* only built the walls of *Rome* of hewn ſtone, without enlarging its bounds; but *Servius* incloſed within its limits the hills *Eſquilinus* and *Viminalis*, on the firſt of which he fixed his own palace, in order to draw inhabitants thither; and he added a fourth tribe to the [a] three of *Romulus*'s diviſion, and called it *Tribus Eſquilina*.

This King, in order to have an exact regiſter of the inhabitants of *Rome*, obliged every one to ſtay in the *Tribe* wherein he was born; and he likewiſe made a law, That a piece of money ſhould, upon every death, be paid into the temple of the Goddeſs *Libitina*, who preſided over funerals; another into the temple of *Juno Lucina*, upon every birth; and another into the temple of *Youth*, as ſoon as any perſon was paſt the ſtate of childhood. By this means the number of *Roman* citizens was known, and it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh ſuch as were able to bear arms.

It was partly perhaps to do honour to his firſt condition, that *Servius* made an inſtitution in favour of ſlaves. He erected little wooden oratories in all the croſs-ways, dedicated to the *Dii Compitales*, or Gods of the croſs-ways, and commanded that ſlaves only ſhould be prieſts to theſe Gods, and they had their particular feſtival, on which maſters gave their ſlaves reſt from all labour.

For the ſecurity of thoſe who lived in the country, and to eſtabliſh equal order throughout the *Roman* ſtate, *Servius* diſpoſed into diſtinct [b] tribes all the citizens that dwelt in the territory of *Rome*, and he ordered, that in each of theſe country tribes there ſhould be one place of refuge ſituated on a ſteep hill to ſecure the effects of the peaſants upon ſudden alarms. Theſe ſtrong holds he called *Pagi*, which ſignifies villages or boroughs; and he appointed a feſtival, called *Paganalia*, to be held

[a] The three tribes of *Romulus*'s diviſion were called the tribe of the *Rhamnenſes* or *Tribus Palatina*; the tribe of the *Tatienſes* or *Tribus Suburana*, and the tribe of the *Luceres* or *Tribus Collina*.

As taxes were raiſed by laying a certain ſum on each *Tribe*, it was hence, as *Varro* tells us, that thoſe taxes were called *Tributes* and *Contributions*; though *Livy* ſays that the *Roman Tribes* were ſo called from the *Tributes* levied on them.

[b] What the number of theſe tribes was into which *Servius* divided the freemen of *Rome* who lived in the country ſeems to be uncertain. The learned Jeſuits, Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, make it to be juſt 15, but they give no reaſon for their conjecture. They offer good reaſons why the number could not be 31 as *Dionyſius* (following *Venonius* an antient Author) believed. For according to the ſame *Dionyſius* there were in all, including the 4 city tribes, but 21 who voted at *Coriolanus*'s tryal many years after. *Livy* and *Florus* ſpeak of an augmentation of the tribes in the year 258, after which augmentation the number was but 21: and *Livy* afterwards ſpeaks of another addition of tribes. Now the whole number of *Roman* tribes never exceeded 35, which number would have been compleat in *Servius*'s time, according to *Venonius*'s account.

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every year in each of theſe *Pagi*. All the peaſants of the ſeveral tribes were to be preſent at the yearly ſacrifices offered to the tutelary Gods of their reſpective villages, and every perſon was to bring a piece of money, the men a piece of one kind, the women of another, and the children of a third ſort, to be paid into the hands of thoſe who preſided at the ſacrifices. By counting theſe pieces of money they learnt the exact number, age and ſex of the perſons belonging to each tribe.

In the midſt of his cares for the publick ſafety, this provident King did not forget his own. His two wards *Lucius Tarquinius* and *Aruns* being now ſufficiently advanced in years to be capable of diſturbing his government, ſhould they prove ill affected to him, he the better to ſecure their fidelity, married them to his two daughters: And though the elder of theſe daughters, being of a mild and virtuous diſpoſition, reſembled in character the younger of his pupils, as the elder of his pupils did the younger of his daughters who was violent and vicious, yet he thought it moſt adviſable to match them according to priority of birth, that ſo the mildneſs and diſcretion of the elder *Tullia* might reſtrain the dangerous impetuoſity of *Lucius*, and the vivacity of the younger *Tullia* quicken the unambitious indolence of *Aruns*.

During the publick rejoicings for this double marriage, the *Hetrurians* were preparing to make war upon the *Romans* in a national body. The hiſtorians have not been particular in their accounts of this war; they only tell us that *Servius*, by repeated victories over them, reduced them to aſk peace, and to ſubmit to him upon the ſame conditions on which they had ſubmitted to his predeceſſor: and that for this ſucceſs he was honoured with a third triumph.

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§. IV. AFTER this the King returned to the purſuit of his political ſchemes. Taxes had been hitherto levied upon the people at ſo much a head, without diſtinction of rich and poor; and as both ſorts were equally obliged to ſerve in the field at their own expence, it was often very hard upon the poorer ſort. There was likewiſe this farther inconvenience in the preſent government of affairs, that, as war and peace, the creation of magiſtrates and the making and abrogating of laws were determined by a majority of the *Curiæ* aſſembled, and as in theſe *Curiæ* the Rich and the Poor, the *Patrician* and the *Plebeian* were mingled without any diſtinction, and every man's voice was of equal value, the indigent and ignoble, though leſs qualified to judge, and more eaſily corrupted, yet being vaſtly the more numerous, had in theſe aſſemblies a greater ſhare in all decrees than the noble and wealthy. *Servius* formed a project to remedy theſe evils. He ordered all the *Roman* citizens under the ſevereſt penalties to give an account in writing of their names and ages, with thoſe of their fathers, wives, and children. He further obliged all the heads of families to deliver in upon oath a juſt eſtimate of their effects, and to mention the places of their reſidence, whether in town or country. Having got information of theſe things, he undertook to eaſe the poor, by burthening the rich, and yet to pleaſe the latter, by augmenting their power.

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To this end, he divided the *Roman* citizens into ſix *Claſſes*: and as all the ſoldiery was to be raiſed out of theſe, he appointed them offenſive and defenſive arms, according to their dignity and pre-eminence. The firſt *Claſs* conſiſted of thoſe, whoſe eſtates in land and effects were worth at leaſt a hundred thouſand *Aſſes* of braſs, according to the *Latin* way of computing, or ten thouſand *Drachmæ*, according to the *Greek*. This firſt *Claſs* was ſubdivided into fourſcore *Centuries*, or companies of foot, forty of which companies were made up of young men; that is, of ſuch as were from ſeventeen to forty-five years of age, and theſe alone were obliged to take the field: the other forty companies of the ſame claſs were old men; that is, ſuch as were paſt forty-five, whoſe only duty was to defend the city. Every ſoldier of this firſt and moſt honourable body of the *Roman* infantry was defenſively armed with a ſmall oval ſhield after the *Greek* faſhion, an helmet of braſs, a cuiraſs, and *cuiſſes* of the ſame mettle; and their weapons were a pike, a javelin and a ſword. To theſe fourſcore *Centuries* of foot, *Servius* joined eighteen *Centuries* of *Roman* Knights, who fought on horſe-back. Till this ſixth King of *Rome*'s time, the *Romans* had had but three *Centuries* of Knights. What number of men they contained is uncertain. *Livy* tells us, that of theſe three *Centuries Servius* made ſix, and added twelve new *Centuries* to them, and appointed that this conſiderable body of horſemen ſhould be at the head of the rich *Claſs*: becauſe, doubtleſs, the eſtates of theſe Knights exceeded the ſum neceſſary for being admitted into this firſt *Claſs*. But tho' they were rich, yet the publick ſupplied them with horſes; and a tax was laid on widows, who were exempt from all other contributions, for maintaining their horſes. This firſt *Claſs*, including infantry and cavalry, conſiſted of ninety-eight *Centuries*.

322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

Liv. B. 1.

The ſecond *Claſs* comprehended thoſe *Romans*, whoſe eſtates were worth at leaſt 75000 *Aſſes* of braſs, or 7500 *Drachmæ*. It was divided into twenty *Centuries* of ſoldiers, all foot: Ten of young men, and ten of old. And to theſe twenty were joined two other *Centuries* of carpenters, ſmiths, and other artificers for the engines of war; ſo that the ſecond *Claſs* contained in all twenty-two *Centuries*. The ſoldiers of this *Claſs* were armed like thoſe of the former; with this only difference, that they had no cuiraſs, and inſtead of the ſmall oval ſhield had a buckler of the figure of an oblong ſquare, which almoſt covering their whole body made the cuiraſs needleſs.

D. Hal. B. 1. *ibid.*

242 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

In the third *Claſs* were thoſe, who were eſteemed worth 50000 *Aſſes*, or which amounts to the ſame, 5000 *Drachmæ*. Theſe wore no defenſive armour but the helmet and ſquare buckler; but they fought as the others did, with the pike, javelin and ſword. Theſe were alſo divided into twenty *Centuries*.

161 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

The fourth *Claſs* conſiſted of ſuch as were worth 25000 *Aſſes*, or 2500 *Drachmæ*, and this likewiſe contained twenty *Centuries*, ten old and ten young; and to theſe were added two other *Centuries* of trumpets and blowers of the horn, who ſupplied the whole army with this martial muſick. The ſoldiers of this *Claſs* had no defenſive arms but a ſquare buckler; their offenſive ones were the ſame with thoſe of the former.

80 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

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In the fifth *Claſs* were included thoſe whoſe whole ſubſtance did not amount to more than 12500 *Aſſes*, or 1250 *Drachmæ*. They were divided into thirty *Centuries*, fifteen old, and fifteen young. They were not ſuffered to wear any defenſive armour, and their only weapons were ſlings and darts.

The ſixth *Claſs* comprehended all thoſe who either had no eſtates or were not worth ſo much as the ſoldiers of the fifth *Claſs*. The number of them was ſo great, as to exceed that of any of the other *Claſſes*, yet they were reckoned but as one *Century*.

l. s. d. 40 7 3½ *Aul. Gel. B.* 16.

By this enumeration we ſee that the *Roman* people were, in *Servius*'s time, divided into one hundred and ninety-three *Centuries* [a], reckoning the

[a] It may be proper here to explain, once for all, the difference between the three ſorts of *Comitia* ſucceſſively eſtabliſhed in the *Roman* government, with the manner in which the people gave their votes in theſe aſſemblies.

The *Comitia*, according to *Sigonius*'s definition, were *general aſſemblies of the people lawfully called by ſome magiſtrate, for the enjoinment or prohibition of any thing by their votes* *.

The proper *Comitia* were of three ſorts; *Curiata*, *Centuriata*, and *Tributa*; with reference to the three grand diviſions of the city and people into *Curiæ*, *Centuries*, and *Tribes*: For by *Comitia Calata*, which we ſometimes meet with in authors, in elder times were meant all the *Comitia* in general; the word *Calata*, from καλέω or *calo*, being their common *epithet*; tho' 'twas at laſt reſtrained to two ſorts of aſſemblies, thoſe for the creation of prieſts, and thoſe for the inſpection and regulation of laſt wills and teſtaments †.

The COMITIA CURIATA owe their original to the diviſion which *Romulus* made of the people into thirty *Curiæ*; ten being contained under every *Tribe*. They anſwered, in moſt reſpects, to the pariſhes in our cities, being not only ſeparated by proper bounds and limits, but diſtinguiſh'd too by their different places ſet apart for the celebration of divine ſervice, which was perform'd by particular prieſts (one to every *Curia*,) with the name of *Curiones*.

Before the inſtitution of the *Comitia Centuriata*, all the grand concerns of the ſtate were tranſacted in the aſſembly of the *Curiæ*; as, the election of Kings, and other chief officers, the making and abrogating of laws, and the judging of capital cauſes. After the expulſion of the Kings, when the commons had obtained the privilege to have *Tribunes* and *Ædiles*, they elected them for ſome time at theſe aſſemblies: But that ceremony being at length transferr'd to the *Comitia Tributa*, the *Curiæ* were never convened to give their votes, except now and then upon account of making ſome particular law, relating to adoptions, wills, and teſtaments, or the creation of officers for an expedition; or for the electing of ſome of the prieſts, as the *Flamines*, and the *Curio Maximus*, or ſuperintendant of the *Curiones*, who themſelves were choſe by every particular *Curia*.

The power of calling theſe aſſemblies, belonged at firſt only to the Kings; but upon the eſtabliſhment of the Democracy, the ſame privilege was allowed to moſt of the chief magiſtrates, and ſometimes to the *Pontifices*.

The perſons who had the liberty of voting here, were ſuch *Roman* citizens as belonged to the *Curiæ*; or ſuch as actually lived in the city, and conformed to the cuſtoms and rites of their proper *Curia*; all thoſe being excluded who dwelt without the bounds of the city, retaining the ceremonies of their own country, though they had been honoured with the *Jus Civitatis*, or admitted free citizens of *Rome*. ‡

The place where the *Curiæ* met was the *Comitium*, a part of the *Forum* as has been already mentioned §.

No ſet time was allotted for the holding of theſe or any of the other *Comitia*, but only as buſineſs required.

The people being met together, and confirmed by the report of good omens from the *Augurs* (which was neceſſary in all the aſſemblies,) the *Rogatio*, or buſineſs to be propos'd to them, was publickly read. After this (if none of the magiſtrates interpoſed,) upon the order of him that preſided in the *Comitia*, the people divided into their proper *Curia*'s,

* *Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Civ. Rom.* l. 1. c. 17. † *A. Gell.* l. 15. c. 27. ‡ *Sigon de Antiq. Jur. Prov.* l. 3. c. 1. § *See* Part II. l. 1. c. 5.

and

the whole ſixth *Claſs* as but one *Century*: And, after a full enquiry, it appeared

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and conſulted of the matter; and then the *Curia's* being called out, as it happened by lot, gave their votes, man by man, in ancient times *vivâ voce*, and afterwards by Tablets *; the moſt votes in every *Curia* going for the voice of the whole *Curia*, and the moſt *Curiæ* for the general conſent of the people †.

In the time of *Cicero*, the *Comitia Curiata* were ſo much out of faſhion, that they were formed only by thirty Lictors repreſenting the thirty *Curiæ*; whence in his ſecond oration againſt *Rullus*, he calls them *Comitia adumbrata*.

THE *Comitia Centuriata* were inſtituted by *Servius Tullius*; who obliging every one to give a true account of what they were worth, according to thoſe accounts divided the people into ſix Ranks or *Claſſes*, which he ſubdivided into 193 *Centuries*. The firſt *Claſſis* containing the *Equites* and richeſt citizens, conſiſted of ninety eight *Centuries*. The ſecond, taking in the tradeſmen and mechanicks, made up two and twenty *Centuries*. The third, the ſame number. The fourth, twenty. The fifth, thirty. And the laſt, filled up with the poorer ſort, had but one century ‡.

And this, though it had the ſame name with the reſt, yet was ſeldom regarded, or allowed by any power in publick matters. Hence 'tis a common thing with the *Roman* authors, when they ſpeak of the *Claſſes*, to reckon no more than five, the ſixth not being worth their notice. This laſt *Claſſis* was divided into two parts, or orders, the *Proletarii*, and the *Capite Cenſi*. The former, as their name implies, were deſigned purely to ſtock the commonwealth with men, ſince they could ſupply it with ſo little money. And the latter, who paid the loweſt tax of all, were rather counted and marſhalled by their heads, than their eſtates §.

Perſons of the firſt rank, by reaſon of their pre-eminence, had the name of *Claſſici*; whence came the phraſe of *Claſſici Authores*, for the moſt approved writers. All others, of what *Claſſis* ſoever, were ſaid to be *infra Claſſem* ‖.

The aſſembly of the people by *Centuries* was held for the electing of *Conſuls*, *Cenſors*, and *Prætors*; as alſo for the judging of perſons accuſed of what they called *Crimen Perduellionis*, or actions by which the party had ſhow'd himſelf an enemy to the ſtate; and for the confirmation of all ſuch laws as were propoſed by the chief magiſtrates, and which had the privilege of calling theſe aſſemblies.

The place appointed for their meeting was the *Campus Martius*; becauſe in the primitive times of the commonwealth, when they were under continual apprehenſions of enemies, the people, to prevent any ſudden aſſault, went armed, in martial order, to hold theſe aſſemblies; and were for that reaſon forbid by the laws to meet in the city, becauſe an army was upon no account to be marſhalled within the walls: Yet in latter ages, 'twas thought ſufficient to place a body of ſoldiers as a guard in the *Janiculum*, where an imperial ſtandard was erected, the taking down of which, denoted the concluſion of the *Comitia*.

Tho' the time of theſe *Comitia* for other matters was undetermined; yet the magiſtrates, after the year of the city 601, when they began to enter on their place on the *kalends* of *January*, were conſtantly *deſign'd* about the end of *July*, and the beginning of *Auguſt*.

All the time between their election and confirmation, they continued as private perſons, that inquiſition might be made into the election, and the other candidates might have time to enter objections, if they met with any ſuſpicion of foul dealing. Yet at the election of the *Cenſors*, this cuſtom did not hold; but as ſoon as they were pronounced elected, they were immediately inveſted with the honour ‡.

By the inſtitution of theſe *Comitia*, *Servius Tullius* ſecretly conveyed the whole power from the commons: For the *Centuries* of the firſt and richeſt claſs being called out firſt, who were three more in number than all the reſt put together, if they all agreed, as generally they did, the buſineſs was already decided, and the other *Claſſes* were needleſs and inſignificant. However the three laſt ſcarce ever came to vote *†.

The commons, in the time of the free ſtate, to rectify this diſadvantage, obtained, that before they proceeded to voting any matter at theſe *Comitia*, that *Century* ſhould give their ſuffrages firſt, upon whom it fell by lot, with the name of *Centuria Prærogativa*; the reſt

* *Tabellæ.* † *Roſin.* l. 7. c. 7. ‡ See *Dionyſ.* l. 4. ‡ *Liv.* l. 40. *† *Dionyſ.* l. 4. §. *A. Gell.* l. 7. c. 13. ‖ Vid. *A. Gell.* l. 16. c. 10.

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peared that the number of freemen who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to eighty-four thouſand, ſeven hundred *.

Theſe

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being to follow according to the order of their *Claſſes*. After the conſtitution of the five and thirty *Tribes*, into which the *Claſſes* and their *Centuries* were divided, in the firſt place, the *Tribes* caſt lots, which ſhould be the *Prerogative-Tribe*; and then the *Centuries* of the *Tribe*, for the honour of being the *Prerogative-Century*. All the other Tribes and Centuries had the appellation of *Jure vocatæ*, becauſe they were called out according to their proper places.

* *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 216.

The *Prerogative-Century* being choſe by lot, the chief magiſtrate ſitting in a * Tent in the middle of the *Campus Martius*, ordered that *Century* to come out and give their voices; upon which they preſently ſeparated from the reſt of the multitude, and came into an incloſed apartment, which they termed *Septa*, or *Ovilia*, paſſing over the *pontes*, or narrow boards, laid there for the occaſion; on which account, *de Ponte dejici* is to be denied the privilege of voting, and perſons thus dealt with, are called *Depontani*.

At the hither end of the *Pontes*, ſtood the *Diribitores* (a ſort of under-officers, called ſo from dividing or marſhalling the people) and delivered to every man, in the election of magiſtrates, as many † Tablets as there appeared Candidates, one of whoſe names was written upon every Tablet.

A fit number of great cheſts were ſet ready in the *Septa*, and every body threw in which Tablet he pleas'd.

By the cheſts were placed ſome of the publick-ſervants, who taking out the Tablets of every *Century*, for every Tablet made a prick, or a point, in another Tablet which they kept by them. Thus the buſineſs being decided by moſt points, gave occaſion to the phraſe of *omne tulit punctum* ‡, and the like.

The ſame method was obſerved in the judiciary proceſſes at theſe *Comitia*, and in the confirmation of laws; except that in both theſe caſes only two Tablets were offer'd to every perſon, on one of which was written *U. R.* and on the other *A.* in capital letters; the two firſt ſtanding for *Uti Rogas*, or, *Be it as you deſire*, relating to the magiſtrate who propoſed the queſtion; and the laſt for *Antiquo*, or, *I forbid it*.

'Tis remarkable, that though in the election of magiſtrates, and in the ratification of laws, the votes of that *Century*, whoſe Tablets were equally divided, ſignified nothing; yet in trials of life and death, if the Tablets *pro* and *con* were the ſame in number, the perſon was actually acquitted §.

THE diviſion of the people into *Tribes*, was an invention of *Romulus*, after he had admitted the *Sabines* into *Rome*; and tho' he conſtituted at that time only three, yet as the ſtate increaſed in power, and the city in number of inhabitants, they roſe by degrees to five and thirty. For a long time after this inſtitution, a *Tribe* ſignified no more than ſuch a ſpace of ground with its inhabitants. But at laſt the matter was quite altered, and a *Tribe* was no longer *pars urbis* but *civitatis*; not a quarter of the city, but a company of citizens living where they pleaſed. This change was chiefly occaſioned by the original difference between the *Tribes* in point of honour. For *Romulus* having committed all ſordid and mechanic arts to the care of ſtrangers, ſlaves, and libertines, and reſerved the more honeſt labour of agriculture to the free-men and citizens, who by this active courſe of life might be prepared for martial ſervice; the *Tribus Ruſticæ* were for this reaſon eſteemed more honourable than the *Urbanæ*: And now all perſons being deſirous of getting into the more creditable diviſion, and there being ſeveral ways of accompliſhing their wiſhes, as by adoption, by the power of the *Cenſors* and the like; that *Ruſtic Tribe* which had moſt worthy names in its roll, had the preference to all others, tho' of the ſame general denomination, Hence all of the ſame great family, bringing themſelves by degrees into the ſame *Tribe*, gave the name of their family to the *Tribe* they honoured; whereas at firſt, the generality of the *Tribes* did not borrow their names from perſons but from places ‖.

The firſt aſſembly of the *Tribes* we meet with, is about the year of *Rome* 263, conven'd by *Sp. Sicinius*, *Tribune* of the commons, upon account of the trial of *Coriolanus*. Soon after the *Tribunes* of the commons were ordered to be elected here; and at laſt all the inferior

* *Tabernaculum.* † *Tabellæ.* ‡ *Hor. de Arte Poet.* § *Dionyſ.* l. 7. ‖ *See Mr.* Walker *of coins*, p. 126.

magiſtrates

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Theſe regulations being made, the troops were no longer raiſed at ſo many men each *Tribe*, nor were taxes levied at ſo much a head as formerly; but every *Century* furniſhed ſo many men and ſo much money; and the firſt and richeſt *Claſs*, being more numerous in *Centuries* [a] than all the reſt together, furniſhed of conſequence more men and more money for the publick ſervice than the whole *Roman* ſtate beſides. However, that ample amends might be made this *Claſs* for the weight laid on it, *Servius* gave it in effect the whole authority in publick affairs, by aſſembling the People in *Comitia* by *Centuries*, inſtead of *Comitia* by *Curiæ*. For the votes in theſe aſſemblies being reckoned by *Centuries*; and this *Claſs* containing more *Centuries* than all the other five, had conſequently every thing at its diſpoſal. The votes of this *Claſs* were the firſt taken, ſo that if the 98 *Centuries* happened to agree in opinion, or only 97 of them, the affair was determined, becauſe theſe made the majority of the 193 *Centuries* which compoſed the 6 *Claſſes*. There was very rarely any occaſion to go ſo low as the fourth *Claſs* for a majority of votes. After this time the aſſemblies of the *Curiæ* were only held for the election of the *Flamines*, and the chief *Curio*; and for ſome other matters of no great moment.

Servius having eſtabliſhed this diſtinction among the citizens according to the * *cenſus*, or valuation of their eſtates, commanded them to appear on a day appointed, under arms, and according to their *Claſſes* and *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, which was a large plain field, lying without the city near the *Tyber*. It had been conſecrated by *Romulus* to the God *Mars*. Here by the King's order was made a ſolemn luſtration or expiatory ſacrifice in the name of all the people. The ſacrifice conſiſted of a ſow, a ſheep and a bull, whence it took the name of *Suovetaurilia*. The whole ceremony was called *Luſtrum*, *à luendo*, from *paying*, *expiating*, *clearing*, or perhaps from the Goddeſs *Lua* (ſo named from the verb *luo*) to whom *Servius* is ſaid to have built a temple. She was invoked in all expiations,

* From *Cenſus* to rate or value.

magiſtrates and the collegiate prieſts. The ſame *Comitia* ſerved for the enacting of laws relating to war and peace, and all others propoſed by the *Tribunes* and *Plebeian* officers, tho' they had not properly the name of *Leges*, but *Plebiſcita*. They were generally conven'd by the *Tribunes* of the commons; but the ſame privilege was allowed to all the chief magiſtrates.

They were confined to no place, and therefore ſometimes we find them held in the *Comitium*, ſometimes in the *Campus Martius*, and now and then in the capitol.

The proceedings were in moſt reſpects anſwerable to thoſe already decribed in the account of the other *Comitia*, and therefore need not be inſiſted on; only we may farther obſerve of the *Comitia* in general, that when any candidate was found to have moſt Tablets for a magiſtracy, he was declared to be *deſigned* or *elected* by the preſident of the aſſembly: And this they term'd *renunciari Conſul*, *Prætor*, or the like: And that the laſt ſort of the *Comitia* only could be held without the conſent and approbation of the *Senate*, which was neceſſary to the convening of the other two *. *Kennet*'s Antiq. P. 2. B. 3. c. 16.

[a] It is uncertain whether the *Centuries* of the firſt *Claſs* contained each of them ſo many as one hundred effective men; but if they did, 'tis certain that the *Centuries* of all the other *Claſſes* muſt have each contained more than one hundred; otherwiſe, the levies being made by *Centuries*, the richer *Centuries* would have been ſubject to no greater contributions than the poorer.

* *Dionyſ.* l. 9.

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and when people made up their accounts and paid their debts. Becauſe of the continual change of mens eſtates, it was ordered, that the *Cenſus* ſhould be renewed every 5 years, and it being uſually cloſed by the *Luſtrum*, it was hence that this word came to ſignify that term of years. 'Tis probable, that the firſt coined money ever known in *Rome* was ſtruck at this time. The ſacrifices of the *Luſtrum* might perhaps lead *Servius* to ſtamp the figures of the animals there ſlain on pieces of braſs of a certain weight. It is undoubted, that money was called *Pecunia*, from the word *Pecus*, i. e. *Cattle*.

§. V. THIS wiſe Prince contrived alſo to augment the number of the citizens, by an expedient which none of his predeceſſors had ever thought of. Remembering his former ſervile condition, he commiſerated the caſe of thoſe whom an unſucceſsful war had reduced to ſlavery, and who were often perſons well born. He judged, that ſuch of theſe unfortunate people, who by long and faithful ſervices to their maſters had deſerved and obtained their freedom, were much more worthy to be made citizens of *Rome*, than untractable vagabonds from foreign countries, who were uſually admitted without diſtinction. He gave the *Freed-men* their choice therefore, either to return to their own countries, or continue at *Rome*. Such as choſe to continue there he divided into four *Tribes*, and ſettled them within the city. They were ſtill diſtinguiſhed from the other *Plebeians*, by their old name of *Liberti*, or freed-men, but enjoyed all the privileges of free citizens. The Senate at firſt took offence at this regard ſhew'd to ſuch mean people; upon which the King having aſſembled them, addreſſed himſelf to them in the following manner.

If nature has made any diſtinction between ſlaves and ſuch as are born free, we ought indeed to obſerve the order ſhe has eſtabliſhed, and to divide thoſe from the reſt of mankind whom ſhe has ſeparated from them: but if the placing ſome in a ſtate inferior to others, be owing to fortune only; does it not become your wiſdom to rectify the capricious determinations of a blind Goddeſs? Has this Fortune, *who now inſpires you with ſo much contempt for men taken in war, promiſed you that your happineſs ſhall be perpetual? Are you ſure you and your children ſhall uninterruptedly enjoy this proſperity which renders you ſo haughty? Brave and illuſtrious nations have been often known to experience the viciſſitudes of the fortune of war. Such as have play'd the tyrant over thoſe they had conquered, have been themſelves reduced to undergo tyranny and oppreſſion from them in their turn. How many inſtances of theſe unexpected revolutions have we in* Greece, *and the barbarous nations? But to return to our* Romans; *how inconſiſtent are their proceedings, when they grant liberty to thoſe very men, whom they refuſe the right of citizenſhip? If your ſlaves were vicious, why did you ſet them free? And if they were men of probity, why are they not to be incorporated with our citizens? We ought to judge of and eſteem men, by the rules of equity and truth, and not by the frowns of inconſtant fortune. You have hitherto admitted to be citizens, all ſuch perſons of the neighbouring nations as the love of your laws has drawn to your city. And have you enquired whether their birth wa not blemiſhed by*

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the ſlavery which their fathers underwent? Why then are you carried away with thoſe reflections to the diſadvantage of your ſlaves, which have no weight with you againſt fugitives who are utter ſtrangers? In ſhort, if we muſt compleat the peopling of Rome, *let us fill it with ſuch as have for the moſt part breathed its air from their infancy, ſuch as education has already made entirely* Roman, *and whoſe probity has ſhewn them worthy of recovering their liberty. The publick intereſt invites you to this, and it is the private intereſt of every noble family, that it ſhould be done. The more of your freed-men you ſee made citizens of* Rome, *and incorporated in our* Comitia, *the greater credit and influence will you have there. They will not be able in gratitude to refuſe you their ſuffrages; and your authority will encreaſe in proportion to the number of your new clients.* This humane and judicious diſcourſe entirely appeaſed the Senators, and they paſſed his inſtitution into a law which ſubſiſted ever after.

When *Servius* had thus eſtabliſhed order among the people, and encouraged the ſlaves to virtue, he came at laſt from a love of the publick good to reform the Regal Power. His predeceſſors had reſerved to themſelves the cognizance of all cauſes both publick and private. It is true, the Senate and People decided in publick affairs by their votes, but it was the King's buſineſs to draw up in form and report the matters that were to be laid before them. So that in reality the whole weight of the government lay upon the King: and he finding the duties of his office too much for one man to diſcharge them as he ought, transferred to other judges choſen out of the Senate the care of hearing and deciding all private cauſes, excepting ſtate crimes; but he preſcribed to theſe judges certain rules and laws by which they were to proceed.

All theſe regulations at home being finiſhed, *Servius Tullius* then turned his thoughts abroad, and he laid a ſcheme for ſecuring more effectually the friendſhip and fidelity of the *Latines* and *Sabines*, by ſuch ſocial ties as ſhould be ſtrengthened by religion. He ſummoned the ſeveral cities of *Latium* and *Sabinia* to ſend their deputies to *Rome*. When they were come, he propoſed to them to build a temple to *Diana*, at which the *Latines* and *Sabines* ſhould meet every year, and join with the *Romans* in offering ſacrifices to the Goddeſs; that this feſtival ſhould be followed by a council, at which all diſputes which had happened between the cities, ſhould be amicably determined; that there proper meaſures ſhould be taken to purſue their common intereſts; and laſtly, that in order to draw the common people thither, a fair ſhould be kept, at which every one might furniſh himſelf with what he wanted. To this reaſonable propoſal the deputies readily conſented, leaving to the King to chuſe a proper place where to erect the ſanctuary. *Servius* choſe the hill *Aventinus*, the temple was finiſhed, and aſſemblies were annually held in it. The treaty of alliance with the *Latines*, the laws ordained to be obſerved in thoſe aſſemblies, as alſo their decrees were engraved on a pillar which in *Auguſtus*'s time was ſtill to be ſeen in the temple of *Diana*.

§. VII. TO compleat his work of making the *Roman* people entirely free,

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free, this republican King is ſaid to have come to a reſolution in the latter part of his life, to abdicate the throne and reduce the government to a democracy. But whatever ſcheme he might have of this kind, it was fruſtrated by the ambition and violence of *Tarquin*, the elder of his ſons-in-law, afterwards ſurnamed *the Proud*. *Tarquin*'s wife endeavoured by all the ways of ſweetneſs and inſinuation, to moderate and ſoften the haughty fierceneſs of her huſband, and to divert him from all criminal enterprizes; while her younger ſiſter, a very fury of a woman, was ever urging the quiet, the good-natured *Aruns* to the moſt villanous attempts, in order to reach the throne. She loudly lamented her fate in being ty'd to ſuch an indolent and droniſh huſband. Similitude of temper and manners formed by degrees a great intimacy between her and *Tarquin*. At length ſhe propoſed to him nothing leſs than the murdering of her father, ſiſter, and huſband, that they two might meet and aſcend the throne together; and their converſation on this head ended in their anticipating the pleaſures of an inceſtuous marriage. Shortly after they contrived the poiſoning, he of his wife, ſhe of her huſband; and then impudently asked the King's and Queen's conſent to their marriage. *Servius* and *Tarquinia*, though they did not give it, were ſilent, through too much indulgence for a daughter, in whom now was their only hope of poſterity. Theſe criminal nuptials were followed by intrigues againſt the King. The *Patricians* apprehenſive of the King's deſigns in favour of the people, were many of them eaſily brought over to favour the pretenſions of *Tarquin*; and by the help of money he gained alſo great numbers of the poorer citizens to his intereſt. *Servius*, being informed of what was doing, had frequent conferences in private with his ſon-in-law and daughter, to perſuade them by reaſon to deſiſt from ſuch proceedings, and to wait for the kingdom till his death: But *Tarquin* and *Tullia* loved violent meaſures, and to make a noiſe; they deſpiſed the counſels of the King, and reſolved to lay their pretenſions before the Senate. So that the affair came to a formal proceſs; and *Servius* was obliged to ſummon the Senate to hear it. *Tarquin* reproached his father-in-law, that he had placed himſelf upon the throne, without ſuffering a previous *Interregnum*; that he had bought the votes of the people, and had deſpiſed the ſuffrages of the Senate. He then urged his own right of inheritance to the kingdom, and the injuſtice of *Servius* (who was only his tutor) in keeping poſſeſſion of it, when he himſelf was of an age to govern. To this *Servius* anſwered, that he had not been entruſted with the Regal Authority under an obligation to preſerve it for his pupils, but to ſecure their lives againſt the ſons of *Ancus*; who, if there could be an hereditary right to the ſcepter, had a much better one than the grandſons of the late King, who muſt himſelf have been an uſurper. *Take your choice*, ſaid he, *either to lay aſide all hopes of reigning till after I am dead, or to ſubmit from this inſtant to obey the murderers of your grandfather. But I am ſurprized, that there ſhould be any among you*, Fathers, *who would join with this man in endeavouring to dethrone me. What injuſtice have I done you? Is there any violence, any oppreſſion, any one tyrannical act you can accuſe*

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cuſe me of? No. But perhaps I am too proud and arrogant. Which of your former Kings ever ſhewed that moderation in the exerciſe of power which I have done? Have I not treated the citizens as a tender father his children? Have I not relinquiſhed ſome part of the Regal Authority to you, and remitted all private cauſes to your cognizance and judgment? You have nothing to accuſe me of but my kindneſs to the people. This is my only crime, and with regard to this, I have often juſtified my ſelf to you. But it is needleſs to mention theſe things at preſent. If this Tarquin *ſeems to you better qualified to govern, I will not envy the ſtate a better prince than I am. I received the kingdom from the people, to them I will reſtore it, and will endeavour to ſhew, when reduced to the condition of a private man, that as I knew how to govern, I know how to obey.*

When *Servius* had thus ſpoken, he immediately diſmiſſed the Senate, and appointed an aſſembly of the People, which was proclaimed by heralds all over the city. The *Roman Forum* was ſoon filled with auditors, and the King harangued them in ſuch a manner as gained all their affections. He began with an account of his exploits in war: he gave them the particulars of the battles he had fought, the victories he had won, and the triumphs he had obtained. And then paſſed on to the wholſome inſtitutions of which he had been the author. The People repeated their applauſes upon the mention of every action of *Servius*, and were a great while in ſuſpence, not knowing to what this long preamble tended: Till, after an exact enumeration of all the benefits for which the publick was indebted to his government, he fell at laſt upon *Tarquin*. *A new competitor for the throne*, ſaid he, *offers himſelf to you, and comes to diſpute with me the remains of a reign which I have dedicated to the happineſs of the publick. He pretends that his dying grandfather bequeathed the kingdom to him, and that you had no right to diſpoſe of the property of another. Can you hear this without indignation? Will you ſuffer your rights to be called in queſtion? As for me, if the hardſhips of a tyrannical adminiſtration have made you weary of me, or if the virtues of* Tarquin *have made him more worthy to reign, I conſent that you reſume the ſceptre which I received from you: but I don't think myſelf at liberty to reſign it into any hands but yours, and to you therefore I reſtore it.* As he ended theſe words, he would have immediately left the tribunal, but the people ſtopped him, and they all cried out to him not to yield the throne to another. And amidſt their confuſed noiſes, theſe words were likewiſe heard, *Let* Tarquin *periſh, let him die, let us kill him!* This language frightened the proud Prince, and he retired to his houſe in great haſte: whilſt the King was conducted back to his palace with the acclamations of the people.

§. VIII. AND now *Tarquin* finding the ill ſucceſs of violent meaſures, acted a new part. By careſſes and ſubmiſſions he entirely regained the King's favour, and lulled him into an agreeable ſecurity. Tranquillity ſeemed for ſome time to be re-eſtabliſhed in the royal family; but it was not long before the cruel *Tullia* put an end to it. To reflect that *Tanaquil* a foreigner had made two Kings of *Rome* ſucceſſively, and that

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ſhe herſelf a King's daughter was not able to make one, were ſuch afflicting thoughts as would allow her no repoſe. She fancied her huſband grown ſtupid and inſenſible, ſhe upbraided him with cowardice and rouzed him up to act every crime which could ſerve ambition. *I thought*, ſaid ſhe, *to have found in you a man of ſpirit, a true* Tarquin, *one who had rather* have *than* hope for *a kingdom. If thou art the man whom I thought I married, I muſt call thee King as well as huſband. Rouze thy ſelf. Thou haſt no need like thy grandfather to come from* Corinth *or* Tarquinii *to ſeek a kingdom. Thy houſhold Gods, the Gods of thy country, the royal palace, the regal throne in that palace, the name of* Tarquin, *create and call thee King. But if thou art unmoved by all this, why doſt thou deceive the expectations of the People? Why doſt thou ſuffer them to regard thee as a man of a princely ſoul? Go, coward, get thee hence to* Tarquinii *or* Corinth, *thou haſt more in thee of thy brother, than of thy grandfather.*

Tarquin incited by theſe reproaches of his wife, renewed his intrigues among the Senators. He went from houſe to houſe to beg votes, and made his own houſe a rendezvous of pleaſure for the young *Patricians.* Having formed his party, he choſe the time of harveſt (when moſt of the principal citizens were in the country) to put in practiſe a ſtratagem which ſurprized the People by its novelty, and ſucceeded by the boldneſs of its execution. He cloathed himſelf in royal robes, and cauſed *Faſces* to be carried before him by ſome of his domeſticks. He was followed by a great number of his party, who had ſwords under their robes; and with this train he croſſed the *Roman Forum.* When he came to the gate of the temple where the Senators were wont to aſſemble, he ſent expreſſes to them all, commanding them, in King *Tarquin*'s name, to repair immediately thither. He then advanced with a grave pace, and ſeated himſelf on the royal throne. Thoſe of the Senators who were of his faction he found already in their places, having given them private notice to be there early, and he exhorted them to ſtand out reſolutely againſt the oppoſition of an old man. In the mean time, the reſt of the Senators made all the haſte they could to the place to which they were ſummoned. The greateſt part of them thought *Servius* was dead, ſince *Tarquin* aſſumed the title and the functions of King; and no one durſt keep away from the aſſembly, for fear his abſence, in the beginning of a reign, ſhould be made a crime. When the Senators were got together, *Tarquin* repeated the invectives they had ſo often heard him utter againſt his father-in-law.

Livy. B. 1. *That being a ſlave and the ſon of a ſlave, he had after the cruel murder of* Tarquin *the late King, poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom, not by the free voices of the People, or the approbation of the Senate; but by the meer artifice of a woman. That thus born and thus created King, he had ever been a favourer of mean wretches like himſelf, and out of hatred to the* Patricians, *for their noble birth, had ſtript them of their eſtates to give them to the vileſt of the people; that the burdens which were before common to all he had heaped on the nobles alone; and had inſtituted the* Cenſus *for no other reaſon, but that the fortunes of the rich might be more viſible to the eye of envy, and that he might have them ready to beſtow on beggars whenever he pleaſed.* While

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SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

While he was yet ſpeaking, *Servius Tullius* appeared. He had been informed of the part his ſon-in-law was acting in the Senate, and immediately haſted thither with but few attendants, and with more boldneſs than diſcretion. As ſoon as he beheld *Tarquin* on the throne, he cried out at a diſtance, and with a loud voice, *What is it, thou moſt flagitious of men, that has made thee thus audacious to convene the Senate, and take poſſeſſion of my throne, while I am alive? It is thy impudence*, Servius, replied *Tarquin, it is thy iniquity. I fill the place of my grandfather, which thy vileneſs was not aſhamed to uſurp. Is a King's* grandſon *or his* ſlave *the more worthy to inherit his kingdom? A ſlave that has been too long ſuffered to inſult licentiouſly his maſters?* Theſe words threw the old King into a tranſport of paſſion, which made him raſhly give way to the motions of his courage, without conſidering his ſtrength. He drew near the throne to pull *Tarquin* down from it. This raiſed a great ſhout in the aſſembly, and the people crowded into the temple; but no body ventured to part the two rivals. *Tarquin*, who was now under a neceſſity of coming to extremities, being more ſtrong and vigorous, ſeized the old man by the waiſt, and hurrying him through the temple, threw him down from the top of the ſteps into the *Forum*. The King, who was grievouſly hurt and covered with blood, raiſed himſelf up with ſome difficulty, but all his friends had deſerted him; only two or three of the people, touched with compaſſion, lent him their arms to lead him to his palace. As they were ſlowly training him along, the cruel *Tullia* appeared in the *Forum*. She had come haſtily in her chariot, upon the report ſhe had heard of what paſſed in the Senate. She found her huſband on the top of the ſteps of the temple, and being tranſported with joy, was the firſt who ſaluted him King, and her example was immediately followed by the Senators of *Tarquin*'s party. She then took her huſband aſide, and ſuggeſted to him the thought of not leaving his work imperfect; upon which he inſtantly diſpatched ſome of his domeſticks, to overtake the old King and deprive him of his ſmall remains of life.

Tullia having heard the orders given for the parricide, mounted her chariot again with an air of triumph to return home. The way to her houſe was through a narrow ſtreet called *Vicus Cyprius*[a], or the good ſtreet. The aſſaſſins had left the King's body, which was ſtill panting, extended a-croſs it. The charioteer perceived it, and being ſtruck with horror, checked his horſes and made a ſtop. *Why don't you go on?* cried *Tullia* to him. *What is it that ſtops you?* The charioteer turned about to her, *alas!* ſaid he, *it is the body of the King your father.* At theſe words *Tullia* catching up a ſtool which was in the chariot, and throwing it at his head; *Go on, villain*, ſhe cried, *are you afraid of driving over a dead corps?* The charioteer obeyed; and the blood of the father is ſaid to have dyed the chariot wheels, and even the cloaths of the inhuman daughter. And from hence the ſtreet was called ever after *Vicus Sceleratus*.

Such was the deplorable end of *Servius*, a Prince of ſo excellent a conduct,

[a] The word *Cyprius*, according to *Varro*, who had inhabited this quarter, *good* or ſignified in the old language of the *Sabines*, *happy*.

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Year of ROME CCXIX. SERVIUS TULLIUS Sixth King.

ſays *Livy*, that even a good ſucceſſor, a reaſonable King, would have found it difficult to emulate him. He ſubdued all the enemies of *Rome*, and never made it his buſineſs to create her new ones. He did not conquer merely for the ſake of glory; he rated the value of his conqueſts only by their tendency to the publick good. One triumph did not beget the ambition of obtaining another. He made *Rome* more formidable, by twenty years of peace, than his predeceſſors had done by many victories, and the ſacking of a hundred cities. He introduced order in the *Militia* and publick revenues; he rectified the confuſion of the aſſemblies of the People; he extended the juriſdiction of the Senate, and yet kept its authority within due bounds. He diſtinguiſhed the rich, only to make them bear the heavieſt burdens; and he eaſed the poor, that he might keep them contented, and without murmuring, in their inferiority. In a word, he was beloved by the People, eſteemed by the *Patricians*, and perhaps would have had no enemies if he could have preſerved the affections of his own family. He died at ſeventy-four years of age, after he had reigned forty-four. *Tarquin* refuſing to ſuffer the uſual obſequies to be performed for him, leſt it might occaſion a dangerous commotion among the People, *Tarquinia* conveyed the body of her husband privately by night to his tomb; and the night following ſhe died herſelf; but whether of grief, or by her own hands, or by the wickedneſs of *Tullia*, is uncertain. The veneration the people had for the memory of *Servius* ſeems to have placed him among the Gods. The ſlaves annually celebrated his feſtival in the temple of *Diana Aventina*, on the day he loſt his life.

CHAP. VIII.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

§. I. *The tyranny of* Tarquin *who gets the ſurname of the* PROUD. *His haughty treatment of the* Latine *deputies and treacherous contrivance to deſtroy* Turnus Herdonius. §. II. *The* Latine *aſſociation, and the inſtitution of the* FERIÆ LATINÆ. Tarquin *aſſiſted by the* Latines *defeats the* Volſci *and ſubdues the* Sabines. *He finiſhes the* COMMON-SEWERS *and* CIRCUS MAXIMUS *at* Rome. §. III. *His war with the people of* Gabii, *and the cruel ſtratagem whereby he becomes maſter of that city.* §. IV. *The adventure of the woman with the* SYBIL's BOOKS. *The riſe of the written civil law.* Tarquin *builds the temple of* JUPITER CAPITOLINUS. §. V. *He ſends two of his ſons with* Brutus *to conſult the oracle at* Delphos. §. VI. *The rape of* LUCRETIA. *The* Tarquins *are baniſhed, and a* COMMONWEALTH *eſtabliſhed at* Rome.

Year of ROME CCXX. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

OF the ſeven Kings, who ſucceſſively governed *Rome*, the four firſt only ſeem to have aſcended the throne by the people's free choice, according to the original conſtitution of the State. The elder *Tarquin* (diſtinguiſhed after this time by the ſurname of *Priſcus*) had indeed the voices

voices both of the *Curiæ* and of the Senate for his elevation, but as he bought theſe voices, he in reality bought the kingdom: His ſucceſſor *Servius Tullius* (tho' his merit entitled him to it) may be ſaid to have artfully ſtole it: and as for the preſent *Tarquin*, the laſt of the *Roman* Kings, he ſeized upon it as his property, a right that was due to him by inheritance. He who had ſo often reproached his predeceſſor with uſurpation, for his want of a legal election to the government, diſdained any other title to it himſelf, but that of inherent birth-right or poſſeſſion acquired by regicide.

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TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

The whole ſeries of this Prince's reign was ſuitable to the manner of his acceſſion to the throne. Scarce had he ſeated himſelf there, when for his capricious humour and arrogant behaviour he got the ſurname of *the Proud*. He communicated no affairs of ſtate either to Senate or People. Having made ſure of a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, partly ſtrangers, to guard his perſon and to execute his pleaſure, all his proceedings were by acts of power; and how grievous ſoever was the oppreſſion, the oppreſſed were denied the privilege of complaining. Informers were diſperſed throughout the city; the King was the ſole judge of the accuſed; wealth and merit became unpardonable crimes. Of this latter the Tyrant gave a remarkable proof in the murder of *M. Junius*, a venerable old man, the father of the famous *Brutus*, who afterwards deſtroyed the Regal Power. This *Junius* was deſcended of a noble family and had an ample patrimony, upon which conſiderations the firſt *Tarquin* had given him his youngeſt daughter in marriage. The new King to get poſſeſſion of his eſtate cauſed both him and his other ſon to be aſſaſſinated, and *Brutus* eſcaped only by counterfeiting ſtupidity. In ſhort, *Tarquin* carried his tyranny to ſuch exceſs, that the flower of the Senate went into a voluntary baniſhment, to avoid the effects of his cruelty and avarice. The People, who had rejoiced at firſt to ſee the Senate humbled, were now in their turn as ill-treated as the *Patricians*, and all the laws made in their favour were annulled. The poor were conſtrained to pay the ſame taxes as the rich. No *Cenſus*, no *Luſtrum*, no diviſion of the citizens into *Claſſes* and *Centuries*. All aſſemblies of the people, even for diverſion and recreation, were prohibited, both in town and country.

But now *Tarquin* being ſenſible that all the orders of men in a ſtate could not be long under oppreſſion, without uniting againſt the oppreſſor, turned his thoughts to gain foreigners to his intereſt. And to this end he married his daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, a man of bravery and experience in war, and of the moſt conſiderable intereſt of any among the *Latines*. *Mamilius* procured his father-in-law many friends of the chief perſons of *Latium*; but *Tarquin* had like to have loſt them again by his haughty behaviour. He had deſired the *Latines* to convene a national Council at *Ferentinum*, where he would meet them on a day appointed by himſelf. The deputies came and took their places in the ſacred grove of the temple of *Flora*. There they waited many hours, but *Tarquin* did not appear. The aſſembly grew impatient, and *Turnus Herdonius*, an enterprizing eloquent man, who hated *Tarquin*, and was jealous of *Mamilius*, laid hold of this occaſion to inveigh *D. Hal.* B. 4.

Year of ROME CCXXIII. TARQUIN II. Seventh King. *Livy*, B. 1.

againſt the King. *I am not at all ſurprized*, ſaid he, *that* Rome *has given* Tarquin *the ſurname of* the Proud. *What can be a greater inſtance of pride than thus to trifle with the whole* Latine *nation, to ſummon hither the* Latine *Chiefs to meet him, and not to appear himſelf? Doubtleſs he means to put our patience to the teſt, and to judge by our manner of bearing his inſults, how far he may oppreſs us when he has brought us under his yoke. If my advice may have any weight with you, let us return home and take no more notice of the aſſembly-day than he who appointed it.* But *Mamilius* roſe up and excuſed his father-in-law, by imputing his abſence to ſome unforeſeen and urgent affairs which hindered his coming, and he prevailed to have the council adjourned to the next day [a]. Then *Tarquin* appeared, and being put in mind by thoſe who were near him to make ſome excuſe to the *Latines* for having diſappointed them the day before, *I was engaged*, ſaid he very coldly, *in making up a difference between a father and his ſon. Of all differences*, replied *Herdonius* briſkly, *there is none requires ſo little time and ſo few words to compoſe it. There needs only to tell the ſon, that unleſs he obeys his father ſome dreadful miſchief will befall him.* This beginning did not pleaſe *Tarquin*, but he concealed his reſentment for the preſent, and proceeded to tell the aſſembly, that his deſign in calling them together was to claim his right of commanding the *Latine* armies, a right which he derived by inheritance from his grandfather: but which he deſired might be confirmed to him by them. Theſe words were ſcarce ended when *Herdonius* ſtepping forth into the midſt of the aſſembly, with great warmth renewed his invectives againſt the King and oppoſed his demand. *What!* ſaid he, *does* Tarquin the Proud *pretend to an hereditary right to govern us? Needs there any ſtronger proof, than ſuch a claim, of the injuſtice and wickedneſs of him who makes it? Was it then a condition in the treaties we made with his grandfather, that we ſhould be ſubject to his poſterity? Was this the meaning of the voluntary and temporary conceſſion we made to him?* Tarquin *employs the ſame pretence of hereditary right againſt us, which he has improved to the ruin of* Rome. Latines! *if you hearken to him, your ſlavery is as certain as that of the* Romans. *And will it be leſs ſevere? His own ſubjects have been ſome of them murdered by him, others baniſhed their country, others ſtript of their eſtates; the very beſt among the* Romans *have been thus treated, and all in general are deprived of liberty. Will ſtrangers find* Tarquin *a leſs cruel and leſs covetous maſter? Judge of the fate you are to expect by that of* Rome.

Tarquin was diſconcerted by the boldneſs of this orator, and deſired that the aſſembly might ſit again the following day, when he promiſed to give an anſwer to the invectives of *Herdonius*. In the mean time, he corrupted ſome of *Herdonius*'s domeſticks, and engaged them to hide a great quantity of arms in their maſter's baggage. The next morning he entered the aſſembly with an air of confidence; he told them that one word was ſufficient to deſtroy all the calumnies of *Herdonius*. *In reality*, ſaid he, *my*

[a] *Livy* ſays, B. 1. That the aſſembly was formed early in the morning, and that *Tarquin* arrived the evening of the ſame day.

accuſer

Year of ROME CCXXIII. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

accuſer has himſelf acquitted me. Were I ſuch a perſon as he repreſents me, would he have ſought an alliance with me? He earneſtly ſollicited me to give him my daughter in marriage; but for good reaſons I refuſed to accept him for a ſon-in-law, and here is the ſource of his malice. But this is no time to enter further into my juſtification. Your own interreſts, your own ſafety, your liberties and lives demand at preſent all your attention. He then accuſed his adverſary of having laid a plot to cut off all the Deputies there preſent, and to uſurp a tyranny over the *Latine* cities; and as a proof of this, he informed them of the arms in *Herdonius*'s baggage. An accuſation of ſuch importance threw all the aſſembly into a fright, except the accuſed, who knowing nothing of thoſe arms, and believing that his innocence would quickly appear, deſired his baggage might be ſearched; and he declared his conſent to be judged guilty, if the fact alledged in evidence of the crime proved true: accordingly an examination was made; and the arms being found and brought into the aſſembly, it put the Deputies into ſuch a rage, that without ſuffering *Herdonius* to make his defence, they immediately ſentenced him to be thrown into a baſon at the head of the ſpring of *Ferentinum*, where a hurdle being laid upon him and ſtones heaped upon the hurdle he was preſſed down into the water and drowned.

§. II. BUT the death of an enemy was not the only advantage *Tarquin* drew from this monſtrous treachery: The *Latines* look'd upon him as their deliverer, renewed the treaty made with his grandfather and declared the King of *Rome* General of the *Latine* armies. And ſoon after this, the *Hernici*, and two *Cantons* of the *Volſci*, entered into a league with him upon the ſame terms. In order to keep theſe confederates firm to their engagements, *Tarquin* with their approbation erected a new temple in the midſt of them to *Jupiter Latialis*. It ſtood on a hill near the ruins of *Alba*. There the Diets of the united *Cantons* were annually to aſſemble, and it was agreed that the ſeveral nations in league ſhould upon no pretence do any act of hoſtility againſt each other during that time, but there jointly offer ſacrifices to *Jupiter* and feaſt together in token of union. Theſe aſſemblies were called *Latia*; and the day appointed for their annual meeting, which was the twenty-ſeventh of *April*, was called *Feriæ Latinæ*. The *Romans*, as the chief members of the alliance, always preſided at the ſacrifices and deliberations. The Diet conſiſted of forty-ſeven Deputies, from ſo many cities, who formed that *Latine* aſſociation, which was afterwards the beſt part of the *Roman* ſtrength, and contributed more than all the reſt of *Italy* to the conqueſt of the world.

Tarquin, thus ſtrengthen'd and ſupported, reſolved to make war upon thoſe of the *Volſci* who had refuſed to enter into alliance with him. But he did not raiſe his army upon the foot of *Servius*'s diviſion of the *Roman* ſoldiery by *Centuries*, nor were the allies any longer a ſeparate corps. Not having ſufficient confidence in the fidelity of his *Romans*, he choſe only a ſmall number of them, ſuch as he could moſt depend on, and blended them with the *Latines* in the ſame *Legions*. The inhabitants of *Sueſſa Pometia*, one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the *Volſci*, having commit- CCXXIV.

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ted ſome depredations on the *Latines*, *Tarquin* laid hold of this pretence to begin the war. He defeated their army, took their city by ſtorm, and gave the plunder of it as free booty to the ſoldiers, reſerving only the tenth part of the ſpoil towards the expence of finiſhing the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

He then turned his arms againſt the *Sabines*, who had divided all their forces into two bodies, and poſted them, one near *Eretum*, the other near *Fidenæ*. By his maſterly conduct, he entirely defeated both armies, and made the whole *Sabine* nation tributary. And it is probable, that *Faſt. Cap.* the King at this time decreed himſelf two triumphs, one for his victory over the *Volſci*, the other for having ſubdued the *Sabines*.

CCXXX. Upon his return to *Rome*, he ſet the people at work to finiſh the common ſewers, and the great *Circus*. He thought an idle populace, who did not love their Prince, dangerous. The artificers were likewiſe taken out of their ſhops, and obliged to painful drudgeries, with ſhort allowance: but by theſe vexatious methods, he brought to perfection thoſe two ſtructures which his grandfather had begun.

CCXXXV to CCXLI. §. III. IN the mean while, a great number of diſcontented *Patricians*, who fled from their own city, took refuge at *Gabii*, a city of *Latium*, about 100 furlongs from *Rome* in the way to *Præneſte*; and the inhabitants being touched with compaſſion to ſee ſo many conſiderable perſons under perſecution, reſolved to make themſelves parties in the quarrel, and begin a war with the King of *Rome*. *Tarquin* was informed of their preparations to take the field, and ſuſpecting againſt whom they were deſigned, raiſed a prodigious bulwark (much boaſted of in after-ages) to cover the city on the ſide of *Gabii*. This war between the *Romans* and the *Gabini* laſted ſeven years, with various ſucceſs; but the inroads and devaſtations made on both ſides, being a hindrance to all ſowing and reaping, produced at length a ſcarcity. The famine was chiefly felt at *Rome*, where complaints were made by the people, that they ſuffered not by any hatred of their neighbours to them, but to the King, and they demanded either a peace or proviſions; and theſe murmurings were fomented by the emiſſaries from the exiles at *Gabii*. *Tarquin* being much perplexed by the people's clamours, which tended to a general ſedition, his ſon *Sextus Tarquinius* propoſed, and, in concert with him, put in practiſe an expedient equally artful and diſhonourable for reducing *Gabii*. He pretended to be upon very ill terms with his father, and openly inveighed againſt him as a tyrant, who had no compaſſion even for his own children; upon which the King ordered him to be beaten publickly in the *Forum* as a rebel. This diſcontent of the ſon, and barbarity of the father, were reported at *Gabii* by truſty perſons ſent thither on purpoſe, who by artful management made the *Gabini* very deſirous to have *Sextus* among them. Accordingly a ſecret negotiation was ſet on foot for that end, and *Sextus* was at length prevailed upon to accept the invitation of the *Gabini*, upon their ſolemn promiſe never to deliver him up to his father, upon any pretence whatſoever.

When

Year of ROME CCXXXV to CCXLI. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

When he was come to *Gabii*, his whole talk, both in publick and private, turned upon the tyranny of the King of *Rome*; and he ſuited his actions to his diſcourſe. No enemy of *Rome* was more active and vigorous. He frequently made inroads on the *Roman* lands, and came back loaded with ſpoil; his father contriving to gain him honour, by always ſending againſt him weak parties which muſt infallibly be worſted. By this means, *Sextus* came at length to ſuch a high degree of credit among the *Gabini*, that he was choſen General of their army, and was as much maſter in *Gabii*, as *Tarquin* was in *Rome*. And now finding his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he diſpatched a ſlave to his father, to enquire what he ſhould do. The King, unwilling to ſend an anſwer either in writing or by word of mouth, took the ſlave into a garden, and there (in imitation of *Thraſybulus* the *Mileſian*) ſtruck off the heads of all the talleſt poppies. This done, he ſent back the meſſenger. *Sextus* underſtood the hint, aſſembled the *Gabini*, and pretended to have diſcovered a plot to deliver him up to his father. The people in a rage preſſed him to declare the conſpirators, and with much difficulty he ſuffered them, as it were, to extort from him the name of *Antiſtius Petro*, a man whoſe merit had made him the moſt conſiderable perſon in his country. *Antiſtius* deſpiſed the accuſation; but *Sextus* had bribed his ſervants (in the ſame manner as *Tarquin* had formerly done thoſe of *Herdonius*) to convey among his papers ſome letters from the King of *Rome*; which being produced and read, the populace, without further examination, immediately ſtoned him; and to *Sextus* was committed the care of diſcovering his accomplices, and appointing their puniſhment. Upon this he ordered the city gates to be ſhut, and ſent officers into every quarter of it, to cut off the heads of all the eminent men, and flower of the Nobility, without mercy. And in the midſt of the deſolation and confuſion cauſed by this dreadful maſſacre, he opened the gates to his father, to whom he had given timely notice of his deſign; and *Tarquin* entered the city with all the pride of a conqueror.

The *Gabini* no ſooner ſaw themſelves thus totally at the mercy of the Tyrant, but they fell into the loweſt depths of deſpair, and there was no evil which they did not expect to ſuffer. However, their misfortunes were not ſo great as their fears. *Tarquin* upon this occaſion conſulted good policy more than his revenge. Not one of the citizens was put to death by his orders. He granted them life, liberty, and eſtates, and even entered into a treaty with the city, the articles of which when it was ratified, were written on a ſhield made of the hide of an ox ſacrificed on that occaſion. (This treaty was yet to be ſeen at *Rome* in *Auguſtus*'s time.)

It was one part of *Tarquin*'s refined politicks to keep his ſons at a diſtance from him. He left *Sextus* therefore in *Gabii*, and made him King of the place. Two other of his ſons, *Titus* and *Arunx*, he ſent away under pretence of making them the founders of two colonies[a]. The firſt was

[a] It is proper to declare, in the beginning of this hiſtory, on what occaſions the *Romans* ſent out colonies, and what privileges thoſe colonies enjoyed. The *Romans* never ſent out their

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was to build a city at *Signia*, and the other at *Circæum*, a promontory on the ſhore of the *Tyrrhene* ſea, and both theſe to keep the *Volſci* in awe. As for his fourth ſon *Lucius Tarquinius*, he was probably too young to give him umbrage.

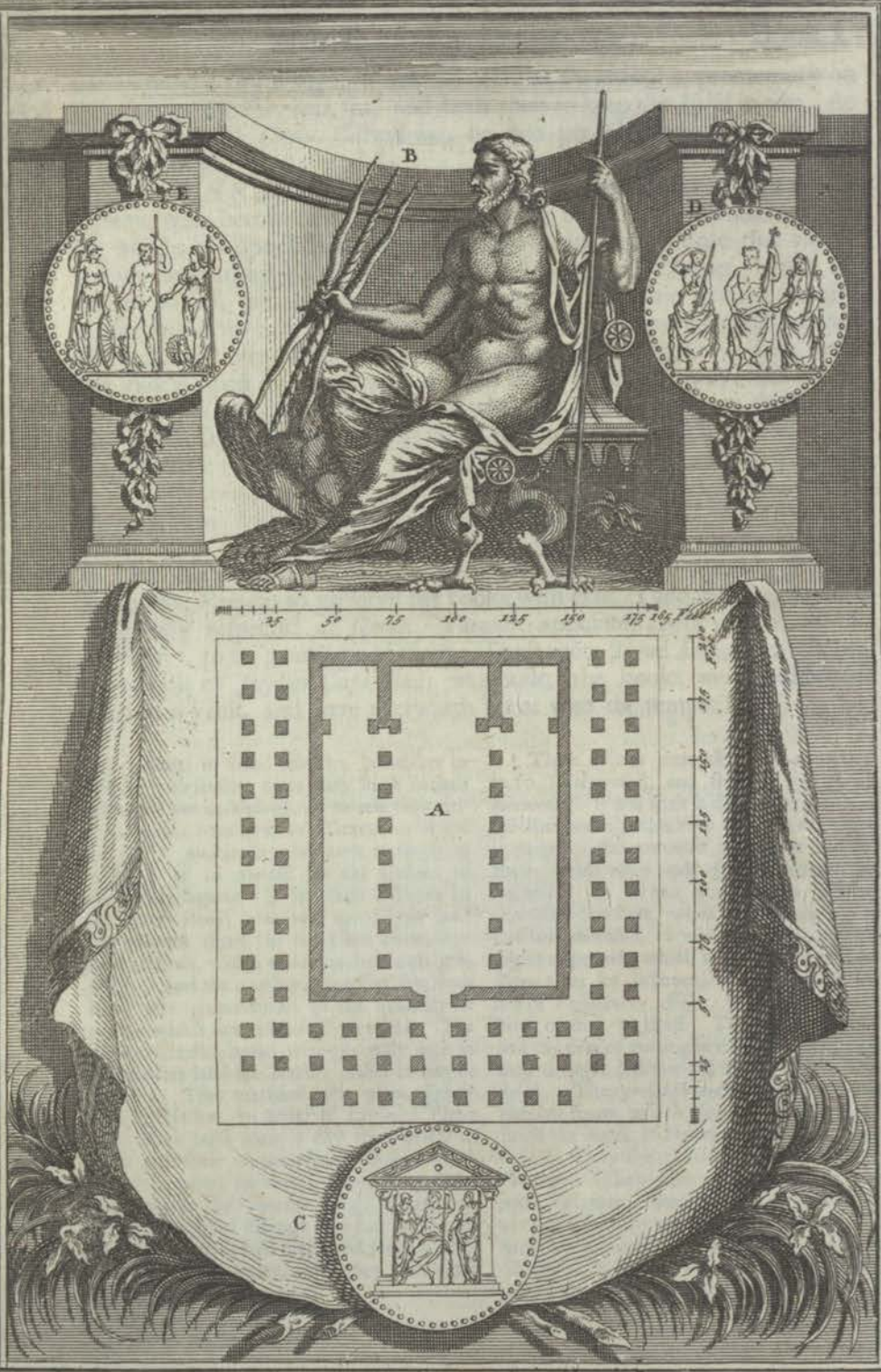
TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

§. IV. *TARQUIN* now enjoyed a profound peace at *Rome*; the *Romans* were become accuſtomed to the yoke of an imperious maſter; and the weight of oppreſſion made them ſilent. It was at this time that an unknown woman appeared at court, loaded with nine volumes, which ſhe offered to ſell, but at a very conſiderable price. *Tarquin* refuſing to give it, ſhe withdrew and burnt three of the nine. Some time after ſhe returned to court, and demanded the ſame price for the remaining ſix. This made her look'd upon as a mad woman, and ſhe was driven away with ſcorn. Nevertheleſs having burnt the half of what were left, ſhe came a third time, and demanded for the remaining three, the ſame price which ſhe had asked for the whole nine. The novelty of ſuch a proceeding made *Tarquin* curious to have the books examined. They were put therefore into the hands of the *Augurs*, who finding them to be the oracles of the *Sybil* of *Cumæ*, declared them to be an invaluable treaſure. Upon this the woman was paid the ſum ſhe demanded, and ſhe ſoon after diſappeared, having firſt exhorted the *Romans* to preſerve her books with care. They ſoon began to be religiouſly reſpected at *Rome*. *Tarquin* appointed two perſons of diſtinction [a], to be guardians of them. Theſe were ſtyled *Duumviri*. When the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was built, the books were locked up there in a vault, and were afterwards burnt with the temple it ſelf.

their citizens to found colonies, but either to enlarge their limits, or to curb ſome nations who were yet unſubdued, or to eaſe their city of too great a number of inhabitants, or to get rid of a multitude who were inclined to ſedition, or to reward the old ſoldiers of the *Roman* legions. Before theſe colonies ſet out from *Rome*, a certain quantity of land was aſſigned them, in the place where they were to ſettle, which was to be their own property. And the number of families ſent from *Rome* was proportioned to the quantity of ground which was to be given them. The perſons ſo tranſplanted were generally ſuch as had neither land nor houſes, either in city or country. They marched to the place of their new habitation, in order of battle. There they either built them a city themſelves, or took poſſeſſion of one already built, which was left empty for them. Here they lived agreeably to the *Roman* laws, but immediately loſt the right of ſuffrage they had had in the *Comitia*. Nor could they ſtand for any office in the Commonwealth, unleſs they were again made citizens of *Rome*.

[a] Theſe officers were afterwards encreaſed to 10 (*Decemviri*), and then to 15 (*Quindecemviri*). It was their buſineſs to conſult the *Sybilline* books, whenever the Senate thought it proper. But recourſe was never had to them, unleſs when under ſome great publick calamity, as when a dangerous ſedition threatned the ſtate, when the *Roman* armies had been defeated, or when any of thoſe prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to *Rome*; as for inſtance, an eruption of the fire of *Veſuvius* or *Ætna*, or ſome monſtrous birth of man or beaſt. Then the *Duumviri* had the care of putting in execution, whatever they thought commanded by the books of the *Sybils*. They preſided over the ſacrifices, and publick ſports, which they appointed, to appeaſe the wrath of Heaven. And laſtly, they ordered every thing that related to the *Ludi Seculares*. Their office was for life, and they were exempted from taxes, as well as from civil and military employments. This ſort of magiſtracy continued at *Rome* till the time of *Theodoſius*, when it was aboliſhed with the reſt of the *Roman* ſuperſtitions.

It



A. *The Ichnography of ye Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus. B. *The most common Figure of* Jupiter. C. *One of* Trajan's *Medals*. D. *Another of ye Same Emperour.* E. *A Medal of* Antoninus.

Year of *ROME* CCXXXV to CCXLI.

TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

It was alſo in this *Tarquin*'s time, that the *written* civil law had its riſe among the *Romans*. One *Papirius*, a Senator, collected all the laws made by the Kings into one [b] body, which was called the *Papirian* law.

Rome continuing in peace, *Tarquin* laid hold of the opportunity to carry on the magnificent work his grandfather had begun, the temple of the [c] *Capitol*. The money neceſſary for it had been laid by ever ſince the taking of *Sueſſa Pometia*. He hired architects and ſkilful workmen from *Hetruria*; and as to the laborious part, he made his ſubjects the drudges, as he had often done before; but as this was a religious undertaking, they aſſiſted in carrying it on with more chearfulneſs than uſual.

§. V. WHILE *Tarquin* and the *Romans* were thus employed, a cruel plague raged in *Rome*, and this with ſome other extraordinary events made ſuch an impreſſion upon his mind, that he reſolved to ſend his ſons *Titus* and *Aruns* to conſult the oracle of *Delphi* upon the cauſe and cure of the contagion. The Princes prepared magnificent preſents for *Apollo*; and *Junius Brutus* (the pretended idiot) being to attend them for their amuſement and to make them ſport, reſolved to carry his offering too. The preſent he choſe for the God was an elder-ſtick, and this was matter of diverſion

[b] Some pretend, that *Papirius*'s work did not continue long in uſe, ſince the laws of the Kings did not ſurvive *Tarquin the Proud*, but were aboliſhed with the regal power. But this opinion ought to be confined within juſt bounds. It is true, the laws that favoured the monarchic ſtate were aboliſhed after the revolution, which changed the government of *Rome* into a Republick. But the laws which related to good polity in general, ſuch as thoſe of *Servius Tullius*, concerning commerce, contracts, the *Cenſus*, and the *Luſtra*, always continued in force. It may likewiſe be affirmed, that the laws of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and other Kings were ſtill reſpected, and ever continued to be, as it were, the ground-work of the *Roman* law.

[c] The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was ſituated on the top of the hill *Tarpeius*, which had been long ſince made a part of *Rome*. The original of the new name of *Capitol*, given to this hill, is by hiſtorians ſaid to be this. As the workmen were digging the foundations, or levelling the *Area* of the temple of *Jupiter*, they are ſaid to have found very deep in the earth, the head of a man, whoſe features were preſerved entire, and the blood of it was red as if but newly ſhed. This the *Romans* looked on as a prodigy, and the *Hetrurian* diviners being conſulted upon it, declared it to preſage, that *Rome* would ſome time or other become the miſtreſs and head of *Italy*. The prodigy, and the anſwer of the *Augurs* therefore encouraged *Tarquin* to ſpare neither pains nor coſt, in the raiſing a ſtructure to the honour of thoſe Gods, who were the authors of ſo glorious a deſtiny. Accordingly, the foundations of it were marked out, and the temple was built of almoſt a ſquare form; for it was but fifteen foot longer than it was broad. It is reckoned to have been two hundred foot broad, and about two hundred and fifteen foot long. The front of this great building was to the ſouth, that is, it faced the hill *Palatinus*, and the *Forum Romanum*. An hundred ſteps led up to it from the *Forum*, which were divided at certain diſtances, by large half-paces, or landing-places, to give thoſe who went up time to breathe, before they came to the top of the hill, and the foot of the *Portico*. This front conſiſted of three rows of pillars; and the two ſides of the temple were adorned with a *Periſtyle*, conſiſting of a double row of pillars. It was, in after-ages, burnt down more than once; and the *Romans* always rebuilt it, ſtill preſerving the ſame proportions: till at laſt, the embelliſhments that were added to it, made it one of the richeſt ſanctuaries in the world. The whole arch of this prodigious building was gilt, both within and without. It contained three chapels, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva*, or was rather three temples under the ſame roof.

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to the whole court. However, as he knew that the Gods of thoſe times, or their miniſters, were much affected with valuable offerings, he had the precaution to incloſe a rod of gold in his ſtick, without any body's knowledge. And thus it was a true emblem of his own mind and conduct, who under a contemptible outſide concealed the richeſt gifts of nature. It is probable that the Oracle told them, among other things, that there would quickly be a new reign at *Rome*; becauſe it is ſaid, that when they had performed their father's commiſſion they enquired which of them ſhould ſucceed *Tarquin*, and that the God declared, that the government of *Rome* was deſtined to HIM *who ſhould firſt give a kiſs to his mother*. Upon this, we are told, that the two brothers either drew lots, which of them at their return to *Rome* ſhould firſt kiſs his mother *Tullia*, or agreed to do it both together, that they might reign jointly; but that *Brutus*, imagining the Oracle had another meaning, pretended to fall down by chance and kiſſed the earth, the common mother of all living. Whether theſe things be entirely fabulous or not the revolution which aboliſhed the Regal Power, happened ſoon after their return to *Rome*. They found the city in a commotion, on account of the war in which the King was engaged with the *Rutuli*. In hopes of recruiting his exhauſted treaſury, he had marched his army to *Ardea*, their capital, about 20 miles from *Rome*, thinking to take it without oppoſition: but he found himſelf obliged to beſiege it in form. This put him under a neceſſity of laying a heavy tax upon the people; and this tax greatly increaſed the number of the malecontents, and diſpoſed them to a revolt.

CCXLIII.

§. VI. THE ſiege being carried on very ſlowly, the general officers had a good deal of leiſure for diverſions, and they mutually made entertainments for one another in their quarters. One day, when *Sextus Tarquinius* was entertaining his brothers, their kinſman *Collatinus* being of the company, the converſation happened to turn upon the merit of wives. Every one extoll'd the good qualities of his own; but *Collatinus* affirm'd, that his *Lucretia* excelled all others. It was a kind of quarrel, and in order to end it, they took the method which mirth and wine inſpired; which was to mount their horſes, and go and ſurprize their wives: and it was agreed, that ſhe whom they found employed in the manner moſt becoming her ſex, ſhould have the preference. Away therefore they galloped firſt to *Rome*, where they ſurprized the King's daughters-in-law all together in the midſt of feaſting and diverſions; and the Ladies ſeemed much diſconcerted by the unexpected return of their huſbands. From *Rome* they haſted away to *Collatia*, the place where *Collatinus* reſided in time of peace. (He was the grandſon of *Egerius*, that nephew * of *Tarquinius Priſcus* beforementioned, to whom that King gave the city and territory of *Collatia* in property.) Though the night was far advanced when the Princes arrived there, they found *Lucretia* up, with her maids about her, ſpinning and working in wool. The company her huſband brought her of a ſudden did not diſcompoſe her; and they were all pleaſed with the reception ſhe

* See Page 76.

gave

gave them. *Sextus* was ſo captivated with her beauty, and ſo inflamed with paſſion, which her inſuperable modeſty made the more violent, that he became exceedingly unwilling to leave the place; but there was an abſolute neceſſity for his appearing at the camp before *Ardea*. However he found a pretence to return very ſoon to *Collatia*; and went to lodge at his kinſman's houſe. *Lucretia*, in her huſband's abſence, entertained him with great civility and reſpect, and after ſupper he was conducted to his apartment. When all were aſleep he ſtole into *Lucretia*'s chamber, and coming with his drawn ſword to her bed-ſide laid his left hand upon her breaſt and wakened her: *Lucretia*, ſaid he, *I am* Sextus Tarquinius, *if you ſpeak a word you die.* Then he declared his paſſion, and by intreaties mixed with menaces endeavoured to make her yield to his deſires. And when he found that all was in vain, and that even the fear of death could not prevail upon her to conſent, he threatned her alſo with infamy. He told her that he would kill one of her ſlaves, lay him naked by her when ſhe was dead, and then declare to all the world that he had only revenged the injured honour of *Collatinus*. The dread of ignominy was too powerful for *Lucretia*'s conſtancy; *Sextus* obtained his wiſhes, and early the next morning appeared again in the camp. *Lucretia*, though ſhe had eſcaped what ſhe dreaded as the greateſt of evils, yet could not endure the thoughts of life after the violence ſhe had ſuffered. She dreſſed herſelf in mourning, took a ponyard under her robe, wrote to her huſband at the camp to meet her at her father *Lucretius*'s houſe, and then mounting her chariot came to *Rome*[a]. People were ſurprized to ſee her wearing all the marks of the deepeſt ſorrow, and often asked her as ſhe paſſed along what was the cauſe of her grief. She anſwered them only by weeping, and when the ſame queſtion was put to her at her father's houſe, ſhe ſtill refuſed to diſcover the matter till there ſhould be a full aſſembly of her friends and relations whom ſhe deſired might be called together. Upon the firſt ſummons great numbers of the Nobility crowded to the houſe, and among the reſt *P. Valerius* (afterwards *Poplicola*) and *Lucius Junius*, who ſeems to have waited for this moment to throw off that maſk of ſtupidity, which had got him the ſurname of *Brutus*. When the aſſembly was pretty numerous, ſhe addreſſed her ſelf to her huſband *Collatinus*, diſcloſed in few words the whole ſecret, her own ſhame and his diſhonour, and the treacherous author of both: She proteſted the unſpotted innocence of her heart, but at the ſame time declared her firm reſolution not to live, and conjured them not to let the crime of *Sextus Tarquinius* go unpuniſhed: All who were preſent gave her one by one their ſolemn promiſe to revenge the inſult ſhe had ſuffered; they alſo endeavoured to comfort her, by telling her, that the body could not ſin, and that there could be no guilt, where the mind was unconſenting; but nothing

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D. Hal. B. 4.

Livy.

[a] According to *Livy*, ſhe ſent to deſire her father and huſband to come to her at her own houſe, and it was at *Collatia* that ſhe killed herſelf.

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could divert her from the desperate resolution she had taken: *No*, said she, *no woman shall hereafter survive her honour, and sly*, Lucretia *was her example*; and then having embraced her father and her husband, as one that bids a last farewel, she immediately plunged the concealed dagger into her breast. Her father and husband starting cried out as she fell at their feet; a mixture of compassion and fury seized the whole assembly; and the blood which *Lucretia* shed to attest her innocence, or repair her glory, served likewise to cement the union of those illustrious patriots who gave liberty to *Rome*. For *Brutus* going near to the dying Lady, drew the ponyard out of her bosom, and shewing it all bloody to the assembly, *Yes*, said he, *I swear by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing but* royal *villany could have polluted, that I will pursue* Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, *his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword, nor will ever suffer any of that family or of any other whatsoever to be* King *in* Rome; *Ye Gods, I call you to witness this my oath!* —— This said, he presented the dagger to *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, *Valerius*, and the rest of the company, and engaged them to take the same oath. These noble *Romans*, struck with amazement at the prodigious appearance of wisdom in an idiot, look'd on him as inspired, and submitted entirely to his conduct. He then let them know, that his folly had been only feigned, he exhorted them to defer lamenting the death of *Lucretia* to another time, to behave themselves now like men and *Romans*, and think only of revenging it; and he advised them to begin by shutting the gates of *Rome*, and placing a trusty guard to secure them, that no body might go out of the city to give notice at the camp of what was doing. This counsel was approved, and as *Lucretius* had been left governor of the city by *Tarquin*, was put in execution without difficulty.

Then *Brutus*, causing the yet bleeding *Lucretia* to be carried to the place where the *Comitia* were usually held, and placing the corps where it might be seen by every body, ordered the people to be called together. By a surprizing instance of good-fortune, he happened to be legally invested with the power of assembling the *Comitia*; this right was annexed to the office of *Tribune*, or chief commander of the King's horse-guards, which *Tarquin* had given him, because he thought him incapable of using it to his disadvantage. When the multitude were assembled, the imagined idiot, to their great surprise, addressing himself to them, began with an apology for his presuming to speak in publick on so important an occasion; he in few words explained to them all the mystery of his past conduct, and the necessity he had been under for more than twenty years together, of counterfeiting folly, as the only means to preserve his life after the murder of his father and elder brother. He then proceeded to tell them the resolution the Patricians were come to of deposing the Tyrant, and press'd them in the strongest terms to concur in that design. He enumerated the crimes by which *Tarquin*, in concert with the wicked *Tullia*, had made his way to the throne. He put them in mind of *Aruns Tarquinius* (the Tyrant's brother) and the elder *Tullia*, both persons of love-

ly diſpoſitions, and both treacherouſly poiſoned, he by his wife the preſent Queen, ſhe by her huſband the preſent King; the criminal nuptials that followed theſe ſecret murders, and the horrid tragedy that followed thoſe nuptials: *Servius Tullius*, the juſteſt, the mildeſt, the moſt beneficent of Kings, openly aſſaſſinated, and the cruel *Tullia* riding in triumph over the body of her expiring father: *O execrable fact! ye Gods, the avengers of injured parents, YE beheld it. But why ſhould I dwell on theſe crimes committed by the Tyrant againſt his own family and blood? The wrongs he has done his COUNTRY, his cruelties to every one of you in particular are inſufferable and without end. With what an utter contempt of all our laws did he uſurp an elective Kingdom? And how is it that he has maintained himſelf in his illegal power? By murders, by baniſhments, by the oppreſſion of all his ſubjects. As for the Patricians——you ſee the condition to which we are reduced;—— I ſhall ſay nothing of it——our greateſt enemies could not behold it without compaſſion. And as for you Plebeians, what is become of your rights and privileges? Are you ever called together to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices? to elect your magiſtrates? or to give your ſuffrages in publick affairs? Have you not been treated as the vileſt of ſlaves? The victorious* Romans, *victorious over all the nations around them, are condemned at home to undergo the moſt painful drudgeries, to be hewers of ſtone, to ſweat under heavy burthens, to work in mines, and breath the unwholſome air of ſinks and common ſhores. And are theſe miſeries, theſe indignities never to have an end? Or if you ever propoſe to aſſert your freedom, how long will you delay it? Is it for* Tarquin's *death that you wait? What benefit could accrue to you from that? Has he not three ſons, more wicked, if poſſible, than himſelf? By what the eldeſt of them has juſt now done, you may judge what is to be expected from ſuch a race. There!* Romans, *turn your eyes to that ſad ſpectacle—the daughter of* Lucretius—Collatinus's *wife—ſhe died by her own hand. See there a noble Lady, whom the luſt of a* Tarquin *reduced to the neceſſity of being her own executioner, to atteſt her innocence. Hoſpitably entertained by her as a kinſman of her husband's,* Sextus, *the perfidious gueſt, became her brutal raviſher. The chaſte, the generous* Lucretia *could not ſurvive the inſult. Glorious woman! But once only treated as a ſlave, ſhe thought life no longer to be endured.* Lucretia, *a* woman, *diſdained a life that depended on a tyrant's will; and ſhall we, ſhall* men *with ſuch an example before our eyes, and after five and twenty years of ignominious ſervitude, ſhall we, through a fear of* dying, *defer one ſingle inſtant to aſſert our liberty? No,* Romans, *now is the time; the favourable moment, we have ſo long waited for, is come.* Tarquin *is not at* Rome. *The Patricians are at the head of the enterpriſe. The city is abundantly provided with men, arms, and all things neceſſary. There is nothing wanting to ſecure the ſucceſs, if our own courage does not fail us. And ſhall thoſe warriors who have ever been ſo brave when foreign enemies were to be ſubdued, or when conqueſts were to be made to gratify the ambition and avarice of* Tarquin, *be then only cowards, when they are to deliver themſelves from ſlavery? Some of you are perhaps intimidated by the army which* Tarquin *now commands. The ſoldiers, you imagine, will take the part of their General. Baniſh ſo groundleſs a fear. The love of liberty*

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TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

Livy and *D. Hal.*

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liberty is natural to all men. Your fellow citizens in the camp feel the weight of oppreſſion with as quick a ſenſe as you that are in Rome. *They will as eagerly ſeize the occaſion of throwing off the yoke. But let us grant there may be ſome among them, who through baſeneſs of ſpirit, or a bad education, will be diſpoſed to favour the Tyrant. The number of theſe can be but ſmall, and we have means ſufficient in our hands to reduce them to reaſon. They have left us hoſtages more dear to them than life. Their wives, their children, their fathers, their mothers, are here in the city. Courage* Romans, *the Gods are for us, thoſe Gods whoſe temples and altars the impious* Tarquin *has profaned by ſacrifices and libations made with polluted hands, polluted with blood and with numberleſs unexpiated crimes committed againſt his ſubjects. O ye Gods who protected our fore-fathers, and ye* Genii *who watch for the preſervation and glory of* Rome, *do you inſpire us with courage and unanimity in this glorious cauſe, and we will to our laſt breath defend your worſhip from all profanation.*

D. Hal. B. 4. p. 264.

Brutus's harangue was often interrupted by the acclamations of the people. Some wept at the remembrance of paſt ſufferings; others out of joy, at the hopes of a more happy government; and every one called out for arms. But *Brutus* did not judge it proper to arm the people, till they had firſt confirmed, by their ſuffrages, a decree of the Senate, which was to this effect: It deprived *Tarquin* of all the prerogatives belonging to the regal authority, condemned him and all his poſterity to perpetual baniſhment, and devoted to the Gods of hell every *Roman* who ſhould hereafter by word or deed endeavour his reſtoration. The *Curiæ* being aſſembled and the matter propoſed, they were all unanimous in confirming the Senate's decree.

And now the adminiſtration was reduced to an *Interregnum*, and the people, by another vote, declared *Lucretius Inter-Rex*; ſo that it was his buſineſs to prepare every thing for the choice of new Governors. The next queſtion was, what kind of government was moſt eligible. And here again *Brutus* diſcovered himſelf to be a conſummate politician: *Experience*, ſaid he, *has ſhewn us in the examples of* Romulus *and* Numa, *and other good Kings, that it is by no means proper that* Rome *ſhould be without ſupreme Magiſtrates, to keep an even balance of the Senate's and People's power; but it is neceſſary that the ſovereign authority ſhould neither center in one man, nor be perpetual; let it be divided between two, who may jointly make the intereſts of the publick their chief concern: they will be a check upon each other, and have a mutual emulation in the diſcharge of their duty. However, let us take particular care, not to continue their power too long, leſt they abuſe it, and become unwilling to part with it. Let us change the very names of* King *and* Kingdom, *and give the two heads that are to govern us, the name of* Conſuls [a], *and the* Roman *ſtate that of* Republick. *Let*

[a] *Pomponius* the *Civilian* contends, that the name of *Conſul* was taken from the word *conſulere*, as ſignifying, *To watch for the publick good. Varro* derives this name from the ſame word *conſulere*, but in a different ſignification, namely, as importing *to conſult*, or *ask counſel*, becauſe the intent of thoſe who firſt inſtituted the *Conſuls*, was, that they ſhould do nothing,

Year of *ROME* CCXLIII. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

Let us aboliſh the pompous [b] *enſigns of regal power, ſceptres, crowns, and royal robes; let our* Conſuls *only ſit on an ivory chair, wear a white robe, and be attended by twelve* Lictors [c]. *But what am I ſaying? I am not for utterly aboliſhing the venerable name of* King, *which was conſecrated by the ſame auſpices as* Rome *herſelf at her foundation. Let us give it to that Magiſtrate to whom we commit the ſuperintendency of religion; let his office be for life, and let him be called* King of Sacred Things [d]. The heads of the conſpiracy approved of this ſcheme, and the people being again aſſembled by *Curiæ*, eſtabliſhed the new form of adminiſtration by a law.

But to loſe no time, and to put the finiſhing hand to the revolution, the people were once more called together, not by *Curiæ*, but by *Centuries*, and directed to come armed to the *Campus Martius*, in order to the election of the two firſt *Conſuls*. There *Junius Brutus*, the head of the conſpiracy, and *Tarquinius Collatinus* the huſband of *Lucretia*, being propoſed to the people by *Lucretius* the *Inter-Rex*, were unanimouſly choſen to the new dignity, the *Romans* believing they could no where find more irreconcileable enemies to the *Tarquins*. Then the cruel *Tullia* ſeeing her huſband's throne over-turned, and that ſhe could no longer be ſafe in *Rome*, left it, to go to *Tarquin*. She was hooted at, and curſed by the populace as ſhe paſſed through the city, yet they forbore to offer her any violence.

In the mean time *Tarquin* being informed by ſome who had got out of

nothing, but with the *advice*, or *counſel*, of the people, and the Senate. The law which placed the *Conſuls* at the head of the Republick, calls them alſo *Prætors* and *Judges*. We have this law yet remaining, as quoted by *Tully* in his *Third Book of Laws*. When it was made in the *Comitia*, which changed the Monarchy into a Republick, it is ſaid to have run thus: *Reges imperio duo ſunto, iique præeundo, judicando, & conſulendo, Prætores, Judices, Conſules, appellantur. Militiæ ſummum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis ſatus populi ſumma lex eſto.*

[b] The *Conſuls* were only denied the common uſe of the ſceptre, crown, and an habit of diſtinction. *Livy*, B. 30. aſſures us, that the *Conſuls*, on the days of their triumphs, in the publick ſports, and at ſolemn ſacrifices, wore the crown of gold, the ivory ſtaff or ſceptre, and the habit ſtriped with purple, as the Kings did.

[c] We read in the fourth book of *Valerius Maximus*, that the *Conſuls* at firſt retained as many *Lictors* as the Kings, and that they had twenty-four. And he adds, that the *Conſul Poplicola* reduced them to twelve. But each *Conſul* was not attended with twelve *Lictors*; neither did they divide them ſo as to have each of them ſix. They were only guarded by the twelve *Lictors* alternatively, each in his month. This we learn from *Livy*. This ceremonial began with the two firſt *Conſuls*. The *Conſul*, who was the oldeſt, or had moſt children, or moſt ſuffrages for the *Conſulſhip*, had the *Lictors* the firſt month. It appears by a line in *Virgil*'s 6th Book, that *Brutus* was firſt attended with the *Faſces*, before his collegue *Collatinus*.

Conſulis imperium hic primus fævaſque ſecures
Accipiet———

[d] The *Rex Sacrorum*, or *Rex Sacrificulus*, was a conſiderable dignity among the *Romans*, tho' inferior to that of *Pontifex Maximus*. For fear the name of King ſhould make him too proud, they made him but a ſubordinate officer, even in the affairs of religion. His wife was called Queen. This office was never conferred on any, but in the *Comitia* of the people, aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, by *Centuries*. Nor could any but a *Patrician* be choſen for it. The *King of the Sacrifices* was not ſuffered to intermeddle in ſtate-affairs. Inſomuch, that when, in the *Comitia*, the ſacrifice over which he preſided, was ended, he withdrew from the aſſembly.

Rom

Year of *ROME.* CCXLIII. TARQUIN II. Seventh King.

Rome before the gates were ſhut, that *Brutus* was raiſing commotions to his prejudice, came in all haſte to the city, attended only by his ſons, and a few friends; but finding the gates ſhut, the people in arms upon the walls, and that *Lucretius* refuſed him entrance, he returned with equal expedition to the camp. There to his extreme ſurprize he found that the conſpirators had, during his ſhort abſence, gained over the army to them. The Conſuls not doubting but *Tarquin* would, upon the firſt notice of the revolt, haſten to the city, had ſent [a] letters to the camp, giving an account of the reſolutions taken at *Rome*, and exhorting the troops to ſhake off the tyrant's yoke. Theſe letters *Titus Herminius* and *Marcus Horatius* had read in a full aſſembly of the ſoldiers convened by *Centuries*, and the matter being put to the vote, it was unanimouſly agreed to adhere to the decree paſſed in the city; ſo that *Tarquin* being both driven from his capital, and rejected by his troops, was forced, at the age of ſeventy-ſix, to fly for refuge, with his wife and three ſons to *Gabii* [b], that city of *Latium*, of which he had formerly made his ſon *Sextus* governor, inveſting him with a kind of regal power. Here he continued ſome time, but not finding the *Latines* forward enough to eſpouſe his cauſe, he retired into *Hetruria*, the country of his mother's family, where he hoped to find more friends, and a readier aſſiſtance for attempting the recovery of his throne.

[b] *Livy* ſays, that *Brutus* went in perſon to the camp on this affair, but to avoid meeting *Tarquin*, ſhunn'd the high road; and that he arrived before *Ardea* at the ſame time that *Tarquin* appeared at the gates of *Rome*.

[b] *Tarquin*'s firſt retreat, according to *Livy*, B. 1. c. 60. was to *Cære* in *Hetruria*, whither he was followed by only two of his ſons. *Sextus* (he adds) retiring to *Gabii*, as his kingdom, was there ſlain by ſome of the inhabitants, in revenge of his former treachery and cruelties. *Livy* alſo makes *Sextus* to be the youngeſt of *Tarquin*'s ſons, whereas *Dionyſius* makes him the eldeſt. The laſt-mentioned author brings *Sextus* frequently upon the ſtage after this time; nay he introduces him 14 years after the expulſion of his father, at the battle of *Regillus*, where he is killed. The actions which *Dionyſius* aſcribes to *Sextus* in that battle, the Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* give to a fourth ſon of *Tarquin* named *Lucius*: yet neither *Dionyſius* nor *Livy* mention more than three ſons of that King. *Livy* B. 1. c. 52. calls *Sextus*, *minimus ex tribus*. *D. Hal.* B. 4. p. 262, makes *Brutus* ſay to the people in his ſpeech on the affair of *Lucretia*, that *Tarquin* had *three* ſons more wicked than himſelf: and B. 5. p. 268, *Tarquin* after his baniſhment wanders from place to place with his *three* ſons. Theſe three ſons were *Sextus*, *Titus* and *Aruns*. If indeed we ſuppoſe with *Livy* that *Sextus* was ſlain by the *Gabini*, and yet ſuppoſe with *Dionyſius*, that *Tarquin* had two ſons living at the battle of *Regillus*, we muſt unavoidably allow him to have had, in all, four ſons; for it is agreed, that *Aruns* was killed in his encounter with *Brutus* in the firſt battle after the regifuge: but it is to be obſerved, that *Dionyſius* who makes two of *Tarquin*'s ſons to be in the battle of *Regillus*, makes *Sextus* to be one of the two; and *Livy*, who ſuppoſes *Sextus* to be ſlain before this time, ſpeaks but of *one* ſon of *Tarquin* in that battle. However as the learned *Jeſuits* do frequently ſpeak of *Tarquin*'s having four ſons, doubtleſs they have ſome good authority for it. See *Cat.* and *Rou. Rom.* Hiſt. B. 4. p. 468. and p. 494. B. 6. p. 132. n. *a*. and p. 171. n. *a*.

In

In the foregoing hiſtory of the 7 *Roman* Kings the events are generally ordered according to the chronology obſerved by the Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*: Theſe learned writers have, in a matter of ſo much uncertainty, made it their buſineſs with great judgment to diſtinguiſh *the more probable*, following ſometimes one author, and ſometimes another, as they were directed by the rules of criticiſm. However, in treating at large ſo copious a ſubject as a general hiſtory of *Rome*, of which the materials were to be taken from various authors, frequently diſagreeing with one another, and ſometimes even with themſelves, it was next to impoſſible to avoid falling now and then into ſome inconſiſtency; eſpecially in matters of too ſmall importance to engage a very cloſe attention. We have an inſtance or two of this kind of incorrectneſs in the *Jeſuits* complete hiſtory of the regal ſtate of *Rome*, and theſe errors not being rectified in this ſhorter account of the *Roman* Kings, it may be proper, at the cloſe of it, juſt to mention them.

Father *Catrou* (B. 2. p. 133.) has followed *Plutarch*, in fixing *Romulus*'s death to the 37th year of *Rome*, and (p. 144.) he has followed the ſame author, in fixing *Numa*'s birth to the very day that *Rome* was founded, and in making him about 40 when he was offered the kingdom: (by the words *about* 40, he means, that he was in his 40th year, as appears by the date in the margin; and ſo *Plutarch*, Ἔτος ἤδη διατελοῦντι τῷ Νομᾷ τεσσαράκοστον.) Nevertheleſs, as the learned Father allows with *Dionyſius*, but about a year to the *Interregnum*; theſe things are incompatible. Father *Rouillé* therefore in his note (B. 2. p. 144.) agrees with *Petavius*, in ſaying that *Romulus* reigned above 38 years. They follow *Varro*'s calculation in placing the foundation of *Rome* in *April* in the 3d year of the 6th olympiad, and the death of *Romulus* in *July* in the 1ſt year of the 16th olympiad. The difference between theſe two dates is 38 years and ſome months. *Numa* was therefore in his 39th year, when his predeceſſor died, and the *Interregnum* laſting about a year, he was in his 40th year when he was choſe King.

Again. Father *Catrou* has placed the taking of *Corniculum* by *Tarquinius Priſcus* in the 5th year of his reign, yet it is plain from the whole number of years given to *Tarquin*'s reign, *viz.* 37 or 38, and from the age of his ſucceſſor *Servius Tullius*, when he [*Servius*] aſcended the throne, *viz.* 30, that *Corniculum* could not have been taken before the 7th or 8th of *Tarquin*'s Government; becauſe *Servius* was not yet born, when that city was deſtroyed.

N. B. In ſpeaking of the *Interregnum*, p. 48. of this work, it ought to have been obſerved, that *Dionyſius* in his account of that ſort of government differs from *Livy* and *Plutarch*. The two latter give but 5 days to the duration of the reign of each *Decury* of Inter-Kings, whereas *Dionyſius* makes each man of each *Decury* to reign 5 days, and conſequently each *Decury* 50.

Remarks, occaſioned by Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s objections to the ſuppoſed 244 years duration of the regal ſtate of *Rome*.

THE number of years aſſigned in antient hiſtory, to the lives and reigns of the ſeveral Kings of Rome, *muſt for the moſt part be meerly conjectural, and even falſe, if we admit Sir* Iſaac Newton's *computations concerning the duration of the regal ſtate. And that his computations with regard both to the* 7 *Kings of* Rome *and to the* 14 *Kings of* Alba *are near the truth, one can hardly help being diſpoſed to believe, for the ſake of* Virgil, *becauſe they clear him from that monſtrous anachroniſm* [*of near* 300 *years*] *which he has been ſo often reproached with, as a licence unpardonable even in a poet, and make* Æneas *and* Dido *contemporary.*

When the *Greeks* and *Latines* (ſays Sir *Iſaac*, p. 128.) were forming their technical chronology, there were great diſputes about the antiquity of *Rome:* the *Greeks* made it much older than the olympiads: ſome of them ſaid it was built by *Æneas*; others by *Romus*, the ſon or grandſon of *Latinus* King of the *Aborigenes*; others by *Romus* the ſon of *Ulyſſes*, or of *Aſcanius*, or of *Italus:* and ſome of the *Latines* at firſt fell in with the opinion of the *Greeks*, ſaying that it was built by *Romulus* the ſon or grandſon of *Æneas*. *Timæus Siculus* repreſented it built by *Romulus* the grandſon of *Æneas*, above an hundred years before the olympiads; and ſo did *Nævius* the poet, who was twenty years older than *Ennius*, and ſerved in the firſt *Punic* war, and wrote the hiſtory of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon, but about 140 or 150 years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, they began to ſay that *Rome* was built a ſecond time by *Romulus*, in the fifteenth age after the deſtruction of *Troy:* By ages they meant reigns of the Kings of the *Latines* at *Alba*, and reckoned the firſt fourteen reigns at about 432 years, and the following reigns of the 7 Kings of *Rome* at 244 years, both which numbers made up the time of 676 years from the taking of *Troy* according to theſe chronologers; but are much too long for the courſe of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of *Rome* upon the 6th or 7th olympiad; but this can ſcarce be reconciled to the courſe of nature: for I do not meet with any inſtance in all hiſtory, ſince chronology was certain, wherein ſeven Kings, moſt of whom were ſlain, reigned 244 years in continual ſucceſſion. The 14 reigns of the Kings of the *Latines* at twenty years apiece one with another amount unto 280 years, and theſe years counted from the taking of *Troy* end in the 38th olympiad: and the ſeven reigns of the Kings of *Rome*, four or five of them being ſlain, and one depoſed, may at a moderate reckoning amount to fifteen or ſixteen years apiece, one with another: let them be reckoned at ſeventeen years apiece, and they will amount unto 119 years, which being counted backwards from the regifuge, end alſo in the 38th olympiad: and by theſe two reckonings *Rome* was built in the 38th olympiad, or thereabout. The 280 years and the 119 years together make up 399 years; and the ſame number of years ariſes by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years apiece: and this being the whole time between the taking of *Troy* and the regifuge, let theſe years be counted backwards from the regifuge, An. 1. Olymp. 68. and they will place the taking of *Troy* about 74 years after the death of *Solomon*; [which death of *Solomon* Sir *Iſaac* places 979 years before Chriſt; ſo that the fall of *Troy*, after which *Æneas* began his voyages, will be about 905 years before Chriſt; and as Sir *Iſaac* makes the building of *Carthage* by *Dido* to be 883 before Chriſt, there are according to him little more than 20 years between theſe two laſt-mentioned events.]

Might not ſomething be collected from the antient hiſtorians themſelves againſt their own chronological reckonings about the duration of the regal ſtate of Rome, *and in favour of Sir* Iſaac Newton's *calculations?*

For Inſtance. The hiſtorians give 37 or 38 years to the reign of Romulus;

lus; *yet if they had not explicitly fixed that date to it, one ſhould never have gueſſed, by any thing they relate of his life or death, that his government was of near ſo long a duration: on the contrary, one ſhould have been apt to conclude from what they themſelves have written concerning him, that he reigned little more than* 17 *years. For,*

I. *IT SEEMS pretty evident from* Plutarch, *that* Romulus's *triumph over the* Veientes *was about the* 17*th year of his reign. This author having related how* Romulus *took* Fidenæ, *and ſent thither a* Roman *colony on the* ides *of* April, *goes on to tell us, that* quickly after *a plague broke out, and that* before the plague ceaſed *the* Camerini *invaded the* Romans; *that* Romulus *without delay marched againſt them, defeated them, took* Cameria *their city, tranſplanted half its inhabitants to* Rome, *and ſent from* Rome *double the number to* Cameria; *and that this was done on the* kalends of Auguſt; ſo many citizens, *ſays* Plutarch, had he to ſpare after ALMOST SIXTEEN years time, that he had inhabited *Rome. It was then before the* 17*th year of* Rome, *according to* Plutarch, *that* Romulus *reduced* Fidenæ *and* Cameria. *The ſame author proceeds immediately to relate, that the* Veientes *being alarmed at this increaſe of the* Roman *power, made* Fidenæ *the pretence for beginning a war with* Rome. *They demanded* Fidenæ *back as a city belonging to them; and their demand being ſcornfully rejected, they took the field, dividing their forces into two bodies: One attacked the garriſon of* Fidenæ *with ſucceſs; the other marched againſt* Romulus, *and was defeated by him. One battle more put an end to the war:* Romulus *obtained a deciſive victory, for which he triumphed on the* ides *of* October. Plutarch *does not indeed expreſly name the year, but there is nothing in his relation, or in the circumſtances of the war, to make us think the war of any long continuance, or to incline us to place the triumph of* Romulus *later than the* 17*th year of* Rome, *where* Pighius *has placed it in his edition of the capitoline tables, as may be ſeen at the end of this volume.* Onuphrius Panvinius, *in his commentary upon his own* 5*th book of* Faſti, p. 347, *having cited* Plutarch's *authority for placing the triumph of* Romulus *over the* Camerini *in the* 16*th of* Rome, *and for placing the ſame King's triumph over the* Veientes *on the* ides *of* October, *declares that he cannot ſo much as conjecture in what year* Romulus *had this laſt triumph; yet one would think from* Plutarch's *account of the occaſion of the war, and the progreſs of it, that* Panvinius *had ſufficient reaſon not to place this war ſo late as the* 21*ſt year of* Rome, *which he has done in his firſt book of* Faſti, p. 1.

Not only Plutarch, *but* Dionyſius *alſo and* Livy *make the taking of* Fidenæ *the pretence to the* Veientes *for beginning the war; they ſpeak of this war as begun ſoon after the reduction of that town, and they neither of them ſay any thing which ſhould induce us to believe that the war was of any conſiderable duration; ſince therefore the taking of* Fidenæ *was in the* 16*th or before the* 16*th of* Romulus, *there is no reaſon whatſoever to quarrel with* Pighius's *conjecture, which places the triumph of* Romulus *over the* Veientes *in the* 17*th of* Rome.

II. *IT APPEARS from* Dionyſius, Livy *and* Plutarch, *that the reduction of the* Veientes *(which* Pighius *with good reaſon places in the 17th of* Rome) *was* the laſt military exploit *of* Romulus's *life.*

DIONYSIUS *having related the particulars of the war with* Veii, *the deciſive victory gained by* Romulus, *and his triumph on that occaſion, concludes with words to this effect:* Theſe are the moſt memorable wars of *Romulus*; an untimely death, when he was in the bloom of his military glory, hindered him from ſubduing any of the other neighbouring nations: [a]

LIVY, *when he has ſpoken of the ſame war, goes on much in the ſame manner with* Dionyſius [b]: Theſe were almoſt all the atchievements at home and abroad during the reign of *Romulus*; *and then ſpeaks of his death. And*

PLUTARCH *ſays expreſſly, that* this war [*with the* Veientes] was the laſt war that *Romulus* ever waged [c].

If then theſe two points be granted, that Romulus's *war with* Veii *was his laſt war, and that this was finiſhed about the 17th year of* Rome, *it will follow, that the* 20 *laſt years of his reign, if he reigned* 37, *were years of PEACE. But is it probable, that a Prince of ſo unbounded an ambition, ſo active and enterprizing a ſpirit, ſhould paſs twenty years in peace with all his neighbours whom he had ſo much provoked, and who had ſo much reaſon to be jealous of the growing ſtrength of* Rome? *Or if the* Romans *when they ſent an offer of the kingdom to* Numa, *had of* 37 *years, the whole period ſince the birth of their ſtate, been the laſt* 20 *in peace, how could he, with any appearance of juſtice, in his anſwer to the deputies, ſpeak of the* Romans *as a people of a reſtleſs ſpirit, ever in war and inſatiably eager of conqueſt?* Plutarch *tells us, that the* Romans, *when* Numa *aſcended the throne, were become hard as iron by war; and that this Prince thought religion the only means to ſoften ſuch ſtubborn minds, and moderate their martial fury; and* Livy *calls them* animos militia efferatos. *There is nothing in any of the hiſtorians to favour the ſuppoſition of* Rome's *continuing* 20 *years in peace in* Romulus's *time, except this only, that they fix his death to the 37th year of the city, whereas his wars ſeem to have ended in the 17th.*

If to the ſuppoſed 20 *peaceful years of* Romulus's *reign, we add the* 43 *of* Numa's, *we muſt ſay, that the* Romans *had been* 63 *years in peace, when* Tullus Hoſtilius *came to the throne: And if ſo, we ſhall perhaps have more reaſon to admire* him *for his own martial ſpirit and that ardent love of war with which he could ſo quickly animate all his countrymen, whom ſuch a long habit of peace may well be ſuppoſed to have rendered unapt to military exerciſes; I ſay we ſhall perhaps have more reaſon to admire* him *for having been able to make his* Romans *ſoldiers, than to admire* Numa *for only confirm-*

[a] Οὗτοι σωθέντες πόλεμοι Ρωμύλω λόγε ἦν μνήμης ἄξιοι· τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν πλησίον ἐθνῶν ὑπαγάγεσθαι, ταχεῖα ἡ τελευτὴ τοῦ βίε, συμβᾶσα ἔτι ἀκμάζοντι αὐτῷ τὰ πολέμια περίτλειν, ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενέσθαι ἔδοξε. p. 114.

[b] Hæc ferme Romulo regnante domi militiæque geſta.

[c] τοῦτον ἔσχατον πόλεμον ὁ Ρωμύλος ἐπολέμησεν. p. 33. *Vit. Rom.*

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ing them peaceful citizens and husbandmen, which they had already been for 20 *years past. The ease with which* Tullus Hostilius *revived the martial spirit of the* Romans *may perhaps give some cause to doubt whether* Numa's *reign, which is by all agreed to have been a reign of uninterrupted peace, did in reality last* 43 *years.*

But to return to Romulus.

III. *MAY IT not be fairly collected from all the three historians before-mentioned, that* Romulus's *victory over the* Veientes *was not only the* last military exploit *of his life, but an exploit which did not long precede his death, at least not* 20 *years? It has been already observed, that* Dionysius *and* Livy *pass immediately from the conclusion of the* Veientan *war to the King's assassination.* Plutarch *does the same; and it is farther to be remarked, that* Plutarch *and* Dionysius *make the affront which* Romulus *put upon the Senators, when* without consulting them, *he restored to the* Veientes 50 *hostages (which they had given him to secure the performance of their engagements by the treaty of peace) to be one of the chief provocations which incited the Senators to murder him. And this offence is mentioned as a thing* recent *at the time of his death.* His sudden disappearing soon after this, *says* Plutarch, brought the Senate under suspicion and calumny. Plutarch *mentions another recent offence given the Senate, which ought not to be pass'd over,* That the King by his sole authority shared among the soldiers the lands acquired by the war. *Now, tho' it is not said at what time the King gave the Senators these provocations, we cannot easily suppose it to be a great while after the war; and it will be very hard to suppose it* 20 *years after. Hostages are not usually detained very long after possession yielded of the interest intended to be secured by such pledges; nor is it usual to defer, for a long time, the yielding of such possession to a victorious enemy. The* Veientes *were to yield to the* Romans *some lands on the* Tyber *called the* 7 *villages, and also some salt-pits at the mouth of that river: To make these cessions required no long time. However, as* Dionysius *tells us, that those hostages were to be a security that the* Veientes *should not make any new attempt, this argument loses something of its force. But as to the other provocation, mentioned by* Plutarch, *it would be highly unreasonable to suppose that the conquered lands with which* Romulus *rewarded his soldiers, were not given them till* 20 *years after the conquest.*

TO COME NOW to the 5th King of Rome, Tarquinius Priscus, *who is said to have reigned* 38 *years, and to have been* 80 *years old when he died:*

Dionysius *has shewn the many absurdities which follow the supposition of this* First Tarquin's *being the father of* Tarquin the Proud: *Yet he tells us, that this is the opinion of* Fabius Pictor, *and of all the other historians, except* Lucius Piso. Livy *says, the point is not clear, but that he believes what the historians generally relate.* [*that* Superbus *was the son of* Priscus, *and not the grandson.*] Plutarch, *tho' he had doubtless read* Dionysius's *reasonings, declares himself to be in suspense upon the matter.*

Whence could it be that Livy *ſhould adhere to an opinion ſo full of abſurdities, and* Plutarch *be in doubt, but that the authorities for that opinion were too conſiderable to be rejected?*

The abſurdities with which Dionyſius *has ſhewn that opinion to be attended, ariſe wholly from the great number of years given to the reigns and lives of ſome of the Kings, ſo that if with Sir* Iſaac Newton *we ſhorten thoſe lives and reigns the difficulty vaniſhes, and the ancient and common tradition with reſpect to the point in queſtion will have its proper weight.*

The ſubſtance of Dionyſius's *reaſoning is this.*

Tarquinius Priſcus *was* 80 *years old when he died, after a reign of* 38 *years. His wife* Tanaquil *who came with him from* Hetruria *to* Rome *at his age of* 25, *and who ſurvived him, was but* 5 *years younger than he, conſequently* 75 *at his death. She cannot be ſuppoſed to have born children after* 50. Aruns *the brother of* Tarquin the Proud, *was* 2 *years younger than he; conſequently if* Tarquin the Proud *was her ſon, ſhe cannot have been more than* 48 *when ſhe bore him. If ſo,* Tarquin the Proud *muſt have been* 27 *when his father died, and as* Servius Tullius, *whom* Tarquin *ſucceeded, reigned* 44 *years,* Tarquin *muſt have been* 71 *at the time of his acceſſion to the throne; and ſince he reigned* 25 *years, he muſt have been* 96 *when he was expelled; and ſince after his baniſhment, he carried on the war* 14 *years againſt the* Romans, *during which war he is ſaid to have been in every action, he muſt have kept the field till he was* 110.

Now, ſays Dionyſius, *would* Tanaquil *have placed a ſtranger on the throne preferably to her own ſon, if her own ſon had been of an age to govern? A ſtranger that was but* 3 *years older than her ſon? (for* Servius *was then but* 30.) *Or would* Tarquin, *a man of ſo much ſpirit, have quietly ſuffered it?*

Can Tarquin *be ſuppoſed to have been* 71, *when with ſo much ſtrength and vigour he ſeized* Servius Tullius *by the middle, hurried him in his arms through the Senate-houſe, and caſt him headlong from the top of the ſteps at the entrance of it?*

Or is it credible, that Tarquin *at* 96 *ſhould be at the head of an army performing all the functions of a General, as it is agreed he did at the ſiege of* Ardea, *at the time of his dethronement?*

Or that from 96 *to* 110, *he ſhould conſtantly be in war, and in every action of that war?*

All theſe things, ſays Dionyſius, *are incredible; and thus it is that he combats the opinion, that the* 2*d* Tarquin *was the ſon of the* 1*ſt; and it ſeems impoſſible to avoid his concluſion any other way, than by denying the premiſes, that is, by cutting off ſome of the* 80 *years given to the life of* Tarquin, *and of the* 38 *of his reign, and alſo of the* 44 *years allowed to the reign of* Servius Tullius.

Dionyſius *himſelf ſeems to furniſh an argument for abridging the duration of* Servius Tullius's *government. He tells us in the very beginning of his hiſtory of* Servius's *reign, (and he plainly ſpeaks of the beginning of this Prince's reign) That the Patricians being much diſſatisfied to find, that* Servius *having taken the reins of government into his hands only as a* Regent, *intended*

intended to hold them as a King, *came to this reſolution; That the very firſt time he aſſembled the Senate, they would oblige him to lay down the* faſces *and all the other enſigns of royalty, and would chuſe* Inter-Kings, *in order to proceed to a legal election of a ſucceſſor to* Tarquin: *That* Servius *being appriſed of their deſign, applied himſelf to gain the People to ſupport him; and, that to this end, having aſſembled the People, he among other benefits promiſed* to eaſe them with regard to the publick taxes, by aſſeſſing every one in proportion to his ſubſtance, it being unreaſonable (as he ſaid) that the poor ſhould contribute equally with the rich to the expences of the ſtate. Servius *in conſequence of his* PROMISE, *when they had choſen him King, and he had made ſome previous regulations, inſtituted the Cenſus, dividing the Citizens into Claſſes and Centuries,* &c. *by which inſtitution the burden of the taxes was thrown all upon the great and the rich.*

As the Senate obſtinately refuſed to confirm the People's choice of Servius *to be King, and as* Servius *depended wholly on the People's affections for the preſervation of his authority, is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he put* 24 *years diſtance between ſo important a promiſe and the performance? Now if the Cenſus, which was to be renewed every* 5 *years, and to be always cloſed by a Luſtrum, was inſtituted in the beginning of* Servius Tullius's *reign, How came it to paſs that there were no more than* 4 *Luſtra during the* 44 *years of this Prince's adminiſtration? That this was the number of Luſtra in* Servius's *time,* Pighius, (p. 48.) *ſays, may be collected from the Capitoline marbles; and we have alſo* Val. Maximus's *authority for it,* B. 4. *Would* Servius *neglect the obſervance of his own inſtitution? An inſtitution that was his maſterpiece of policy, and his chief glory? To have* 4 *Luſtra in his reign required ſtrictly but* 16 *years, the firſt Luſtrum being at the time of the inſtitution; and ſhould we ſuppoſe that he was killed juſt before a new Cenſus ſhould have been taken, ſtill the* 4 *Luſtra could demand but* 20 *years. If therefore it might be granted that this inſtitution was ſo near the beginning of* Servius Tullius's *reign, as the 5th year of it, (and certainly* Dionyſius *ſeems to favour ſuch a conjecture) we may by this way of reaſoning cut off about* 20 *years of the* 44 *aſſigned for the duration of his government.*

That the firſt Luſtrum was in the 11th or 12th year of Servius, i. e. *in the year* 186 *or* 187 *of* Rome, Onuphrius Panvinius *tells us, may be collected from a paſſage in* Cenſorinus's *book,* De Die Natali, *cap.* 13. *where it is ſaid, that there were* 640 *years between the firſt Luſtrum and the 75th, which 75th Luſtrum was in the year* 826. *The difference between* 186 *and* 826 *is* 640. *And this* [*that the firſt Luſtrum was in the year* 186 *or* 187 *of* Rome,] *adds* Panvinius, *is confirmed by* Livy's *placing the inſtitution of the Cenſus juſt after* Servius Tullius *had vanquiſhed the* Hetrurians: *For (as he goes on to obſerve) the* 2*d triumph of* Servius *over the* Hetrurians *is marked in the Capitoline tables in the year* 186.

Now as to Livy's *authority in this matter, it will be as good for placing the firſt Luſtrum juſt after the* firſt *triumph of* Servius *over the* Hetrurians (*which according to the Capitoline tables was in the year of* Rome 182, i. e.

the

the 7th year of Servius Tullius) *as for placing it after the* ſecond *triumph. Nay,* Pighius *and Father* Rouillé *make uſe of this ſame authority for placing it after the* third *triumph over the* Hetrurians, *and but little more than* 20 *years before the death of* Servius, *who is ſaid to have reigned* 44.

It is to be obſerved, that Panvinius p. 54, Pighius p. 48, *and Father* Rouillé B. 4. p. 385, *ſeem all inclined to believe, that the* 4 *Luſtra of* Servius Tullius *followed one another regularly according to the inſtitution, and that the Cenſus was renewed every* 5 *years.* Panvinius *ſays expreſsly, that* it is probable *Servius* did in the firſt Luſtra obſerve the order which he himſelf had eſtabliſhed: *And therefore, as he places the firſt Luſtrum in the* 12*th year of* Servius, *he places the* 4*th Luſtrum (the laſt that was performed in that Prince's time) in the* 27*th year of his reign. But now whatever force of argument there is in this* probability of *Servius*'s obſerving regularly his own inſtitution, *for ſupporting* Panvinius's *dating the Luſtra as he does, the ſame there will be for the conjecture, that* Servius *did not reign* 44 *years: For by* Panvinius's *own way of reckoning, the King muſt have ordered no Cenſus from the* 27*th to the* 44*th year of his government, and conſequently have ſhewn a great neglect of the inſtitution in queſtion.*

As the cutting off ten years from Servius Tullius's *reign, and the giving them to* Tarquin the Proud, *might in ſome meaſure remove the difficulties which have been here ſtarted concerning the ſmall number of Luſtra in* Servius's *time, it may not be improper to examine what authority there is for ſuch* retrenching *and* giving. Panvinius *p.* 52, *ſays there is ſome controverſy between authors concerning the number of years that* Servius *reigned; and on one ſide he draws up* Dionyſius, Livy, *and* Solinus; *ond on the other,* Meſſala Corvinus, Sextus Rufus, Eutropius, Euſebius, Caſſiodorus *and* Bede. *One would imagine at firſt, that theſe ſix laſt-named writers, who, he tells us, give but* 34 *years to* Servius Tullius *and* 35 *to* Tarquin the Proud, *were ſo many diſtinct authorities concurring for ſome good reaſon in one ſentiment: But the truth is, that this manner of dividing* 69 *years between the two Kings has nothing to ſupport it but* Euſebius's *chronicle, which* Caſſiodorus *and* Bede *have only copied.*

As to Meſſala Corvinus, Voſſius *in lib.* 1. *cap.* 18. de Hiſt. Lat. *obſerves, that the book* De Auguſti Progenie [*where that diviſion of the* 69 *years is made*] *is falſly aſcribed to* Meſſala,——eſt is ſcriptor planè ſuppoſititius.

And as to Sextus Rufus *and* Eutropius, Panvinius *has made a miſtake; for both thoſe writers follow* Dionyſius *and* Livy *in this particular. See* Sex. Ruf. *p.* 1. *and* Eutrop. *B.* 1.

So then we have in reality no writer to oppoſe to Dionyſius *and* Livy *but* Euſebius; *and that he no where aſſigns any reaſon for differing from thoſe hiſtorians one may ſafely believe without being at the pains of hunting over all his works, ſince* Scaliger *has been put to it to find a reaſon for him.* Scaliger *ſuppoſes that what induced* Euſebius *to make ſuch a diſtribution as has been mentioned, of the* 69 *years, was the difficulty he found, without it, of ranging certain events, recorded by ſome authors, under the Reigns of thoſe kings in whoſe times they are ſaid to have happened.* Sine dubio ideo hos annos regum Rom. mutilavit Euſebius, quia quæ à quibuſdam ſcriptoribus notata videbat,

videbat, ſub regibus Rom. non poterant convenire, niſi annos aliorum regum truncaret, alios extenderet. *See p.* 92 *of* Scaliger's *Animadverſions on* Euſebius's *Chronicon.*

If therefore the objection that has been raiſed from the few Luſtra in Servius's *reign, has any ſtrength in it, the authority of thoſe who take* 10 *years from that Prince and give them to* Tarquin the Proud, *will not in any degree weaken it.*

To concluae theſe Remarks.

IT HAS been already obſerved, that Sir Iſaac Newton's *calculations, founded on experience and the courſe of nature, will fully juſtify* Virgil *with regard to the contemporality of* Æneas *with* Dido.

And we have alſo ſeen, that the ſhortening *the reigns of ſome of the* Roman *Kings, in conformity to Sir* Iſaac's *ſcheme, will, in divers reſpects, render the accounts left us, by the hiſtorians, of the* Regal State of Rome *more credible and conſiſtent.*

It will free us from the hard neceſſity of ſuppoſing that ſuch a rough, rapacious, impetuous people as the firſt Romans *were, paſſed* 63 *years from the* 17*th of* Rome *in continued peace.*

It will juſtify the moſt ancient Latine *Hiſtorians in making* Tarquinius Priſcus *to be the Father of* Tarquin the Proud; *a matter that puzzled* Dionyſius, Livy *and* Plutarch.

And it will remove the difficulty concerning Servius Tullius's *neglect of his own wiſe inſtitution.*

THERE IS yet another difficulty with which Dionyſius, Livy *and* Plutarch *were embarraſſed, and which will alſo be removed by Sir* Iſaac's *calculations.*

Thoſe three hiſtorians do all take notice, that it was a commonly received tradition, that Numa *and* Pythagoras, *the* Samian, *were contemporary, and that the King got ſome of his rare lights from the Philoſopher. This tradition they all three oppoſe. Nevertheleſs it would ſeem, that there was ſomething very ſtrong to ſupport it, ſince* Plutarch, *rather than entirely reject the contemporality of* Pythagoras *with* Numa, *is willing to believe, that there was a certain* Pythagoras, *who was prior to him of* Samos, *and who did indeed live in that King's time, and communicate to him ſome uſeful knowledges.* Dionyſius *alſo mentions this way of ſolving the difficulty, but at the ſame time declares, that he knows of no author of credit,* Greek *or* Roman, *who mentions this other* Pythagoras.

The reaſon which the three hiſtorians give for denying the Samian *Philoſopher to be* Numa's *inſtructor is the manifeſt anachroniſm, into which ſuch a conceſſion would lead them.*

LIVY *ſays, that it is plain, it was above* 100 *years after* Numa, *and in the time of* Servius Tullius, *that* Pythagoras [*the* Samian] *kept a School of young ſtudents upon the remoteſt coaſt of* Italy, *about* Metapontum, Heraclea, *and* Crotona. *Livy*, B. 1. p. 22.

PLUTARCH *tells us, that ſome affirm* Pythagoras *lived five ages after* Numa; *that is to ſay, five reigns of Kings. And* *Vit. Num.* p. 60.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 116. DIONYSIUS *contends, that* Pythagoras *was poſterior to* Numa, *not a few years, but four entire generations, that is to ſay, four reigns of Kings, or about* 140 *years*; *for (as he goes on)* Numa *began his reign towards the middle of the* 16*th olympiad, and* Pythagoras *did not teach in* Italy *till after the* 50*th olympiad.*

Now, if with Sir Iſaac Newton *we fix the foundation of* Rome *in the* 38*th olympiad, or thereabout, and allow to* Romulus's *reign about* 20 *years or* 5 *olympiads,* Numa's *acceſſion to the throne will have been in the* 43*d olympiad, or thereabout; from which time to the* 51*ſt olympiad, which ſeems to be the date fixed by* Dionyſius *for* Pythagoras's *coming into* Italy, *there will be no more than about* 28 *years: ſo that by theſe reckonings* Numa *and* Pythagoras *will have been contemporary, and the anachroniſm with which the common tradition, before-mentioned, has been loaded, vaniſhes.*

The whole difficulty in this matter we ſee aroſe from the hiſtorians adhering too ſtrictly to their artificial chronology, a manner of reckoning, which Plutarch *on ſome occaſions ſeems to make light of, as in the following paſſage in his life of* Solon, *quoted by Sir* Iſaac Newton, (*p.* 49.) "The Congreſs "of *Solon* with *Cræſus* ſome think they can confute by chronology. But "a hiſtory ſo illuſtrious, and verified by ſo many witneſſes, and which is "more, ſo agreeable to the manners of *Solon*, and worthy of the greatneſs "of his mind, and of his wiſdom, I cannot perſuade my ſelf to reject "becauſe of ſome *Chronological Canons*, as they call them, which hundreds "of authors correcting, have not yet been able to conſtitute any thing "certain, in which they could agree amongſt themſelves, about repugnan-"cies."

Sir Iſaac's *words, immediately after citing this paſſage from* Plutarch, *will not improperly cloſe theſe Remarks.*

As for the chronology of the *Latines*, that is ſtill more uncertain [than that of the *Greeks.*] *Plutarch*[a] repreſents great uncertainties in the originals of *Rome*, and ſo doth *Servius*[b]. The old records of the *Latines* were burnt[c] by the *Gauls*, an hundred and twenty years after the regifuge, and ſixty four years before the death of *Alexander the Great*; and *Quintus Fabius Pictor*, the[d] oldeſt hiſtorian of the *Latines*, lived an hundred years later than that King, and took almoſt all things from *Diocles Peparethius*, a *Greek.*

[a] *Plut. in Rom.* and *Num.*
[b] *In Æneid.* 7. v. 678.
[c] *Diodor.* l. 1
[d] *Plut. in Rom.*

THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory

SECOND BOOK.

From the eſtabliſhment of the ROMAN COMMONWEALTH in the year of *Rome* 244, to the re-building of the City in 365, after the burning of it by the *Gauls*.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The ſtate and condition of* Rome *on the abolition of the Regal Power.* §. II. Tarquin *prevails with the Magiſtrates of* Tarquinii *in* Hetruria *to ſend an Embaſſy to* Rome *in his favour, with a letter from him to the* Roman *people.* §. III. *A ſecond Embaſſy from the* Tarquinienſes *to the* Romans. *The Ambaſſadors engage ſome of the young* Patricians *in a plot againſt the new government. It is diſcovered by* Vindicius *a ſlave.* Brutus *condemns his own ſons to death and ſees the execution.* §. IV. Collatinus *is forced to abdicate the Conſulſhip; and* Valerius *is choſen to ſucceed him.* §. V. Tarquin *having ſtirred up the* Tarquinienſes *and* Veientes *to take arms in his cauſe, they come to a battle with the* Romans, *in which* Brutus *is ſlain.* §. VI. *The people entertain a jealouſy of* Valerius's *ambition, but ſoon after give him the name of* Poplicola *or Popular, on account of the laws he makes in their favour, to the diminution of the Conſular Authority.*

§. I. THE baniſhment of the *Tarquins* delivered *Rome* from her domeſtic tyrants, but it raiſed her many enemies abroad, and by occaſioning the defection of her allies, reduced her *empire* almoſt within the ſame limits where *Romulus* had left it. What might properly be called the *Roman territory*, had always been confined to a very narrow circuit. In the ſpace of 243 years, the *Romans* though conſtantly victorious in war had not gained *land* enough to ſupply their city with proviſions. The main ſtrength of the ſtate lay in the *number of the citizens* of *Rome*, which the cuſtom of tranſplanting the

Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. JUNIUS BRUTUS, and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, Conſuls.

Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. 1ſt Conſulſhip.

inhabitants of the conquered cities thither had ſo prodigiouſly increaſed, that it put the *Romans* in a condition of uſurping an authority over other nations, the moſt inconſiderable of which had an extent of country far exceeding theirs. By frequent incurſions and depredations they ſo haraſſed the petty ſtates of *Latium* and *Hetruria*, that many of them were conſtrained to enter into treaties with *Rome*, whereby they obliged themſelves to furniſh her with auxiliaries whenever ſhe ſhould be pleaſed to invade and pillage the lands of her other neighbours. Submiſſions of this kind ſhe called making alliances with her; and theſe uſeful alliances ſupplied the want of a larger territory. But now upon the change of her government, all her allies forſook her at once and either ſtood neuter or eſpouſed the cauſe of the baniſh'd King; ſo that ſhe was left entirely to her ſelf to maintain the liberty ſhe had aſſumed.

Rome however enjoyed a profound peace in the beginning [a] of the new adminiſtration. The Army which had been employed in the ſiege of *Ardea* marched home under the conduct of *Herminius* and *Horatius*, who had made a truce with the *Ardeates* for 15 years. Upon this increaſe of ſtrength by the return of the troops which had ſerved under *Tarquin*, the Conſuls thought it expedient to convene the people again by *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, and when they had in long ſpeeches exhorted them to concord, the decree, paſſed ſome days before againſt the *Tarquins*, was confirmed. Nor was this all. The Conſuls ſtanding before the altars where expiatory ſacrifices had been juſt offered, took an oath in the name of themſelves, their children and poſterity, that they would never recall King *Tarquin*, nor his children, nor their poſterity from baniſhment, nor create any other King of *Rome*, nor ſuffer any to be created; and they made the people take the ſame oath. After this the *Comitia* proceeded to elect a *Rex Sacrorum* to preſide at the ſacrifices; and many of the laws of *Servius Tullius* were revived to the great joy of the people, who were reſtored to their ancient right of deciding by their votes in all important affairs.

Plutarch.

Brutus, being jealous of ſome in the Senate, put all the Senators likewiſe to the teſt of an oath. In this venerable body *Valerius* was the man of the greateſt weight. He had expected to be named Conſul at the firſt election, and being highly diſpleaſed at the preference given to *Collatinus*, had for ſome time withdrawn himſelf from publick affairs; inſomuch that he began to be ſuſpected of favouring the baniſhed King: But he removed theſe apprehenſions, by the remarkable zeal he ſhewed for liberty, when the day came for the Senators to take the ſame oath which the people had taken. He was the firſt man who ſwore never to favour the pretenſions of the *Tarquins*, and his actions ſoon after proved the ſincerity of his oath.

D. Hal.

§. II. IN the mean time the *Tarquins* were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to ſtir up the neighbouring ſtates to take arms againſt *Rome*. Having

[a] *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* agree in fixing the Conſulſhip of *Brutus* and *Collatinus* to the year of *Rome* 245; but the Capitoline Tables, (which the Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* conſtantly follow) fix it to the year 244.

wandered

wandered from city to city, the old King at length made *Tarquinii* in *Hetruria* his place of reſidence; and by moving words he ſo raiſed the compaſſion of the *Tarquinienſes* as to engage them to ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*, with a modeſt, ſubmiſſive letter from himſelf, directed to the *Roman* people. The Ambaſſadors arriving, repreſented to the Senate in ſuch ſtrong terms the reaſonableneſs of letting the King be heard, before he was condemned, and the danger which threatned the *Roman* ſtate, from the neighbouring powers, if that common juſtice was refuſed, that the Conſuls were inclinable to bring theſe agents before the people, and leave the deciſion of the affair to the [a] *Curiæ:* But *Valerius* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed ſo hazardous a proceeding, and by his influence in the Senate defeated this firſt attempt of the artful *Tarquin*. Indeed the Senate was moſt eſpecially concerned for ever to exclude Kings, who had often oppreſſed it; and the Conſuls therefore thought it proper to reſtore that venerable body to all its rights and prerogatives, and to gain it the reſpect of the people, not only by the dignity but alſo by the number of its members, which *Tarquin*'s murders and proſcriptions had greatly diminiſhed. And to this end, wiſe men, and men of intereſt, were ſought out, amongſt the *Roman* Knights, to fill up the vacant places, ſo that the antient number of 300 was once more compleated. [The old Senators had been ſtyled *Patres*, or *Fathers*; and becauſe theſe new ones were put upon the ſame liſt with them, they were called *Conſcripti* [b], *i. e.* Perſons *written* or *enrolled together with* them.] Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. 1ſt Conſulſhip.

§. III. BUT notwithſtanding all theſe prudent meaſures the riſing Republick was upon the brink of being deſtroyed in its very beginning. Many of the young *Patricians* having been accuſtomed to licentiouſneſs and pleaſure, the auſtere form of a republican government in which the laws alone, always deaf and inexorable, were to reign, gave them greater apprehenſions than tyranny itſelf. They were fond of the flattering diſtinctions of a court, and could not bear the mortification of ſeeing themſelves almoſt upon a level with the multitude. The ſons of *Tarquin* building their hopes on theſe young debauchees, who regretted the loſs of their former companions in pleaſure, prevailed with the *Tarquinienſes* to ſend a ſecond embaſſy to *Rome*, under pretence of demanding the eſtates of the *Liv.* B. 2. *Plut. Vit. Popl.*

[a] We have this account from *Plutarch*. *D. Hal.* affirms, that *Brutus* had no regard to the remonſtrances of the Ambaſſadors.

[b] Theſe *Conſcript Fathers* were called the *New Senate*, *Novus Senatus*. And it appears by *Livy*'s words, rightly underſtood, that the old Senators only were called *Patres*; and that the new ones were diſtinguiſhed from them by the name of *Conſcripti*. It is true, *Dion. Hal.* gives the ſame name of *Patres Conſcripti* to the firſt Senators, created by *Romulus:* but this form, *Qui Patres, quique Conſcripti eſſent*, which was uſed when the Senate was called together, ſufficiently ſhews the miſtake of the *Greek* hiſtorian: So that when we find in *Latin* authors, *Patres Conſcripti*, uſed to expreſs the Senate in general, the words muſt be underſtood, as if they were joined by a conjunction, *Patres, & Conſcripti*, i. e. *The Fathers*, and *thoſe who have been added to them*. *Feſtus* favours this opinion, when he ſays, that thoſe were called *Conſcripti* who had paſſed from the order of *Roman* Knights into that of Senators. Thus far Father *Rouillé*.

Plutarch in his life of *Romulus* ſays, that the Senators were at firſt called ſimply *Patres*, and when more were added to them, *Patres Conſcripti:* But this does not determine whether the latter appellation was given them upon the addition made by *Tatius* the *Sabine* King, by *Tarquinius Priſcus*, or by *Brutus*, exiles;

Y. of *R.* 244. Bef *J. C.* 508. 1ſt Conſulſhip.

exiles; but with private inſtructions to ſpirit up a faction, if poſſible, to attempt the lives of the Conſuls. The Ambaſſadors were admitted, and nothing could be more modeſt than the demands of the baniſhed King. He aſked only his paternal eſtate; and on that condition promiſed never to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by force of arms. The Conſuls were divided in opinion. *Collatinus* was for complying with the requeſt; but *Brutus* oppoſed it. The affair having been long conſidered by the Senate, was at laſt referred to the people. *Brutus* endeavoured to bring his Collegue, who was a relation of the *Tarquins*, under a ſuſpicion of treachery. However, the opinion of *Collatinus* prevailed in the *Comitia*, and it was carried by one [a] vote, that the *Tarquins* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the eſtates of their family.

D. Hal. B. 5. *Plut. vit. Popl.*

Whilſt the people were employed in loading carriages with the effects of the exiles, and in ſelling what could not be carried off, the Ambaſſadors found means to draw ſome of the neareſt relations of the Conſuls into a plot againſt them. Theſe were three young Noblemen of the *Aquilian* family (the ſons of *Collatinus*'s ſiſter) and two of the *Vitellii* (whoſe ſiſter *Brutus* had married) and theſe latter engaged *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the two ſons of *Brutus*, in the ſame conſpiracy. They all bound themſelves by ſolemn oaths, with the dreadful ceremony of drinking the blood of a murthered man, and touching his entrails. The houſe of the *Aquilii* was their place of meeting, and there they all wrote letters to the baniſhed King, which they put into the hands of the Ambaſſadors. But notwithſtanding a great deal of precaution uſed by the conſpirators, to keep the ſecret from their ſervants, *Vindicius* a ſlave, and then butler to the *Aquilii*, ſuſpecting his maſter's deſigns, ſtaid at the door of the apartment, and through a crevice ſaw and heard all that paſſed. He durſt not diſcloſe the ſecret to either of the Conſuls, on account of their near relation to the conſpirators: he went ſtrait to *Valerius*, and unburdened his mind to him. *Valerius* took the ſlave under his protection, and then his chief care was to ſeize the conſpirators letters; and this he effected by the help of his brother *M. Valerius*, and of his own friends, clients and domeſticks; and he had likewiſe the good fortune to take all the heads of the conſpiracy priſoners.

Early the next morning the people being ſummoned to the *Comitium*, where *Brutus* and his Collegue ſat on the tribunal of juſtice, the priſoners were brought forth to trial. *Brutus* began it with the examination of his two ſons. *Vindicius* appeared againſt them, and the letters they had written to the *Tarquins* were read. The proof being clear, the priſoners ſtood quite ſilent, and pleaded only by their tears. *Titus* and *Tiberius*, ſaid the ſtern *Brutus*, *What have you to offer in your defence?* They were thrice called upon to plead, but tears were ſtill their only anſwer. The major part of the Senators being touched with compaſſion, a low murmur was heard among them, *baniſh them*, *baniſh them*. *Collatinus* wept, and even *Valerius* ſeemed to relent, becauſe he ſaid nothing. All the people ſtood trembling in expectation of the ſentence, *Brutus* at length roſe up, and

[a] *Dionyſius* muſt here mean, that there were 16 *Curiæ* againſt 14, becauſe he tells us, that the affair was decided by 30 *Curiæ*.

with

with a ſteady voice, not interrupted by a ſigh, ſaid, *Lictors, I deliver them over to you, the reſt is your part.* At theſe words the whole aſſembly ſhrieked; the univerſal conſternation was inexpreſſible; diſtreſs ſhewed itſelf in every face, and the mournful looks of the people pleaded for pity: but neither theſe interceſſions, nor the bitter lamentations of the young men, who called upon their father by the moſt endearing names, could ſoften the inflexible judge. The *Lictors* ſeized upon the criminals, beat them with rods, and then ſtruck off their heads; *Brutus* all the time gazing on the cruel ſpectacle with a ſteady look, and a compoſed countenance. This execution over, he immediately [a] quitted the tribunal, and left his collegue to do the reſt. *Collatinus* being inclined to ſpare his nephews the *Aquilii*, allowed the priſoners a day to clear themſelves, and ordered their ſlave *Vindicius* (the only evidence againſt them) to be delivered up to his maſters. But this rouzed the indignation of the people, as well as the zeal of *Valerius*, who had promiſed with an oath to protect the witneſs. In vain did the *Lictors* attempt to force *Vindicius* from him, and the people called out for *Brutus* to return to the *Comitia*. When *Brutus* came, he told the people that what he had done was by virtue of his paternal authority over his children: but that for the reſt of the delinquents, it belonged to them to determine their fate. Accordingly, by a decree of the *Curiæ*, the conſpirators all ſuffered as rebels, except the Ambaſſadors, who were ſpared out of reſpect to the law of nations. As for *Vindicius*, the people judged him worthy of that liberty [b] he had ſecured to the *Romans*; and beſide

A. M. 3494. Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. 1ſt Conſulſhip. *Plutarch.*

[a] *Dion. Hal.*'s account of this matter differs from that of *Plutarch*. The former pretends, that *Brutus*, immediately after the execution of his children, had the *Aquilii* brought before him; that after their letters were read aloud, he gave 'em leave to make their defence; and that they, having nothing to ſay for themſelves, had recourſe to tears and entreaties; but to no purpoſe. For *Brutus*, ſtill inflexible, ordered the *Lictors* to ſeize them, and carry them to execution. *Collatinus* ſuſpended it, and made the warmeſt remonſtrances to his collegue, in favour of the conſpirators: but being piqued when he found he could make no impreſſion upon him, he had recourſe to his authority, and pardoned the criminals. This ſo exaſperated *Brutus*, that he committed the *Aquilii* to priſon, in ſpight of the oppoſition of his collegue, and accuſed him before the people, of treaſon and perfidiouſneſs. *Collatinus* ſeeing with grief, that the people were unanimouſly againſt him, and againſt thoſe whoſe defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exerciſe the office of a Conſul with dignity; and therefore choſe to abdicate the magiſtracy, at the perſuaſion of *Spurius Lucretius*, his father-in-law. *Collatinus* was ſucceeded by *Publius Valerius*. *Brutus* immediately, with the concurrence of his new collegue, put all thoſe to death, who had been concerned in the conſpiracy.

[b] It is commonly thought, and is probable enough, this *Latin* phraſe, *Vindicare in libertatem*, had its riſe from the name of *Vindicius*, who was made free by the *Conſul*. But there are others, who will have it to be derived from the word *Vindicta*, which ſignifies a *Wand*, with which the *Prætor*, whoſe office it was afterwards to grant freedoms, ſtruck the ſlave, whoſe maſter had a mind to ſet him at liberty. In order to reconcile theſe opinions, it may be ſaid, that the *Wand* it ſelf took its name from *Vindicius*. In the ceremony of granting freedoms publickly, (for there were private ones, which were granted either by will, or in the preſence of witneſſes) the maſter preſented his ſlave to the *Prætor*, firſt holding him by the hand, and afterwards quitting his hold; whence came the *Latin* word *Manumiſſio*. Then, after he had given him a little blow

Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. 1ſt Conſulſhip.

beſide the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, gave him [c] 25000 *As's* of braſs, (about 80 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.*)

Livy, B. 2. *Plutarch.* *D. Hal.* B. 5.

And now, tho' the people had formerly decreed that the eſtates of the *Tarquins* ſhould be reſtored to them, the Senate made no ſcruple to deſtroy their palace, and diſtribute their lands among indigent citizens; the publick only retaining a piece of ground near the *Campus Martius*, which the King had uſurped, and added to his demeſnes. This piece of ground was conſecrated to *Mars*, and became afterwards a common field where the *Roman* youth exerciſed themſelves in running and wreſtling. But after this conſecration, the *Romans* ſcrupled to houſe the corn which they found there ready reaped to their hands; ſo that, with ſome trees, it was thrown into the *Tyber*, and the water being low, it ſtopped in the middle of the river, and began to form that fine iſland which was called *Inſula ſacra*, after many temples had been built on it.

§. IV. THE ſeverity with which *Brutus* had treated his two ſons, greatly increaſed his authority, inſomuch, that there was not a ſingle *Roman* who durſt for the future entertain a thought of bringing back *Tarquin*. *Collatinus* on the contrary, by his weak conduct with regard to the conſpirators, had exaſperated the *Romans* againſt him; his very name of *Tarquinius* became an offence to them. *Brutus* obſerving this, and hating his collegue either on account of his relation to the *Tarquins*, or becauſe there was ſome reaſon to believe he ſecretly favoured them, or perhaps only becauſe he was of a character and temper different from his own, took advantage of the diſpoſition the people were in to get him depoſed. In a numerous aſſembly, he made a ſpeech to them to this effect: *If*, Romans, *when you choſe two Conſuls, you could at the ſame time have united their ſentiments and inclinations, there would have been no defect in the new government, and I ſhould have had nothing more to wiſh. But it unfortunately happens that there is as great a difference betwixt* Collatinus *and me, as between a hatred of tyranny, and a love of tyrants. His affection for his deteſtable family, makes him run all hazards to reſtore our oppreſſors; whilſt I am profuſe of my own blood to preſerve the liberty of my country. Have not all* Collatinus's *thoughts, and the whole ſtrength of his intereſt, been levelled at the deſtruction of that liberty, which his honour obliged him to defend? And you had hopes he would defend it; but his ſoliciting you to*

on the cheek, he preſented him to the Conſul or to the Prætor; who ſtriking him gently with his wand, pronounced theſe words: *Aio te liberum eſſe more Quiritium.* This ceremony being ended, the ſlave was regiſtered upon the roll of Freed-men. Then he was ſhaved, and put on the cap called *Pileus*, which was worn by the *Romans* upon certain days. In order to make the taking poſſeſſion of this kind of cap more ſolemn, it was performed in the temple of *Feronia*, the Goddeſs of the *Freed-men*. In one of theſe temples there was a ſtone ſeat, with this inſcription on it: *Benemeriti Servi ſedeant, ſurgant liberi:* and it is well known, that the *Pileus* was, among the antient *Romans*, the ſign and ſymbol of liberty. At the death of *Nero*, the people appeared in the ſtreets with this cap on their heads.

[c] *Livy* ſays only, that a ſum of money was given to *Vindicius*. It is here fixed at five and twenty thouſand *As's* of braſs; becauſe *Livy* himſelf, in B. 9. of his firſt *Decad*, has obſerved, that the reward appointed by law, for the ſlaves who ſhould diſcover conſpiracies, amounted to that ſum; as that for free-men did to a hundred thouſand.

reſtore the Tyrants their eſtates, and the impunity with which he was going to diſmiſs the conſpirators, have diſcovered his ſecret inclinations and deſigns. What! Collatinus, *have I refuſed to ſpare my own children, and ſhall I ſpare you? A man, whoſe body only is with us, and whoſe ſoul and affections are with our enemies? A perfidious man, who would preſerve the betrayers of his country, and would deſtroy me for being its zealous defender? No, far from ſhewing you any indulgence, I declare you from this moment depoſed from the magiſtracy; and I command you to retire to ſome other city. As for you,* Romans, *I ſhall without delay aſſemble you by* Centuries, *that you may confirm, if you think good, the ſentence I have pronounced. You are free to chuſe whether to have* Collatinus *or* Brutus *for your Conſul; but be aſſured of this, you cannot have both.* Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *C.* 508. 1ſt Conſulſhip.

Theſe words raiſed ſo great a commotion among the People, that they would ſcarce hear *Collatinus*'s defence: In vain did he reproach *Brutus* with betraying his friend, and defaming his Collegue; no attention was given to his invectives. At length, by vertue of his authority as Conſul, he forbad to hold the aſſembly which *Brutus* had appointed. But this prohibition incenſed the People yet more, and they cried out to have their votes inſtantly taken. *Collatinus* was juſt going to be depoſed with ignominy, and baniſhed by a publick decree, when his father-in-law, *Sp. Lucretius*, deſired permiſſion of the Conſuls to ſpeak to the Aſſembly, and obtained it. He is ſaid to have been the firſt private man that ever made a ſpeech in the *Comitia*. His age, and the remembrance of *Lucretia* his daughter, gained him attention; and he addreſſed himſelf firſt to his ſon-in-law. *'Tis in vain,* Collatinus, *to pretend, againſt the will of the People, to continue in the Conſulſhip. You received it at firſt from them; and to them you ought now to reſign it. As to the crimes, of which you are accuſed, you will more eaſily clear yourſelf by your future conduct, than by all your proteſtations, or by any thing you can ſay. If the People judge it neceſſary for their tranquillity that you ſhould retire, do you ſhew your regard and deference for the publick by acquieſcing in the publick ſentiment. You ſhould conſider that though with reſpect to all other crimes, it is only the actual commiſſion of them that is cognizable by the juſtice of a nation; yet when treaſon againſt the State is but apprehended, and this upon never ſo ill grounds, it is held more prudent to guard againſt it, as an evil really impending, than to run the leaſt hazard of deſtruction by too much ſecurity.*

Then turning to *Brutus*, he preſſed him not to inſiſt on the diſgraceful baniſhment of a Collegue, who had ſo happily joined with him in meaſures which had procured the common liberty; and he added, that if *Collatinus* would of his own accord diveſt himſelf of the Conſulſhip, and retire from *Rome*, not only time ought to be allowed him to remove his effects, but a preſent made him out of the publick treaſury, a mark of the People's good will, which might be a conſolation to him under his misfortune.

This advice of *Lucretius* being received by the Aſſembly with applauſe, *Collatinus* became ſenſible that he had no way left but to conform himſelf to it; therefore when he had invoked the Gods to be witneſſes of his in-

Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J.C.* 508. 1st Consulship.

nocence, and of the ingratitude of his relations and friends, he resigned the *Consulship*. *Brutus* highly commended his wisdom, and to remove all suspicion of his having any personal enmity to him, procured him a present of [a] twenty talents out of the publick treasury, to which he added five talents of his own. The place to which *Collatinus* chose to retire was *Lavinium*; where he lived in peace, and at last died of old age.

Brutus, that he might not give the *Romans* any cause to suspect that he intended to govern singly, and under the name of Consul aimed at the authority of a King, immediately assembled the Centuries in the *Campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the election of a new Consul, to fill the place of *Collatinus*. The Suffrages of the People were in favour of *Publius Valerius*, a descendant of that noble *Sabine* named *Valerius Volesus*, to whom *Plutarch* (as was before * observed) gives the honour of negotiating the Peace between the *Sabines* and *Romans*, in *Romulus*'s time. *Publius* had got himself a great name by the means of his wealth and his eloquence; which latter he had, during *Tarquin*'s reign, generously employ'd in the defence of justice, as he had done his riches in the relief of the poor, to whom he was ever easy of access. He was also remarkable for his frugality and temperance; and in all the parts of his conduct from his early years he discovered such a surprizing wisdom, that he seemed to have been born a Philosopher. The two Consuls, equally eminent for their love of the publick good, began their joint administration, by passing a law which granted a general Amnesty to all those who had followed the fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they returned to the city within twenty days; and this brought back a great number of excellent subjects to *Rome*.

Plutarch. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

* p. 39.

Livy, B. 2.

§. V. HOWEVER, nothing could so far discourage the dethroned King, but that he still hoped to recover the Kingdom by force. He went about soliciting the neighbouring Nations, and engaged the *Veientes* and *Tarquinienses* to unite their forces in the support of his cause. The first were moved to it by the hopes of regaining what they had lost in their former wars with *Rome*, having now at their head a *Roman* General of known courage and ability: And as for the *Tarquinienses*, the considerations of name and blood, and the glory of having a man of their own Nation King of *Rome* were to them sufficient inducements. These allies took the field and entered the *Roman* territory. The Consuls without delay marched out their troops to meet them; *Brutus* commanded the horse, and *Valerius* the foot drawn up in a square battalion. The two armies being in sight of each other, *Brutus* advanced with his cavalry at the same time that *Aruns*, one of *Tarquin*'s sons, was coming forward at the head of the enemy's horse, the King himself following with the legions. *Aruns* no sooner discovered *Brutus* attended by the *Lictors*, but all inflamed with rage, he cried out, *There he is, that enemy who has banished*

D. Hal. Liv. Val. Max. Plut.

[a] According to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, who reckons but 60 *Minæ* to a *Talent*, the 20 *Talents* amount to 3875 l. Sterling.

us from our native country! See how gallantly he rides adorned with all the enſigns of my father's dignity! Now aid me, ye Gods, the avengers of injured Kings! This ſaid, he inſtantly ſet ſpurs to his horſe making directly at the Conſul, who perceiving his deſign made no leſs ſpeed to meet him. Blindly following the dictates of hatred and paſſion, and regardleſs of ſelf-preſervation, they ruſhed on to the encounter, and with their lances ran each other through the body. They both fell dead from their horſes; and the death of theſe Generals was the prelude to the battle. Never was the ſucceſs of an engagement more dubious; for when the night had put an end to it, it was not known in either camp which ſide had gained the victory, or which had loſt the greater number of men. A report was ſpread, that a voice had been heard out of the wood *Arſia*, declaring the *Romans* conquerors; a ſtratagem probably of *Valerius*. Be that as it will, it is certain the *Romans* had more conſtancy and reſolution than their enemies, who left their camp in confuſion, diſbanded, and returned into their own country; upon which *Valerius*, remaining maſter of the field of battle, ordered the ſlain to be numbered, and it was found that the *Hetrurians* had loſt 11300 men, and the *Romans* but one man ſhort of that number. Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. 1ſt Conſulſhip.

So ſmall an advantage did not comfort *Rome* for the loſs of *Brutus*; a hero who had reſtored liberty to his country, cemented it with the blood of his children, and died in defending it againſt the tyrant. The firſt funeral honours were pay'd him in the camp; but the next day after *Valerius*'s triumph, his corpſe was brought into the *Forum* in a magnificent litter, and then *Valerius* gave *Rome* the firſt example of thoſe funeral orations, which were ever after made in praiſe of great men. The Ladies diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, and to ſhew their reſpect for the avenger of the ſex's honour, mourned for him a whole year, as if they had loſt a common father. *Livy*, B. 2.

§. VI. AS *Valerius* for ſome reaſons deferr'd convening the Centuries for the election of a new Conſul, this delay began to raiſe a diſtruſt, as if it were owing to ambitious deſigns, a jealouſy which ſeemed to be in ſome meaſure authoriſed by his then building a fine houſe on a ſteep part of the hill *Palatinus*, which overlook'd the *Forum*. The people conſidered it as a citadel, whence the new Monarch might command the city. But when *Valerius* was informed of their uneaſineſs, he ordered ſome workmen to go the very next night and pull down the fabrick to the ground; and calling the people together as ſoon as it was day, he expoſtulated with them about their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and bid them go ſee the ruins of his houſe: He then told them he would fix his habitation in the valley, that from the top of the hill, where he had intended to dwell, they might cruſh him with ſtones, if he was ſtill the object of their jealouſy. This ſaid, he ordered the *Comitia* to aſſemble for the election of a new Conſul, in which he left them entirely free; and they choſe *Lucretius*, the father of the unfortunate *Lucretia*. The people, as they came out of the *Comitia*, being aſhamed of having ſuſpected *Valerius*, complimented *Livy*, B. 2. *Plut.* *D. Hal.* B. 5.

V. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. mented him with a large ground-plot, in an agreeable place, and there they built him a houſe.

1ſt Conſulſhip. The new Conſul died in a few days after his promotion, ſo that *Valerius* was once more ſole Governor. And now the ſenſible proofs which, in the interval between the death of *Lucretius* and the election of another Collegue, he gave the People of his zeal for their intereſt, gained him the ſurname of *Poplicola*, or Popular; and he was called by no other ever after. He ordered the Axes, which were ſo apt to ſtrike terror, to be taken out of the Faſces, which the Lictors were alſo commanded to lower in the aſſemblies of the People, by way of homage to their ſovereignty. And this was a kind of introduction to a law which was paſſed while he was ſole Conſul, whereby an accuſed perſon was allowed to appeal to the People from the judgment of the magiſtrates. Another law was made, exempting artificers, widows, and old men (who had no children to relieve them) from paying tribute. A third law, tho' it preſcribed an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Conſuls, yet limited the penalty for diſobedience to the value of five oxen and two rams (probably pieces of money with thoſe figures ſtampt upon them). And to remove all manner of ſuſpicion of his having the leaſt thoughts of tyranny, *Poplicola* publiſhed a fourth decree, making it lawful to kill, without waiting for a legal condemnation, any perſon who ſhould aim at being maſter of the liberty of his fellow-citizens, and ſo likewiſe in the caſe of uſurping a publick office without the People's conſent: The aſſaſſin was to be declared innocent, provided he brought proof of the ill deſigns of him he had ſlain. It was from the ſame principle of moderation, that he would not take upon him the keeping of the publick money raiſed to defray the expences of war; it was depoſited in the temple of *Saturn* [a], and the People, by his advice, elected two Senators, afterwards called *Quæſtors*, who were to have the care of the publick

[a] The publick treaſury was called *Ærarium*; becauſe at firſt nothing was lodged in it but *unſtamp'd braſs*, which went by weight, and which was called *Æs rude*. Afterwards ſtamped pieces of braſs were lodged there, which were called *Æs grave*, or *Æs leve*, according to the different weight of the ſeveral coins. This treaſure had been kept at the houſes of the Kings and Conſuls, till the time of *Poplicola*, who removed it to the temple of *Saturn*, which was ſituated at the foot of the hill *Saturnius*, or the *Capitol*. In after-times, the publick treaſury was divided into two branches; the one was called, *The Common Treaſury*, or *Ærarium vulgare*; the other was called, *The Sacred Treaſury*, or *Ærarium Sanctius*; in which the *Aurum viceſimarium* was reſerved, for the extraordinary occaſions of the commonwealth. But of this in its proper place.

According to *Plutarch*, there were no Quæſtors in *Rome*, till *Poplicola*'s time; and this office was originally a branch of that of the Conſuls. But *Ulpian* pretends, on the contrary, and quotes ſeveral authors for it, that there were Quæſtors even in *Tullius Hoſtilius*'s time. It is therefore to be obſerved, that the name of Quæſtors, among the *Romans*, had two different ſignifications. Sometimes it ſignified commiſſioners, by whom capital crimes were cognizable, and ſometimes Magiſtrates who were put in commiſſion for getting in the publick money. *Ulpian* might ſpeak of the former ſort of Quæſtors, as being in the time of the Kings, and *Plutarch* of the other ſort, which was introduced by *Poplicola* in the time of the commonwealth. Theſe latter Quæſtors were choſen by the People aſſembled in *Comitia*.

treaſure.

treaſure. The firſt perſons choſen to this office were *P. Veturius* and *M. Minucius.* Y. of *R.* 244. Bef. *J. C.* 508. 1ſt Conſulſhip.

When *Poplicola* had by theſe regulations done all he deſired towards diminiſhing the Conſular authority, he aſſembled the People in the *Campus Martius*, for the election of a new Conſul, to be his Collegue; and the choice fell upon *Horatius Pulvillus.*

CHAP. II.

§. I. Poplicola *is choſen Conſul a ſecond time, and* T. Lucretius *appointed to be his Collegue.* Porſena, *King of* Cluſium *in* Hetruria, *ſends a threatning embaſſy to* Rome. *The* Romans *chuſe* Poplicola *Conſul a third time, and give him* Horatius Pulvillus *for a Collegue.* §. II. Porſena *in conjunction with ſome of the* Latine *ſtates, marches an army into the neighbourhood of* Rome. *The remarkable bravery of* Horatius Cocles. §. III. *The deſperate enterpriſe, and wonderful reſolution of* Mucius Scævola. Porſena *intimidated by the courage of the* Romans, *deſiſts from his demand of having the baniſhed King reſtored. He makes a truce with the* Romans, *who refer it to his judgment, whether they ſhall reſtore to* Tarquin *his paternal eſtate or not. The adventure of* Clælia *during the pleadings.* Porſena *renounces the cauſe of* Tarquin *entirely, and makes a peace with the* Romans. §. IV. *The temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus *is conſecrated.* Sp. Lartius *and* T. Herminius *choſen Conſuls. The* Romans *ſhew their gratitude to* Porſena.

IN a few months after the promotion of *Pulvillus* to the Conſulate, the firſt year of the Conſular power expired, and then the *Romans* thought fit, becauſe of the preſent critical ſituation of their affairs, to chuſe *Poplicola* again; and with him they joined *T. Lucretius*, the brother of the famous *Lucretia.* They began their government by reviving the old inſtitutions of King *Servius Tullius*, the *Cenſus* [a] and the *Luſtrum*, and they Y. of *R.* 245. Bef. *J. C.* 507. 2d Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

[a] The learned differ about the perſons whoſe names were given in upon each *Roman* Cenſus. Some will have it, that in this multitude, all the *Roman* citizens were comprehended, without excepting their wives, children, widows, orphans, or pupils. But is it credible, that the commonwealth, when *Rome* was become the capitol of the world, ſhould reckon but three hundred, four hundred, and never ſo much as five hundred thouſand citizens, in all the *Roman* territory, and in the whole extent of its municipal towns? For we don't find that the moſt numerous Cenſus ever exceeded five hundred thouſand, for above ſeven hundred years together. Others think that the number mentioned by the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, comprehended only the heads of families. But this opinion can't be ſupported. For, not to ſay that it cannot be reconciled with the account the hiſtorians give us, we ſhall never be perſuaded, that under the Conſulſhip of *Valerius*, for inſtance, the *Roman* ſtate, which was confined within narrow limits, and extended little farther than the walls of *Rome*, ſhould be able to reckon up a hundred and thirty thouſand heads of families; and conſequently, ſeveral millions of ſouls, including children, ſlaves, widows, orphans, pupils, ſtrangers, &c. whoſe names were not taken down in the Cenſus. It is therefore

Y. of *R.* 245. Bef. *J. C.* 507. 2d Conſulſhip. they found the number of *Roman* citizens at or paſt the age of puberty to be 130000. And as the *Romans* were apprehenſive of a war moſtly from the *Latine* quarter, the Conſuls at a great expence fortify'd *Sinquirinum*, or *Sigliuria*, an important poſt on that ſide. However the firſt of the neighbouring powers that appeared after the death of *Brutus* in favour of the *Tarquins*, was *Porſena*, a potent Prince, King of *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*. He ſent a haughty and threatening embaſſy to the *Romans*, requiring them either to recal the *Tarquins*, or to give them back their eſtates. The firſt was abſolutely refuſed, and the ſecond was ſaid to be impracticable, a part of thoſe eſtates having been conſecrated to *Mars*, and the reſt divided among indigent people, from whom they could not be recovered.

Livy, B. 2. *Plut. D. Hal.*

Y. of *R.* 246. Bef. *J. C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip. While the *Romans* were employ'd in preparations for a brave defence, the time came for electing new Conſuls, and then *Poplicola* was choſen a third time, and with him *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been Conſul for a few months.

§. II. *PORSENA*, attended by his ſon *Aruns* and the exiles, marched towards *Rome* with a formidable army, and was joined by a conſiderable body of *Latines*, under the command of *Mamilius*, *Tarquin the Proud*'s ſon-in-law. The Conſuls upon their approach made the peaſants carry their effects into ſtrong holds, and they endeavoured to ſecure the hill *Janiculum* which overlooked *Rome*, and was its only fortification on that ſide the *Tyber*. And to keep the populace in temper and ſpirit, the Senate made ſeveral agreeable regulations with reſpect to taxes and proviſions, and took great care to provide for their ſubſiſtence during the war; they ſent to ſeveral parts of *Campania* and even to *Cumæ* to fetch corn, which was afterwards ſold to the common People at low rates, leſt the want of bread ſhould tempt them to purchaſe it with the common liberty, and open the gates of *Rome* to *Tarquin*. Nay the Senators at the ſame time that they taxed themſelves higher than any others, would lay no impoſt on the common people during the war; following this generous and equitable maxim, "That the lower ſort paid tribute enough to the "Commonwealth by raiſing children who would in time be able to de-"fend it." In a word, the *Romans* were all ſenſible of the difference of

therefore more reaſonable to conclude, with *Fabius Pictor*, as quoted by *Livy*, that none but thoſe who were able to bear arms, were included in this reckoning; *i. e.* thoſe only who were above ſeventeen years of age, and under forty-ſix. Thus we are to underſtand *Dion. Hal.* when, ſpeaking of this fifth *Roman* Cenſus, he ſays, that the number of thoſe who were arrived to the age of puberty, ἐν ἥβῃ, amounted to an hundred and thirty thouſand men. He ſpeaks in much the ſame manner, whenever he mentions the Cenſus, always excepting the women, children, orphans, handycraftſmen, ſlaves, and people of mean trades, and low condition of life, who in earlier times of the Republick were excluded from the *Roman* militia; as we are informed by credible authors. And in ſhort, if we do but conſider, that at the end of *Romulus*'s reign the *Roman* army conſiſted of forty-ſix thouſand foot, and very near a thouſand horſe, it will not appear at all ſurprizing, that *Rome*, which was now become more powerful, and better peopled, ſhould be able to raiſe an hundred and thirty thouſand men; eſpecially ſince the inhabitants of *Alba* and the other conquered cities had removed thither.

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the preſent government from the former, and all equally ſollicitous to avoid ſervitude; ſo that concord reigned in *Rome* even in the time of a famine with which it was grievouſly afflicted before the end of this war. Y. of *R.* 246. Bef. *J.C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip.

Porſena ſoon diſplay'd his banners along the *Tyber*. His firſt attack was upon the fort of the *Janiculum*, and he drove the *Romans* out of it. Upon this, the Conſuls made all their troops paſs the river, and drew them up in order of battle to defend the bridge: and *Porſena* advanced to engage them. The victory was for a long time doubtful; but *M. Valerius* (*Poplicola*'s brother) and *T. Lucretius* who were at the head of the left wing, being both unfortunately wounded, and carried out of the field, a general terror ſeized the *Roman* army. The bridge *Sublicius* was in a moment covered with fugitives, who ſtrove to gain the city. In vain did *Horatius Cocles*, a brave *Roman*, endeavour to rally the terrified legions: However, he reſolved to be the laſt to fly. *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius* (who had commanded the right wing) joined him, and when the *Romans* had all got over the bridge, theſe three heroes, to hinder the enemy from purſuing the fugitives, poſted themſelves in the narrow paſs which led to it, and *Horatius* called out to the *Romans* to break it down. When the demolition of the bridge was almoſt compleated, *Horatius* intreated his companions to leave him, and croſs the river on a few planks which remained. Then for a while he ſuſtained alone the attack of the enemy. The heaps of dead bodies which had fallen by the hands of the three heroes formed a kind of rampart for him, which defended him from being aſſaulted with the ſword, and he ſhewed a ſurprizing dexterity in ſhielding himſelf from the ſtones and darts which were thrown at him. At length being wounded in the thigh, and the ſignal being given that the bridge was quite demoliſhed, he leapt into the river, and ſwam acroſs it through a ſhower of darts. Thus *Cocles* ſaved the Republick from ruin; and the *Romans* being ſenſible of it, erected a ſtatue of braſs to him in the temple of *Vulcan*. They gave him likewiſe as much land as he could encircle with a plough in one day. And tho' there was a great ſcarcity in *Rome*, yet the inhabitants, to the number of 300000, aſſeſſed themſelves to make him a preſent of as much proviſions as each of them ſpent in a day. But notwithſtanding all this, becauſe he had but one eye, and continued lame the remaining part of his life, theſe defects prevented his ever being elected *Conſul*.

Though the city was not intirely inveſted, but had ſeveral avenues open, it was very difficult to find proviſions for ſo great a number of inhabitants, as could hardly ſubſiſt there in time of peace, and a famine began to be ſeverely felt. *Porſena* having notice of it, ſent the *Romans* word, that if they would receive their old maſters, he would furniſh them with proviſions; but they returned him this anſwer, *that hunger was a leſs evil than ſlavery and oppreſſion.*

§. III. NEVERTHELESS *Rome* was almoſt wearied out with this long ſiege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman* of noble birth, formed a deſign for the relief of his country. He deſired permiſſion of the *Livy*, B. 2. *Plutarch.* *D. Hal.* B. 5.

Conſuls

V. of R. 246. Bef. *J. C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip.

Conſuls and Senate to croſs the *Tyber* and go into the enemy's camp, where he meant to do ſome great exploit, at a great hazard; and he begged, as his only recompence, that in caſe he fell in the dangerous attempt to ſerve his country, his zeal might not be buried in oblivion, but proclaimed after his death. The Conſuls and Senate having encouraged him to undertake any thing in the preſent exigence, he dreſſed himſelf in an *Hetrurian* habit, and with a ponyard hid under his cloaths, left the city. As he ſpoke the language of the *Hetrurians* perfectly well, he eaſily got into their camp, and made his way quite to the King's tent. It happened to be the day on which the troops were reviewed and paid. *Porſena*'s ſecretary, magnificently dreſſed, was ſitting on the ſame tribunal with the King, giving audience, and receiving petitions. *Mucius* miſtook him for the King himſelf, leaped upon the tribunal, and with one ſtroke of his ponyard laid him dead at the King's feet. He then attempted to eſcape, but was ſeized, and brought back to the preſence of *Porſena*. *Thou execrable villain*, ſaid the King, *who art thou, whence comeſt thou? Who are thy accomplices? Mucius*, with a haughty countenance that ſtruck more terror than it expreſſed fear, anſwered, *that his name was* Caius Mucius; *that he was a* Roman; *and that* Roman *bravery made him capable of attempting whatever man could do, and of ſuffering whatever man could endure. Porſena* filled with amazement at his anſwer, was yet more aſtoniſhed when he ſaw him with a ſteady countenance, and a look which teſtified his inward rage at having miſſed his aim, thruſt his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there let it broil, without ſhewing any ſigns of pain. The King's reſentment changed wholly into admiration; he granted him life and liberty, and even reſtored him the dagger with which he had deſigned to ſtab him; and becauſe *Mucius* having now loſt the uſe of his right hand, took it with his left, he had thence the ſurname of *Scævola*, i. e. left-handed.

The *Roman* was no leſs ſurprized at the King's generoſity than the King had been at his intrepid boldneſs: However, he had the preſence of mind to invent a ſtory for the ſervice of his country. He pretended to be moved by the King's goodneſs to diſcover to him a ſecret, which, he ſaid, no torments could have extorted from him: *That three hundred young* Romans, *all as reſolute as himſelf, and who were diſperſed in the* Hetrurian *camp, had bound themſelves by the moſt ſacred oaths, to attempt his life one after another, at the like hazard as he had done.* This diſcourſe ſtruck *Porſena* once more with terror, and having ordered *Mucius* to withdraw, he called a council to deliberate upon the beſt means to preſerve himſelf from the dangers with which he was threatened. His ſon *Aruns*, a great admirer of the *Roman* virtue, adviſed him to render all precautions needleſs, by concluding a peace with the *Romans*. The King readily liſtened to this propoſal, and accordingly ſent deputies to *Rome*, who had orders not to mention the recalling of the *Tarquins*, but only to inſiſt on a reſtitution of their eſtates, or an equivalent; and as to what concerned the *Hetrurian* nation, to require the *Romans* to reinſtate the *Veientes* in the poſſeſſion of ſeven villages taken from them in former wars. *Poplicola*,

D. Hal. B. 5.

zealous to have the people relieved in their miſery, prevailed with the Senate to comply with theſe conditions: but the people themſelves refuſed to conſent to the firſt article, till *Porſena* had heard their cauſe pleaded againſt the *Tarquins*; and to his arbitration they left it. As to the ſecond, they readily agreed to it, and offered hoſtages to ſecure its performance. *V. of R.* 246. *Bef. J.C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip.

A truce being made, the *Romans* deputed ſome of the Senators to plead their cauſe before the *Hetrurian* King, and, at the ſame time, ſent ten young virgins, and as many boys, of the beſt families in *Rome*, for hoſtages: But then the *Tarquins* refuſed to admit *Porſena* for a judge between them and the *Romans*. The King however reſolved to inform himſelf in the affair, and made his ſon *Aruns* his aſſociate for the hearing and deciding it. The *Roman* deputies had ſcarce begun to open the cauſe, when the proceeding was interrupted by news brought, that the young women, given as hoſtages, had ventured to ſwim croſs the *Tyber*, and were returned to *Rome*. They had gone to bathe in the river, and the famous *Clælia*, who was one of them, happening to turn her eyes towards her native city, took a longing to go back to it. Away ſhe ſwims, the reſt follow her, and they all get ſafe to the oppoſite ſhore *. When the truth of the matter was known, it ſerved only to increaſe the eſteem which *Porſena* and *Aruns* had for the *Roman* bravery. But in the mean time *Poplicola* was very uneaſy at the return of the young women, among whom was his own daughter *Valeria*. He diſpatched a deputation to the *Hetrurian* camp, to excuſe the folly of the girls, and with a promiſe to ſend them back. *Mamilius* and the *Tarquins* having notice of this, prepared an ambuſh to ſurprize them on the road; and when the *Roman* maids under the guard of a few horſemen were almoſt at the gates of *Porſena*'s camp, they appeared on a ſudden with a conſiderable body of horſe and fell with fury upon the weak convoy. *Poplicola* had by good fortune put himſelf at the head of the *Roman* troop; he ſuſtained the attack of the enemy with incredible valour, while his daughter *Valeria*, exceedingly terrified, rode full ſpeed to the *Hetrurian* camp, and gave notice of the danger her father was in; and then *Aruns*, with a great body of cavalry, flying to his relief, the aſſailants were ſoon routed. *Plut. Vit. Popl.* *D. Hal.* B. 5. *Plutarch.*

This attempt of the *Tarquins* greatly diſpleaſed *Porſena*, and gave him a ſtrong ſuſpicion of the badneſs of their cauſe. He ſummoned the chief officers of his army, and in their preſence heard the complaints of the *Romans*; who enlarged on all the crimes committed by the tyrants, from the aſſaſſination of King *Servius*, to the violence committed on the chaſte *Lucretia*. The *Hetrurians* were filled with horror, and *Porſena* renouncing all alliance with the *Tarquins* and *Mamilius* ordered them to leave his camp. He then commanded the ten young virgins to be brought before him, and enquired who was the firſt author of their enterprize. *Clælia*, with a fearleſs air, confeſſed that ſhe alone was guilty, and that ſhe had emboldened the reſt by her advice. The King, as much ſurprized with

* *Livy* adds, that they paſſed the River through a ſhower of *Hetrurian* darts.

Y. of *R.* 246. Bef. *J. C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip. her ſteadineſs as with her courage, addreſſed himſelf to her in a gracious manner, extolled her adventure above the bravery of *Horatius*, and the intrepidity of *Mucius*, and made her a preſent of a fine horſe with ſumptuous furniture. After this, he concluded a peace with the *Romans*, reſtored them all their hoſtages, and told the Conſul, that he looked upon the *Roman* probity as the beſt guarantee of the treaty.

D. Hal. Livy. Plut.

And now *Porſena* being to return to *Cluſium*, ſignalized his departure from the neighbourhood of *Rome* by an act of liberality, which the noble manner of it made the more agreeable to the *Romans*. He ordered his *Hetrurians* to leave behind them their tents furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions, and other valuable effects, and to carry nothing away with them but their arms. *Rome* was hereby much relieved in her wants; and the *Romans*, on this occaſion, took up a cuſtom, whenever any effects belonging to the publick were to be ſold, of proclaiming them by a herald, in the following words, *Theſe are* Porſena's *goods*; the intention of which was to preſerve the memory of that Prince's kindneſs; and it alſo ſignify'd, that the effects expos'd to ſale would be ſold cheap. More than this, the Senate ſet up a ſtatue of the King near the *Comitium*, and ſent an embaſſy to him with a preſent of a throne, a ſcepter, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe.

§. IV. WHEN, after the departure of *Porſena*, the *Romans* had rewarded thoſe who had behaved themſelves well in the ſiege, and particularly *Mucius Scævola*, to whom they gave a large piece of ground, and erected a ſtatue, their next care was to ſhew their gratitude to the Gods, by ſome publick act of religion. The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, tho' finiſhed, had not yet been conſecrated. It naturally belonged to one of the Conſuls to perform the ceremony; and it muſt prove an immortal honour to whoſoever ſhould do it. Had the election of the conſecrator been in the people, *Poplicola* would undoubtedly have carried it: but it was the Senate's right to nominate the man; and they being grown envious, and jealous of *Poplicola*, ſent him upon a ſlight expedition, and in his abſence commiſſioned his Collegue to dedicate [a] the temple. We are told,

[a] The honour of dedicating a temple was a mark of diſtinction, which the great men of *Rome* earneſtly ſollicited. This office, in the earlieſt times of the Commonwealth, belonged to him of the two Conſuls, whom the Senate ſhould appoint. Afterwards the People aſſembled by Tribes named the Conſecrator. At length the right of nomination was again in the Senate, and this even in the time of the *Roman* Emperors. The dedication of a temple was a ſolemn feſtival, accompanied with extraordinary rejoicings. The altars were then adorned with flowers and garlands; ſacrifices were offered up, and hymns ſung to inſtruments. The Magiſtrate who was to preſide at the ceremony, gave the college of the *Pontifices* notice of the day of the dedication. He ſummoned the *Pontifex Maximus* to appear at the temple, and pronounce the words of conſecration: after whom, this magiſtrate repeated them, word for word, with his hand upon the ſide-poſt of the door of the temple. He was obliged to be extremely exact in doing it. A ſyllable forgotten, or ill-pronounced, gave the people an alarm, and they thought it an inauſpicious omen to the conſecrator. Therefore *Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, who had an impediment in his ſpeech, was ſeveral months learning to articulate the word *Opifera*. It was not lawful to appear at this ſolemnity in mourning, but only in white clothes.

The

told, that juſt as *Horatius* was beginning, at the door of it, to pronounce the form of conſecration, *Poplicola*'s brother *Marcus*, who had watched his opportunity, cried out, *Thy ſon, O Conſul, lies dead in the camp:* The thing was falſe, but he hoped by theſe words to avert him from his purpoſe: *Horatius*, without ſhewing the leaſt emotion, only anſwered, *Then caſt the body where you pleaſe, I admit not of mourning*, and finiſhed the conſecration. Thus *Poplicola*, in the cloſe of his third Conſulſhip, received a ſenſible mortification. And no neceſſities of ſtate obliging the people to continue him longer in office, *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, (who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war with *Porſena*) were choſen Conſuls for the next year. A. of *R.* 246. Bef. *J. C.* 506. 3d Conſulſhip.

The

The name of the magiſtrate who performed the ceremony of the conſecration, was uſually inſcribed on the frontiſpiece of the Temple. Thus far *F. Cat.* and *Rouillé.*

It may be proper here to take notice once for all of the general names by which the places ſet apart for divine worſhip are called in ancient authors.

Templum was a place which had not been only dedicated to ſome Deity, but withal formally conſecrated by the *Augurs.*

Ædes Sacræ, were ſuch as wanted that conſecration; which if they afterwards received, they changed their names to temples. *Vid. Agell.* L. 14. C. 7.

Delubrum, according to *Servius*, was a place that under one roof comprehended ſeveral Deities.

Ædicula is only a diminutive, and ſignifies no more than a little *Ædes.*

Sacellum may be derived the ſame way from *Ædes Sacra. Feſtus* tells us, 'tis a place ſacred to the Gods, without a roof. *Ken. Antiq.* Part 2. B. 1. Ch. 3.

'Twere endleſs (adds Mr. *Kennet*) to reckon up but the bare names of all the temples we meet with in authors. The moſt celebrated on all accounts were, the *Capitol* and the *Pantheon.*

The *Capitol*, or temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was the effect of a vow made by *Tarquinius Priſcus* in the *Sabine* war (*a*). But he had ſcarce laid the foundations before his death. His nephew, *Tarquin the Proud*, finiſhed it with the ſpoils taken from the neighbouring nations (*b*). But upon the expulſion of the Kings, the conſecration was performed by *Horatius* the Conſul (*c*). The ſtructure ſtood on a high ridge, taking in four acres of ground. The front was adorned with three rows of pillars, the other ſides with two (*d*). The aſcent from the ground was by an hundred ſteps (*e*). The prodigious gifts and ornaments, with which it was at ſeveral times endowed, almoſt exceed belief. *Suetonius* (*f*) tells us, that *Auguſtus* gave at one time two thouſand pound weight of gold: and in jewels and precious ſtones, to the value of five hundred ſeſterces. *Livy* and *Pliny* (*g*) ſurprize us with accounts of the brazen threſholds, the noble pillars that *Sylla* removed hither from *Athens* out of the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*; the gilded roof, the gilded ſhields, and thoſe of ſolid ſilver; the huge veſſels of ſilver, holding three meaſures; the golden chariot, *&c.* This temple was firſt conſumed by fire in the *Marian* war, and then rebuilt by *Sylla*; who dying before the dedication, left that honour to *Quintus Catulus.* This too was demoliſhed in the *Vitellian* ſedition. *Veſpaſian* undertook a third, which was burnt down about the time of his death. *Domitian* raiſed the laſt and moſt glorious of all; in which the very gilding amounted to twelve thouſand talents (*h*). On which account *Plutarch* (*i*) hath obſerved of that Emperor, that he was like *Midas*, deſirous of turning every thing into gold. There are very little remains of it at preſent; yet enough to make a *Chriſtian* church (*k*).

The *Pantheon* was built by *Marcus Agrippa*, ſon-in-law to *Auguſtus Cæſar*; and dedicated either to *Jupiter Ultor*, or to *Mars* and *Venus*, or more probably, to all the Gods in general, as the very name (*quaſi* Τῶν πάντων Θεῶν) implies. The ſtructure, according to *Fabricius* (*l*) is an hundred and forty foot

(*a*) *Liv.* lib. 1. (*b*) Ibid. (*c*) *Plutarch* in *Poplicol.* (*d*) *Dionyſ. Hal car.* (*e*) *Tacitus.* (*f*) In *Auguſt.* cap. 30. (*g*) *Liv.* lib. 10, 35, 38. *Pliny*, lib. 33. &c. (*h*) *Plutarch* in *Poliocla.* (*i*) Ibid. (*k*) *Fabric. Roma*, cap. 9. (*l*) Ibid.

Y. of *R.* 247. Bef. *J. C.* 505. 4th Conſulſhip.

The new Conſulſhip proved a year of peace; the only remarkable thing the *Romans* did was to ſhew that they were a grateful people. *Aruns* the ſon of *Porſena*, being an amiable youth, and formed for heroiſm upon the model of *Roman* virtue, his father was deſirous to have him gain ſome glory before he disbanded his troops, and therefore gave him the command of them, while he himſelf returned to *Cluſium*. The young Prince, eager to obtain a firſt victory, fell furiouſly upon the *Aricians* *, and routed

* In *Latium*.

high, and about the ſame breadth. But a later Author hath encreaſed the number of feet to an hundred fifty eight. The roof is curiouſly vaulted, void places being left here and there for the greater ſtrength. The rafters were pieces of braſs of forty foot in length. There are no windows in the whole edifice, only a round hole at the top of the roof, which ſerves very well for the admiſſion of the light. Diametrically under is cut a curious gutter to receive the rain. The walls on the inſide are either ſolid marble, or incruſted (*m*). The front on the outſide was covered with brazen plates gilt, the top with ſilver plates, which are now changed to lead (*n*). The gates were braſs, of extraordinary work and bigneſs (*o*).

The temple is ſtill ſtanding with little alteration, beſides the loſs of the old ornaments, being converted into a Chriſtian Church by Pope *Boniface* III. (or, as *Polydore Virgil* (*p*) hath it, by *Boniface* IV.) Dedicated to St. *Mary*, and all Saints, tho' the general name be St. *Mary de Rotonda* (*q*). The moſt remarkable difference is, that whereas heretofore they aſcended by twelve ſteps, they now go down as many to the entrance (*r*).

The ceremony of the conſecration of temples (a piece of ſuperſtition very well worth our notice) we can't better apprehend, than by the following account which *Tacitus* gives us of that ſolemnity, in reference to the *Capitol*, when repaired by *Veſpaſian:* Tho' perhaps the chief rights were celebrated upon the entire raiſing of the ſtructure, this being probably intended only for the hallowing the floor. *Undecimo Kalendas Julias* (*s*), &c.

'Upon the 21ſt. of *June*, being a very 'clear day, the whole plot of ground deſign-'ed for the temple, was bound about with 'fillets and garlands. Such of the ſoldiers 'as had lucky names, entered firſt with 'boughs in their hands, taken from thoſe 'trees which the Gods more eſpecially de-'lighted in. Next came the *Veſtal* Virgins, 'with boys and girls whoſe fathers and mo-'thers were living, and ſprinkled the place 'with brook-water, river-water, and ſpring-'water. Then *Helvidius Priſcus* the Præ-'tor, (*Plautus Elian*, one of the chief Prieſts, 'going before him) after he had performed 'the ſolemn ſacrifice of a ſwine, a ſheep, 'and a bullock, for the purgation of the 'floor, and laid the entrails upon a green 'turf, humbly beſought *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Mi-'nerva*, and the other Deities, Protectors of 'the empire, that they would be pleaſed to 'proſper their preſent undertaking, and ac-'compliſh, by their divine aſſiſtance, what 'human piety had thus begun. Having 'concluded his prayer, he put his hand to 'the fillets, to which the ropes, with a great 'ſtone faſtened in them, had been tied for 'this occaſion; when immediately the whole 'company of Prieſts, Senators, Knights, 'with the greateſt part of the common peo-'ple, laying hold together on the rope, with 'all expreſſions of joy, drew the ſtone into 'the trench deſigned for the foundation, 'throwing in wedges of gold, ſilver, and o-'ther metals, which had never endured the 'fire.

Some curious perſons have obſerved this ſimilitude between the ſhape of theſe old temples, and our modern churches: That they had one apartment more holy than the reſt, which they termed *Cella*, anſwering to our chancel or choir: That the portico's in the ſides were in all reſpects like to our iſles; and that our *Navis*, or body of the church, is an imitation of their *Baſilica* (*t*).

There are two other temples particularly worth our notice; not ſo much for the magnificence of the ſtructure, as for the cuſtoms

(*m*) *Marlian.* Topog. *Rom.* Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 6. (*n*) Ibid. & *Fabric. Rom.* cap. 9. (*o*) *Marlian.* ibid. (*p*) Lib. 6. cap. 8. (*q*) *Fabric.* cap. 9. (*r*) Ibid. (*s*) Hiſt. lib. 4. (*t*) *Polletus* Hiſt. *Rom. Flori* lib. 1. cap. 3.

that

routed them; but he was afterwards defeated by a ſtratagem of the *Cumans* *, their allies, commanded by more experienced officers. He loſt his life; and his ſcattered troops took refuge in the villages about *Rome*. The Conſuls invited them to the city, ſent carriages for the wounded, provided for their cure at the publick expence, and allotted a quarter in the city for thoſe of them who were willing to ſettle in it. It was afterwards called the *Tuſcan* or *Hetrurian Street*.

A. of R. 247. Bef. J. C. 505. 4th Conſulſhip.

* From *Campania*.

that depend upon them, and the remarkable uſe to which they were put. Theſe are the temples of *Saturn* and *Janus*.

The firſt was famous upon account of ſerving for the publick treaſury: The reaſon of which ſome fancy to have been, becauſe *Saturn* firſt taught the *Italians* to coin money; or, as *Plutarch* conjectures, becauſe in the golden age under *Saturn*, all perſons were honeſt and ſincere, and the names of *Fraud* and *Covetouſneſs* unknown in the world (*u*). But perhaps there might be no more in it, than that this temple was one of the ſtrongeſt places in the city, and ſo the fitteſt for that uſe. Here were preſerved all the publick regiſters and records, among which were the *Libri Elephantini*, or great ivory tables, containing a liſt of all the *Tribes*, and the ſchemes of the publick accounts.

The other was a ſquare piece of building (ſome ſay of entire braſs) ſo large as to contain a ſtatue of *Janus* five foot high; with brazen gates of each ſide, which uſed always to be kept open in war, and ſhut in time of peace (*w*).

But the *Romans* were ſo continually engaged in quarrels, that we find the laſt cuſtom but ſeldom put in practice.

Firſt, all the long reign of *Numa*. Secondly, *A. U. C.* 519. upon the concluſion of the firſt *Punic* war. Thirdly, by *Auguſtus*, *A. U. C.* 725. and twice more by the ſame Emperor, *A. U. C.* 729. And again about the time of our Saviour's birth. Then by *Nero*, *A. U. C.* 811. Afterwards by *Veſpaſian*, *A. U. C.* 824. And laſtly, by *Conſtantius*, when, upon *Magnentius*'s death, he was left ſole poſſeſſor of the Empire, *A. U. C.* 1105 (*x*).

Of this cuſtom *Virgil* gives us a noble deſcription.

Sunt geminæ belli portæ, ſic nomine dicunt,
Religione ſacræ, & ſævi formidine Martis:
Centum ærei claudunt vectes, æternaque ferri
Robora; nec cuſtos abſiſtit limine Janus.
Has ubi certa ſedet patribus ſententia pugnæ;
Ipſe, Quirinali trabeâ cinctuque Gabino
Inſignis, reſerat ſtridentia limina Conſul.
Ipſe vocat pugnas (y).

Sacred to *Mars* two ſtately gates appear,
Made awful by the dread of arms and war:
An hundred brazen bolts from impious pow'r,
And everlaſting bars the dome ſecure,
And watchful *Janus* guards his temple door.
Here, when the fathers have ordain'd to try
The chance of battle by their fix'd decree,
The Conſul, rich in his *Gabinian* gown,
And regal pall, leads the proceſſion on;
The ſounding hinges gravely turn about,
Rouſe th'impriſon'd God, and let the furies out.

The ſuperſtition of conſecrating groves and woods to the honour of the Deities, was a practice very uſual with the ancients: For, not to ſpeak of thoſe mentioned in the Holy Scripture, *Pliny* aſſures us, That *trees in old time ſerved for the temples of the Gods*. *Tacitus* reports this cuſtom of the old *Germans*; *Q. Curtius* of the *Indians*, and almoſt all writers of the old *Druids*. The *Romans* too were great admirers of this way of worſhip, and therefore had their *Luci* in moſt parts of the city, generally dedicated to ſome particular Deity.

The moſt probable reaſon that can be given for this practice, is taken from the common opinion, That fear was the main principle of devotion among the ignorant Heathens. And therefore ſuch darkſome and lonely ſeats, putting them into a ſudden horror and dread, made them fancy that there muſt neceſſarily ſomething of divinity inhabit there, which could produce in them ſuch an awe and reverence at their entrance.

(*u*) *Plutarch* in Problem. (*w*) Vid. *Marlian.* Topog. *Rom.* Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 8. (*x*) Vid. *Caſaubon.* Not. ad *Sueton. Auguſt.* cap. 22. (*y*) *Virg. Æn.* 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *The* Romans, *in the Conſulſhip of* M. Valerius, *(brother of* Poplicola,*)* *make war againſt the* Sabines, *and twice defeat them.* §. II. *The* Sabines *unite in a national body againſt* Rome, *where* Poplicola *is choſen Conſul a fourth time.* Appius Claudius *leaves the* Sabines *and comes over to the* Romans, *with all his followers and dependants. The* Sabines *are again defeated.* §. III. Poplicola *dies. The* Sabines *upon his death take courage, and renew the war, in the Conſulſhip of* P. Poſthumius *and* Menenius Agrippa, *who obtain a ſignal victory over them.* §. IV. *An* OVATION *only is decreed* Poſthumius, *but a* Triumph *to* Menenius. §. V. *The* Sabines *are* ſubdued *in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip of* Sp. Caſſius *and* Opiter Virginius.

Y. of *R.* 248. Bef *J. C.* 504. 5th Conſulſhip.

§. I. *ROME*, ſince the new modelling of her government, being, as we have already ſeen, utterly deſtitute of allies, and always apprehenſive leſt the ill-extinguiſhed fire of the royaliſt party ſhould break out into a new flame, the *Sabines*, who knew her weak condition, thought this a very favourable opportunity to put it out of the power of that imperious city to give law any more to her neighbours. They began the war by incurſions and depredations on the *Roman* lands. *M. Valerius* (brother of *Poplicola*) and *P. Poſthumius* were now Conſuls; and before they would have recourſe to arms, they firſt ſent envoys in an amicable way to demand ſatisfaction of the *Sabines* for the injuries the Republick had ſuffered; but receiving only a contemptuous anſwer, they both took the field. The *Roman* forces were divided into two bodies. *Poſthumius* with one of them encamped near *Rome*, to prevent a ſurprize from the *Tarquins*, who had many friends in the city. *Valerius* with the other poſted himſelf at *Tibur* upon the *Anio*, the enemy being encamped on the oppoſite ſhore. That part of the river, near which they lay, being by an accident found fordable, *Valerius* made all his troops paſs, and drew them up in battalia on the ſame ſide with the enemy. A general engagement quickly enſued. *Valerius*, aſſiſted by the counſels of his brother, gained ſome advantage with his right wing, but his left loſt ground; it was almoſt puſhed into the river, when *Poſthumius* having notice of the action, came ſeaſonably to the relief of the *Romans*, charged the enemy in flank, and recovered the day. The *Sabine* troops would have been entirely cut off or made priſoners, if the night coming on had not given them an opportunity to eſcape. They left their camp to be plundered, and in ſeparate parties returned home. This was the firſt conſiderable advantage *Rome* gained over her enemies after ſhe became a Republick, and it revived the old *Roman* confidence. The two Generals were decreed a triumph; but they both entered *Rome* in the ſame chariot. As a further reward for *Valerius*, (who is ſaid by *Plutarch* to have gained in this ſame year a ſecond victory over the *Sabines*, in

D. Hal.

Plutarch. *Plin.* B. 36. c. 15.

which he ſlew 13000 of them without the loſs of one *Roman*) the Republick built him a houſe, the door opening outwards to the ſtreet; whereas the doors of all other houſes opened inwards. The deſign of this diſtinction was not only to do him honour, but to put him in mind, as often as he went in or out, that he was indebted to the publick for his houſe. As for *Poſthumius*, he was honoured with a privilege, never before granted to any, which was, to have a burial place for himſelf and his family, within the walls of *Rome*. Thus did the firſt *Romans* keep up an emulation among their Generals, rather by diſtinguiſhing marks of honour, than ſubſtantial rewards. They did not heap wealth upon them, but taught them to prefer the glory which attends great actions, to exorbitant riches which often give umbrage, and are always odious in a Republick. Y. of *R.* 248. Bef. *J.C.* 504. 5th Conſulſhip. *Cic. de Leg.* B. 2.

§. II. THE *Sabines* the next year, having formed the deſign of uniting in a national body againſt *Rome*, and of engaging the *Latines* to aſſiſt them, the *Romans* thought it adviſeable to chuſe *Poplicola* Conſul a fourth time, and they once more joined *T. Lucretius* with him. But it happening at this time, that ſome women were delivered of monſtrous or imperfect births, the people gave way to ſuperſtition, and were unwilling to enter upon action, imagining by theſe preſages, that it muſt prove a fatal year. Upon this, *Poplicola* cauſed the *Sybil*'s books to be conſulted, and he interpreted the anſwers brought him in the ſenſe that beſt ſuited his purpoſe; he likewiſe ordered ſacrifices to be offered to *Pluto*, the feſtivals and ſports to be revived, and, in a word, by artful management removed the publick fears. Y. of *R.* 249. Bef. *J.C.* 503. 6th Conſulſhip. *Plut. Vit. Popl.*

In the mean while, the ſtorm continued to gather on the ſide of the *Sabines*. One of the *Tarquins* had by his intrigues put in motion the turbulent and factious members in their aſſemblies. *Poplicola* endeavoured therefore to bear down the intereſt of the baniſhed King, by negotiation; and he ſo far ſucceeded as to gain over ACTIUS CLAUSUS, (the moſt conſiderable man in *Sabinia*, and of the greateſt talents and merit) to oppoſe the deſign of renewing the war. He ſpoke in all the *Sabine* diets againſt it, and his oppoſition had its due weight. But thoſe who envied him for his wealth and power took occaſion from this proceeding to put a bad conſtruction on the good underſtanding he had with the *Romans*, and they ſpread by degrees ſuch a jealouſy and diſtruſt of him through the nation, that at length nothing leſs was talked of than citing him as a traitor to appear before their great Council. *Clauſus* was ſo enraged at this unjuſt treatment, that his firſt thought was to arm his friends and clients, and begin a civil war. Nothing could have been more advantageous to *Rome*: But *Poplicola* diſſuaded him from polluting his hands with the blood of his countrymen; he repreſented to him, that the moſt honourable and moſt effectual way to be revenged upon them, would be to leave them; that a man of his conſequence, abilities, and virtues, would ſoon be miſſed; and that *Rome* offered him a retreat and protection both for himſelf and followers. *Clauſus* was a while in ſuſpence, but at length choſe rather to act a proud, than an angry part, and removed to *Rome*. There he changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, *D. Hal.* B. 5. *Liv.* B. 2. *Plut. Vit. Pop.*

was

Y. of *R.* 249. Bef. *J.C.* 503. 6th Conſulſhip. was immediately declared a Patrician, and took his place in the Senate. Twenty five acres of land were given him in fee, and a quarter in the city aſſigned for his friends and followers, amounting to five thouſand families; to each of which were granted two acres of ground, with the rights of Citizenſhip. And theſe donations were made irrevocable by a decree of the Senate, confirm'd by the ſuffrages of the people.

D. Hal. B. 5. The *Sabines*, enraged at the retreat of *Clauſus* to *Rome*, deferred no longer to take the field. Their army was divided into two bodies, one of which encamped near *Fidenæ*, the other ſhut itſelf up in that town, which was but five miles from *Rome*. *Poplicola* and *Lucretius* made a like diviſion of the *Roman* troops, and encamped advantageouſly near each other. The *Romans* having no opportunity for ſtratagems, were eager to engage: But the *Sabines* durſt not come to a battle by day-light. Their General (who is ſaid to have been one of *Tarquin*'s ſons) formed a deſign to attack *Poplicola*'s camp in the dead of the night, while the troops of *Fidenæ*, light armed, were to march out, and fetching a large compaſs, come behind, and ſurprize *Lucretius*'s camp, as ſoon as he ſhould leave it to go to the ſuccour of his collegue; and then thoſe ſame troops were to charge *Lucretius* in the rear, or at leaſt terrify him by their ſhouts. *Poplicola* had timely intelligence of theſe deſigns, and took proper meaſures to make them fatal to the enemy. He gave *Lucretius* notice of the intended night-expedition; and it was agreed between them, to ſhew no marks of ſuſpecting the enemy's intention; in the beginning of the night all fires were put out in both the *Roman* camps. The *Sabines* before midnight marched ſilently towards *Poplicola*'s entrenchments, filled up the ditch with faſcines, and paſſed over to ſcale the rampart; but as faſt as they drew near to it, they were ſtabbed by the *Roman* troops, who, unſeen, were poſted on the outſide of it, in the ſpace between it and the ditch. They ſuffered a great ſlaughter, before the moon riſing diſcovered their error. Then a fright ſeized them, they all fled, and the *Romans* purſued them with loud ſhouts, which were heard in *Lucretius*'s camp. *Lucretius* immediately detached his horſe againſt thoſe of the enemy, who lay in ambuſh behind him, while he with his infantry haſtened to compleat the deſtruction of thoſe whom *Poplicola* had routed. In this bloody action 13000 *Sabines* were killed upon the ſpot, and 4200 made priſoners.

What now remained, was to reduce *Fidenæ*, which had been often ſubdued, and had as often rebelled. *Poplicola* undertook to ſcale the walls in perſon, on that ſide where the city was thought moſt impregnable. Having carried the place by aſſault, he put to death the heads of the revolt, but ſpared the reſt of the inhabitants, obliging them only to ſurrender to the garriſon, which he placed with them, a part of their lands for its ſupport. He then returned to *Rome*, and was honoured with a triumph.

Y. of *R.* 250. Bef. *J.C.* 502. 7th Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* *Livy.* *Plutarch.* §. III. *POPLICOLA* had ſcarce reſigned the Faſces into the hands of *P. Poſthumius*, (now choſen to the Conſulate a ſecond time) and *Menenius Agrippa*, but he was ſeized with a diſtemper, and died, as deſtitute of the goods of fortune, as he was full of glory. His chief care had been to

tranſmit

tranſmit his virtues to his children, and not to enrich them. Though he had been four times Conſul, and had enjoyed two triumphs, he left little to his poſterity beſides a noble model for their imitation: So that he was buried at the publick expence, not ſo much by way of diſtinction, as on account of his poverty. The *Romans* erected a tomb for him near the *Forum*, and gave his family a right of interment in the ſame place: But as the *Valerii* always affected popularity, they never made uſe of this privilege. The bodies of thoſe who died in *Rome* were firſt carried to that ſepulchre of *Poplicola*, but afterwards conveyed without the walls and there burnt, and the bones were depoſited in a tomb without the city. As *Poplicola* had been one of thoſe who ſtood up in defence of the chaſtity of the *Roman* Ladies, they went into a year's mourning for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*.

Y. of *R.* 250. Bef. *J. C.* 502. 7th Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

The death of *Poplicola* revived the courage of the *Sabines*; they took the field again that ſame year, and made ſo ſudden an incurſion upon the *Roman Territory*, which they pillaged and laid waſte, that one part of their army was advanced to the very gates of *Rome*, before the *Romans* had any notice of their approach. *Poſthumius* the Conſul ſallying out with a good number of men haſtily aſſembled, and chaſing thoſe advanced Troops of the enemy to a foreſt, where the reſt of the *Sabine* forces lay in ambuſh, was there ſurprized and defeated, loſing many of his *Romans*, and narrowly eſcaping himſelf. He took refuge with the remains of the rout on the top of a ſteep hill, where he paſſed the night, inveſted by the enemy. But the next day his collegue *Menenius* coming to his relief with the beſt part of the *Roman* youth, the *Sabines* retired. Nevertheleſs the advantage they had gained raiſed their confidence to ſuch a height, that they ſent a ſummons, requiring the *Romans* to receive the *Tarquins*, and ſubmit to be governed by their conquerors. They were anſwered, that *Rome* commanded the *Sabines* to lay down their arms and return to their duty; and that when they had made their ſubmiſſion, they ſhould come and aſk pardon for their irruptions into her territory, if they expected any indulgence, or had no mind to ſee the war ſpeedily carried into the heart of their country.

Theſe mutual bravadoes were followed by a ſerious war, in which both nations brought all their ſtrength into the field, and encamped near *Eretum* a *Sabine* city about ten miles from *Rome*. In the battle which enſued *Menenius* commanded the right wing, and *Poſthumius* the left. The latter to repair his honour threw himſelf, like a man in deſpair, among the thickeſt of the enemy, and did prodigious acts of valour; and his example rouzing *Menenius* to exert himſelf alſo in an extraordinary manner, the *Romans*, animated by two ſuch Leaders, obtained a complete victory.

§. IV. BUT notwithſtanding the equal bravery of the Conſuls on this occaſion, the Senate having deliberated on the reception to be given them at their return, thought it neceſſary to make a diſtinction in their rewards. *Poſthumius*'s gallant behaviour in the late action had not ſufficiently atoned

Y. of *R.* 250. Bef. *J. C.* 502. 7th Conſulſhip. for his miſcarriage in ſuffering himſelf to be ſurprized in the former one. They invented therefore a new kind of triumph, leſs honourable than that in uſe. The perſon rewarded with it was to enter *Rome* on foot, or at beſt on horſeback, attended only by the Senate. His crown was to be of myrtle, and his robe the *Prætexta*, or common habit of magiſtrates: and this imperfect triumph, called OVATIO [a], was decreed *Poſthumius*. The modeſt Conſul accepted of it, and entered *Rome* two days before his Collegue, who was honoured with a compleat triumph in all its magnificence and pomp.

Licinius apud *D. Hal. Plin.* B. 15. c. 29.

Y. of *R.* 251. Bef. *J. C.* 501. 8th Conſulſhip. §. V. *SPURIUS CASSIUS* and *Opiter Virginius*, the ſucceeding Conſuls, divided the *Roman* forces between them; and *Caſſius* was commiſſioned to give the *Sabines* the finiſhing blow. He defeated them in a pitched battle in the heart of their country, ſlew 10300, and took 4000 priſoners; after which they humbly ſued for peace, and were forced to purchaſe it with corn, money, and a part of their lands.

In the mean time *Virginius* marched with his army and ſurprized *Cameria*, a town of *Latium* which had revolted from the *Romans*. Having beat down the wall with his battering [b] rams, he took the place by aſſault, beheaded

[a] The Ovation ſome fancy to have derived its name from ſhouting *Evan!* or *Evoe!* to *Bacchus*; but the true original is *Ovis*, the ſheep, which was uſually offered in this proceſſion, as an *ox* in the triumph. The ſhow generally began at the *Albanian* mountain, whence the General, with his retinue, made his entry into the city: he went on foot, with many flutes, or pipes, ſounding in concert as he paſſed along, wearing a garland of myrtle as a token of peace, with an aſpect rather raiſing love and reſpect, than fear. *A. Gellius* informs us, that this honour was then conferr'd on the victor, when either the war had not been proclaimed in due method, or not undertaken againſt a lawful enemy, and on a juſt account; or when the enemy was but mean and inconſiderable *. But *Plutarch* has delivered his judgment in a different manner: he believes that heretofore the difference betwixt the *Ovation* and the *Triumph* was not taken from the greatneſs of the atchievments, but from the manner of performing them: for they who having fought a ſet battle, and ſlain a great number of the enemy, returned victors, led that martial and (as it were) cruel proceſſion of the triumph. But thoſe who without force, by benevolence and civil behaviour, had done the buſineſs, and prevented the ſhedding of human blood, to theſe commanders cuſtom gave the honour of this peaceable *Ovation*. For a pipe is the enſign or badge of peace, and myrtle the tree of *Venus*, who beyond any of the other Deities, has an extream averſion to violence and war †. *Ken. Antiq.* Part II. B. 4. c. 16.

[b] The *Battering Ram* was a great wooden beam, bound about with iron at the end, or armed with a head of iron, repreſenting that of a *Ram*. The ancients uſed it, to beat down the walls of a city. *Vitruvius* aſcribes the invention of the *Battering Ram* to the *Carthaginians*. They made uſe, ſays he, of this ſort of battery at the ſiege of *Cadiz*. At firſt, it was only a mere beam, or kind of lever, which the beſiegers drove againſt the walls, with repeated blows, by ſtrength of arm. *Pephaſmenos*, a carpenter of *Tyre*, taking the hint from the firſt trial which was made of this machine, fixed up a maſt of a ſhip, to which he hung croſs-ways by cables and iron chains, a huge piece of timber. This heavy, unwieldy maſs, poiſed and puſhed with violence, threw down the walls of the city beſieged. After this manner, as *Joſephus* tells us, *B.* 3. the *Romans* ſet their Ram againſt *Jeruſalem*. To guard the machine, and thoſe who worked it, from the attacks of the enemy, *Cetras* of *Chalcedon* was the firſt who made a lodgment in the ſhape of a penthouſe, or gallery, covered over with ſkins ſoaked in water, for fear

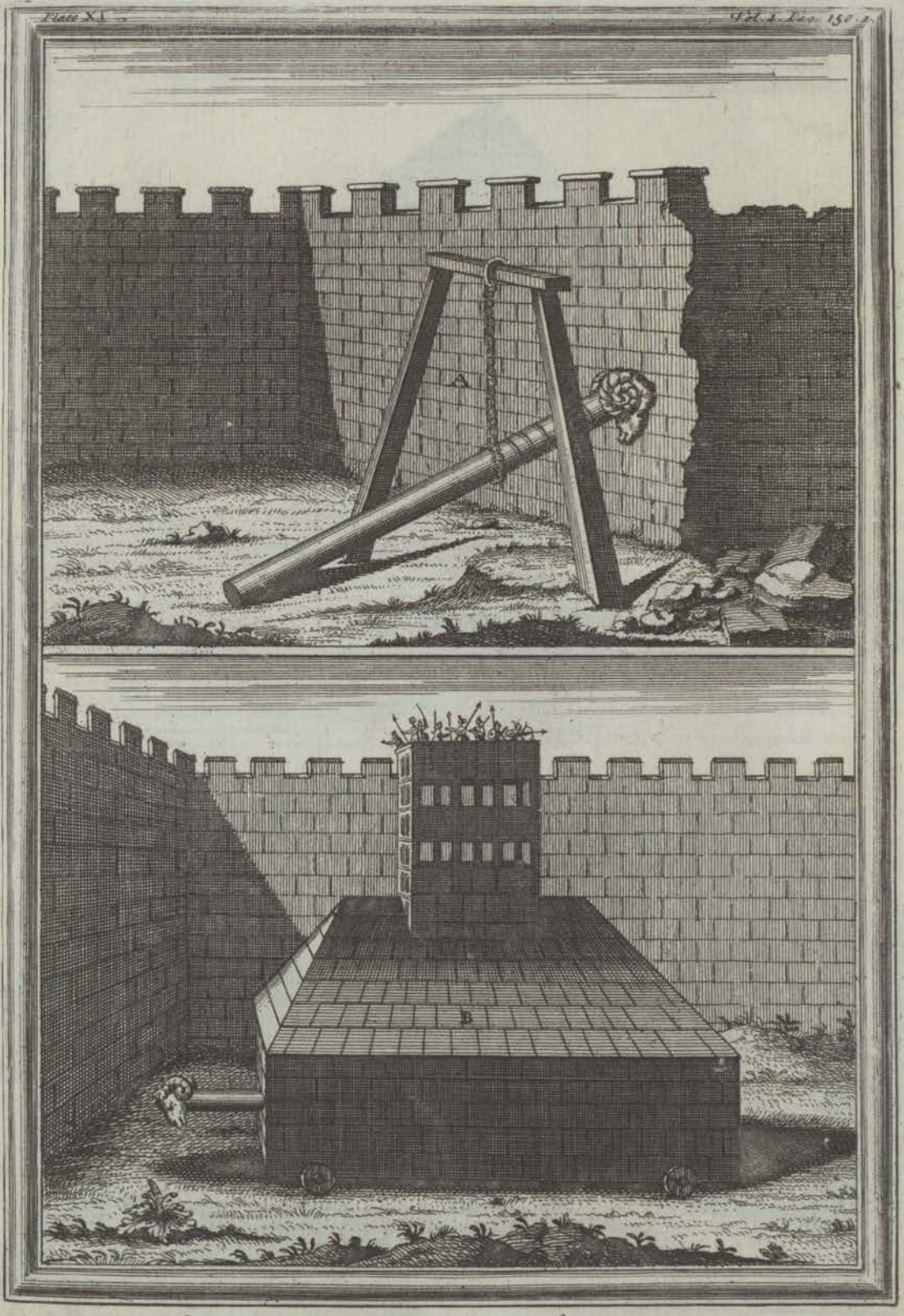
* *Noct. Att.* lib. 5. cap. 6.

† *Plut.* in *Marcell.*

of

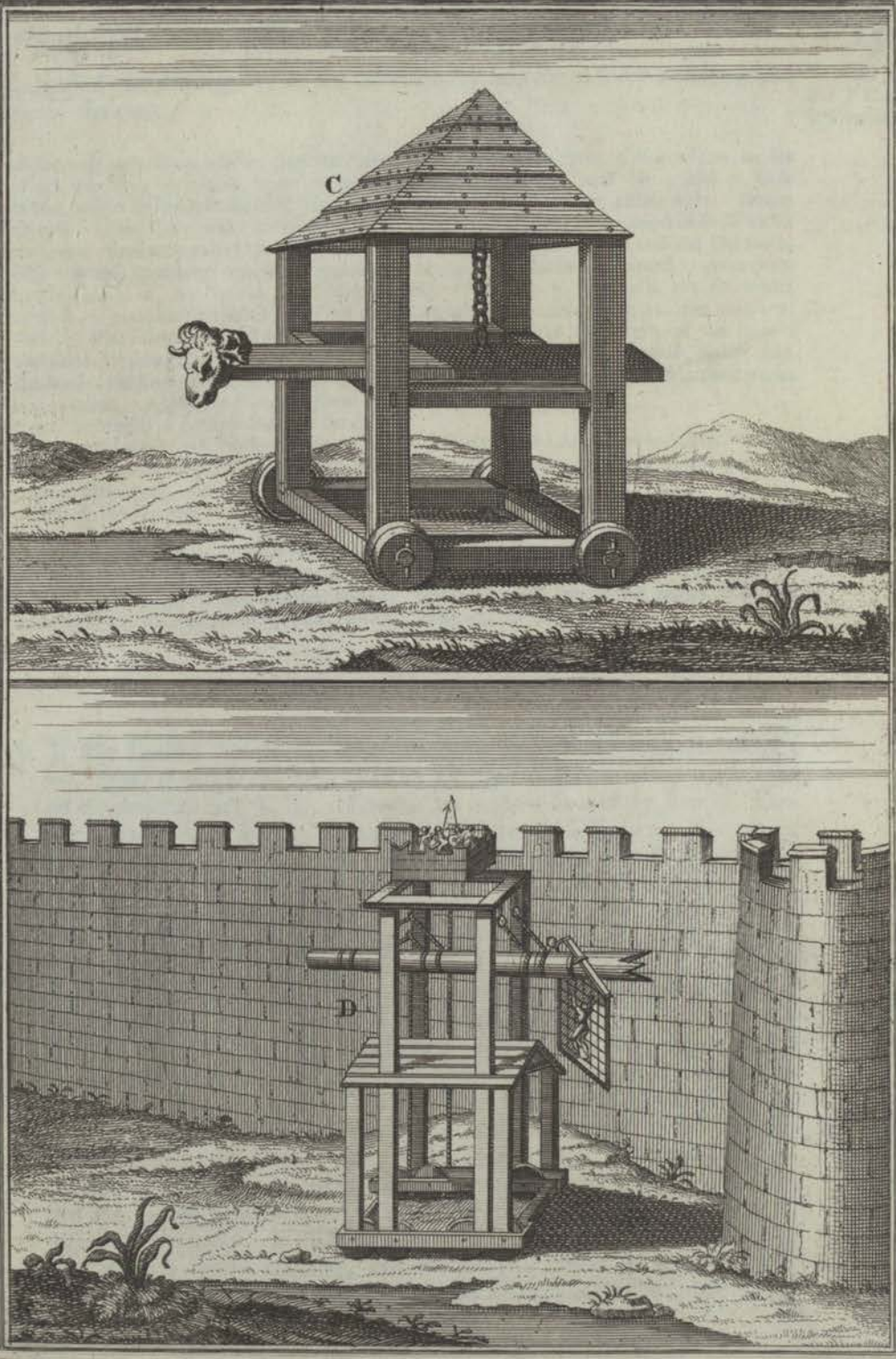
A Ram *worked by the Soldiers by mere Strength of arm.*

Two different Sorts of Rams *hung different ways.*



A. *Another way of hanging the* Ram.

B. *The* Ram-Tortoise *invented by* Polidus *of* Theſſaly



C. A Ram *covered with a Shed, and running upon Wheels.*
D. A Ram *which might be raised or sunk, as there was Occasion, either by Springs, or ropes, and pullies, according to* Hero's *description of it.*

beheaded the moſt guilty of the inhabitants, ſold the reſt by auction, and razed the city. Y. of *R.* 251. Bef. *J.C.* 501. 8th Conſulſhip.

of fire. It went upon wheels, that the *Ram*, which was hung up within, upon one or two rafters, might be brought forward with greater eaſe. This lodgment, covered with a roof, was afterwards called the *Ram-Tortoiſe*, either becauſe its motion was ſlow, according to *Vitruvius*; or, as *Vegetius* has obſerved, becauſe the machine reſembled the figure of a *Tortoiſe*, who carries his head out of his ſhell, and draws it in again, in like manner as the head of the *Ram* moved out and in, as there was occaſion. Above the *Tortoiſe*, there was ſometimes raiſed a century-box, in the form of a turret, where two ſoldiers were poſted, to obſerve the motions of the beſieged. *Vitruvius* aſſures us, that *Polydus* of *Theſſaly* perfected the *Tortoiſe* at the ſiege, which *Philip* of *Macedon*, ſon of *Amyntas*, laid to *Byzantium*. The make and diſpoſition of the machine was in this manner. He made a covered gallery, thirty cubits wide, and fifteen high, without reckoning the roof, which it ſelf was ſeven from the platform to the ridge. Over the roof he raiſed a little tower, at leaſt twelve cubits wide. It contained four ſtories, in the uppermoſt of which were put the *Scorpions*, and the *Catapults*. In the lower ſtories was placed a great quantity of water, to extinguiſh the fire which might be thrown from the top of the ramparts. *Vitruvius* makes the length of the *Ram* a hundred and ſix feet; *Plutarch*, eighty only. The *Ram-Tortoiſe* is deſcribed in theſe verſes of *Propertius:*

Dumque Aries cornu murum pulſabat aheno
Vineaque inductum longa tegebat opus. l. 4.

Vitruvius, *Vegetius*, and *Juſtus Lipſius* have expatiated upon the different forms of this antient engine of war; but they all amount to the ſame thing. Thoſe which are here repreſented, will enable the reader to form a judgment of the reſt.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. *The* Latines *declare for King* Tarquin *againſt the new Republick; but, before they take the field, ſend an Embaſſy to* Rome *with propoſals for an accommodation.* §. II. *A conſpiracy is there formed by ſome of* Tarquin's *Emiſſaries, who accompany the* Latine *Ambaſſadors. The plot is diſcover'd and prevented, and the Ambaſſadors diſmiſs'd with a refuſal of their demands.* §. III. *The* Latines *diſpatch a ſecond Embaſſy to* Rome *with offers of peace, upon new conditions; theſe are alſo rejected by the Senate. The* Romans *prepare for war: but when the Conſuls would make the neceſſary levies, the poorer citizens refuſe to ſerve.* §. IV. *The cruelty of their creditors is the cauſe of this mutiny. The debtors demand an abſolute remiſſion of their debts. Great diſputes ariſe in the Senate on this occaſion. In ſo dangerous a ſituation of affairs they judge it neceſſary to create a* DICTATOR, *(a ſovereign uncontroulable Magiſtrate) and to this they get the People's conſent.* §. V. Titus Lartius *is appointed to that ſupreme dignity. The levies for the war are now carried on without difficulty. After very little action in the field, a truce is made with the* Latines *for a year; during which the* Roman *women married into* Latium, *and the* Latine *women married at* Rome, *have leave to return to their reſpective countries.* §. VI. *The truce being expired,* Poſthumius *one of the Conſuls is named Dictator, and has the ſole conduct of the war. He gives the* Latines *an entire overthrow in the battle of* Regillus; *after which*

the whole Nation ſubmits. Tarquin *being obliged to quit* Latium, *retires to* Cumæ *in* Campania, *and there, in a few months after, dies.*

Y. of *R.* 252. Bef. *J. C.* 500. 9th Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

THE next year, when *Poſthumus Cominius* and *T. Lartius* were Conſuls, a very important event gave a new alarm to the riſing Republick. The *Latine* Nation, which had hitherto ſtood neuter in the quarrel between *Rome* and her baniſhed King, came at length to a reſolution openly to eſpouſe the King's cauſe. It was *Mamilius*, *Tarquin*'s ſon-in-law, who by his preſſing inſtances had brought his countrymen to this determination. *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Poplicola*, had juſt been deputed by the *Romans* to thoſe of the *Latine* cities that were neareſt *Rome*, to complain of ſome of their people, who (by ſecret direction of the chief men among them) had made inroads and depredations in the territory of the Republick. Hearing that the *Latines* were aſſembled in a national council at *Ferentinum* to deliberate on a war with the *Romans*, *Valerius* haſted thither, tho' not invited, and there demanded, as Deputy from *Rome*, the chief ſeat in the Council; a right due to him by the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Nations. To this it was anſwered, That thoſe treaties had been ſhamefully violated by the *Romans*; at whoſe inſtigation, as the Deputies from *Aricia* alledged, *Porſena*'s troops had made that attack upon the *Aricians*, in which his ſon *Aruns* was ſlain. Some exiles alſo from *Fidenæ* and *Cameria* complained loudly of the tyranny of the *Romans*. And it was farther added by the Partiſans of *Tarquin*, That the *Latine* confederacy having been concluded with the King and not with the Republick of *Rome*, the latter could claim no benefit from that tranſaction. The Deputies, however, came to no determination that day; it was wholly ſpent in accuſations and replies: but the very day following, when they met again, they refuſed to admit *Valerius* into their Aſſembly; and it was ſignified to him, that the *Latines* thinking themſelves in many inſtances greatly injured by the *Romans*, had reſolved to conſider at leiſure of a proper revenge.

It was at this time, and upon the news of the danger that threatened *Rome* from the *Latines*, that (according to *Livy*) the Senate firſt thought of creating a Dictator; tho' they did not put that project in execution till a more difficult conjuncture. During the preſent alarm from abroad, they happily diſcovered a conſpiracy formed at home by a number of ſlaves, who had combined together to ſeize the capitol, and ſet fire to the city in ſeveral quarters at the ſame time. The offenders were all crucified.

Y. of *R.* 253. Bef. *J. C.* 499. 10 Conſulſhip.

In the following Conſulſhip of *Serv. Sulpitius* and *Manius Tullius*, the *Tarquins*, in concert with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fidenæ*, found means to poſſeſs themſelves of that City by ſurprize. Tho' the *Roman* Senate had good reaſon to ſuſpect that many of the chiefs of *Latium* were concerned in this affair, yet were they in no haſte to declare war againſt the *Latine* people, being well aſſured that the lower order of men among them were not in the ſame diſpoſitions with the Nobles, but rather very averſe from any rupture with *Rome*. But as to the *Fidenates*, the Conſul *Manius* marching

ing with a numerous army, closely invested their City, and reduced them to great extremities. The besieged in their distress implored the assistance of the *Latines*; and this occasioned a new meeting of the Deputies from the several Cities of *Latium*. Y. of *R.* 253. Bef. *J. C.* 499. 10 Consulship.

Here the question was debated, whether a war should be absolutely declared against *Rome* in favour of *Fidenæ* and the *Tarquins*, or whether the *Latines* should adhere to the ancient treaties between the two States. Those of the Council who hoped for great employments in case of a rupture were very warm for that side of the question, but the richest and the moderate men of the Assembly were of the contrary sentiment, and this was also the most agreeable to the Nation in general. The first however so far prevailed, as to obtain a decree, that an Embassy should be sent to the *Romans* to exhort them to raise the siege of *Fidenæ*, and recall their banished King, who on that condition was to engage by oath to grant a general amnesty; the Ambassadors were to allow the *Romans* a year to consider of these overtures, and to threaten them with a war in case of non-compliance.

The party who carried this point in the Assembly very well knew that the Republick would never listen to such proposals; but they were willing to have some plausible pretext for a breach, as also time to make due preparations for war; and they likewise hoped, that before the year was expired they should find means to gain over to them those of their Countrymen, who now opposed their measures.

§. II. IN the mean time, *Tarquin* and his sons seeing how averse the people of *Latium* were from a war with the *Romans*, and having little hopes of any advantage from the Embassy proposed, turned their thoughts to a more promising scheme. In the train of the *Latine* Ambassadors they sent to *Rome* some Emissaries of their own, who by the help of large sums of money were to kindle an intestine war in the City. It was believed, and with good reason, that two sorts of men would be there found very ready to enter into this design; the slaves and the meaner citizens overwhelmed with debt. The first knew themselves mistrusted by their masters, and wanted only an opportunity to revenge the severe treatment which their fellows had lately suffered; and as for the poor debtors, the cruel usage they daily received from their creditors made them easily believe there could be no change in the government but to their advantage. *Tarquin*'s agents having secretly engaged a multitude of these unhappy men of both sorts to attempt a revolution, the parts they gave them to act were these: The poor Citizens were at an appointed hour to possess themselves of the ramparts and gates of the City, and then to raise a great shout, which was to be the signal for the slaves who lay round their masters to rise and massacre them: The gates of the City were then to be opened, and the exiles were to enter *Rome* while it was yet streaming with the blood of the Senators.

It is almost incredible that of so great a number of vile and mercenary wretches, not one should be tempted by the prospect of rich rewards to

betray

Y. of *R.* 253. Bef. *J.C.* 499. 10 Conſulſhip.

betray the ſecret. *Dionyſius* aſcribes the preſervation of *Rome* to a particular providence of God, who had taken this City under his protection. He tells us, that *Tarquin*'s two principal agents *Publius* and *Marcus* (both of his own name and family) were ſo terrified with nightly viſions and frightful dreams, that they durſt not proceed in their deſign, till they had conſulted a Diviner; that having aſked him in general terms whether it was a proper time to execute a project they had formed, he adviſed them, *By all means to lay aſide their project whatever it was, for that otherwiſe it would aſſuredly prove fatal to them*; and that upon this, they fearing to be prevented by ſome of the other Conſpirators, went ſtrait to *Sulpitius*, the only Conſul then at *Rome*, and diſcovered the whole matter to him. *Sulpitius* commended them highly, promiſed them ample recompence, and detained them in his own houſe, without imparting the ſecret to any body. Inſtantly he aſſembled the Senate, where the firſt thing done was to call in the *Latine* Ambaſſadors, and give them their audience of leave, with an anſwer to their propoſals. The anſwer was very ſhort. The Conſul addreſſing them by the appellations of *Friends* and *Kinſmen*, told them, *The ſurpriſe the Senate were under, that the* Latines, *who had been witneſſes of the conſtancy of the* Roman *People when attacked by all the forces of* Porſena, *ſhould dare to threaten them with a war, unleſs they would ſubmit to Tyrants, and raiſe the ſiege of* Fidenæ: And he concluded with a ſort of defiance. The Ambaſſadors being thus diſmiſſed, were conducted out of the City.

Then *Sulpitius* laid open to *the Fathers* the horrible conſpiracy of which he had juſt got information. The truth of the fact ſeemed not to admit of a diſpute; the only queſtion was in what manner to apprehend and puniſh the guilty; and this was a nice point. To take the conſpirators by force from their families and carry them to execution might raiſe a flame in every quarter of the City, and be attended with fatal conſequences: Nor was it by any means expedient to cite them in legal form before the Judges; becauſe ſhould the accuſed be obſtinate in denying the fact, the evidence of the two informers, who were the only witneſſes, might be thought inſufficient for a capital conviction of *Roman* citizens. *Sulpitius* therefore, to whom the Senate left the whole conduct of this critical affair, took a method which he thought would equally ſerve to prove the guilt, and ſecure the puniſhment. He directed the Senators to get together their friends and clients, and upon a ſignal to be given, to ſeize all the ſtrong places of the City, each Senator in that quarter where he lived. The *Roman* Knights alſo were commanded to hold themſelves ready in the houſes adjoining to the Forum, to execute the orders they ſhould receive. And leſt upon the apprehending of the criminals their relations or friends ſhould raiſe a ſedition, and occaſion a bloody conflict between fellow-citizens, he ſent to his Collegue, who was beſieging *Fidenæ*, to come away as ſoon as it was dark, with a choſen body of his troops, and poſt them near the ramparts of *Rome*. Theſe precautions taken, the two informers, by the Conſul's direction, gave notice to the moſt active and leading men

of the conſpiracy, to meet them exactly at midnight in the *Forum*, under pretence of ſettling the laſt meaſures for the execution of their enterprize. Every thing ſucceeded according to the Conſul's ſcheme. The Conſpirators met at the time and place appointed; the Senators, upon receiving the ſignal, poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſtrongeſt poſts in all parts of the City; the Knights inveſted the *Forum*, ſo cloſely blocking up all the avenues of it, that no body could poſſibly eſcape from thence; and at the ſame time the Conſul *Manius* being arrived from before *Fidenæ*, drew up his troops in the *Campus Martius*. The next morning, as ſoon as it was light, both the Conſuls ſtrongly guarded appeared upon their tribunal, and having convened the People, diſcovered to them the conſpiracy which had been formed againſt the common liberty, and produced the witneſſes. Leave was given to the accuſed to make their defence, if they had any thing to ſay againſt the evidence; but not one of them had the boldneſs to deny the fact. Hereupon the Conſuls inſtantly repair'd to the Senate, whence they ſoon after returned, bringing with them a decree of the *Fathers*, whereby the right of Citizenſhip was granted to the two Informers, together with a large pecuniary reward; and the Conſpirators were condemn'd to death, in caſe the People approved it. This decree being confirmed by the Aſſembly, the multitude were then ordered to retire, and the criminals were deliver'd up to the ſoldiers, and put to the ſword. And now as the peace of *Rome* was thought ſufficiently ſecured by this ſtroke of ſeverity, the Conſuls would receive no accuſation againſt any other accomplices of the treaſon, but publiſhed an Amneſty for all thoſe who had eſcaped puniſhment. They alſo ordered that the *Romans* ſhould purify themſelves by expiations, becauſe they had been conſtrained to dip their hands in the blood of their Countrymen; after which they appointed ſacrifices in thankſgiving to the Gods, and three feſtival days for the celebration of public games. A melancholy accident diſturbed the general joy on this occaſion; the Conſul *Manius* fell from his chariot in the middle of the *Circus*, and was ſo grievouſly hurt that he died a few days after. As the year was near expiring, *Sulpitius* remained ſole Conſul to the end of it, the *Romans* not thinking it worth while to chuſe him a new Collegue. Y. of *R.* 253. Bef. *J. C.* 499. 10 Conſulſhip.

§. III. *FIDENÆ* continued to be inveſted, but was not taken during the following Conſulſhip of *T. Æbutius* and *P. Veturius*. But the next year, when *T. Lartius* and *Q. Clælius* were raiſed to that dignity, the former having the conduct of the ſiege, carried on the attacks with ſo much ſkill and vigour, that he at length forced the *Fidenates* to ſurrender at diſcretion. Y. of *R.* 254. Y. of *R.* 255.

The reduction of *Fidenæ* ſtruck a terror into the *Latines*, who had neglected to ſuccour it as they might, and now repented of that neglect. *Tarquin*, *Mamilius*, and the *Aricians* ſeized the opportunity furniſh'd by their preſent fears, to unite them againſt the *Roman* Republic. The Deputies

Y. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J. C.* 497. 12 Conſulſhip.

ties from the *Latine* Cities [a] being aſſembled at *Ferentinum*, entered into a confederacy, and bound themſelves by oaths never to violate their engagements. However, before they began hoſtilities, they judged it proper to ſend to *Rome* a ſecond Embaſſy, conſiſting of the principal men of each City in the alliance. Theſe being admitted to an audience of the Senate, complained of the *injuſtice of the* Romans, *who*, they ſaid, *had formerly put the* Hetrurians *upon attacking* Aricia; and they added, *that the only way for the* Republic *to avoid the war which threatened her from the* Latines, *was to ſubmit her quarrel with the* Aricians *to the deciſion of the* Latine *Council.* Tho' the *Fathers* had never been in greater perplexity than at this time, becauſe of the vaſtly ſuperior ſtrength of the *Latine* nation, yet they haughtily rejected the propoſal; and the war being now looked upon as unavoidable, they turned their thoughts wholly to fortify themſelves by alliances, and get aſſiſtance from their neighbours. To this end they ſent about to the ſeveral States with which they were ſurrounded, but their negotiations proved every where unſucceſsful: The *Hernici* required time to examine the rights of the two parties; the *Rutuli* declared for the *Latines*; the *Volſci* inſulted the *Roman* Ambaſſadors; and as for the *Hetrurians*, they reſolved to ſtand neuter for a while, and then chuſe their ſide, as the events of the war ſhould guide them. Theſe diſappointments, how great ſoever, did not diſcourage the Senate; but what was worſe than all theſe, the Republic had in her own boſom rebellious children, who refuſed to lend their aid for the defence of their country.

D. Hal. B. 5.

§. IV. IN order to a right underſtanding of the true ſource of this inteſtine evil, it will be neceſſary to call to mind ſome particulars in the manners, cuſtoms, and policy of the *Romans*, during theſe early ages of their State.

Abbé *Vertot.*

* Of all the means which the neceſſities of nature have put men upon inventing for ſubſiſtence, the *Romans* practiſed only tillage and war. They lived upon their own harveſts, or upon thoſe which they reaped ſword in hand in the territories of their enemies. All the mechanic arts that were not ſubſervient to theſe two profeſſions, were unknown at *Rome*, or left to ſlaves and ſtrangers. The *Romans*, generally ſpeaking, from the Senator to the meaneſt Plebeian, were all huſbandmen, and the huſbandmen all ſoldiers: And we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that ſome of their moſt renowned Captains were called from the plough to command their armies.

[a] *Livy* only ſays, that 30 Cities of *Latium* were in the Confederacy againſt *Rome*. But *D. Hal.* who is always exact in his relations, gives us a liſt of them: *Ardea, Aricia, Bovilla, Bubentum, Cora, Corventum, Circæum, Corioli, Corbintum, Cabanum, Fortinæum, Gabii, Laurentium, Lanuvium, Lavinium, Lavicum, Nomentum, Norba, Præneste*, (a City however which, according to *Livy*, had ſubmitted to the *Romans*) *Pedum, Corcotulum* or *Querquetulum, Satricum, Scapeia, Setia, Tellenium, Tibur* or *Tivoli, Tuſculum, Toleria, Tricrinum* and *Velitræ*.

* *N. B.* What follows in the text to the year of *Rome* 371, is taken chiefly from Monſieur *Vertot*'s *Hiſtory of the Revolutions which happened in the Government of the* Roman *Commonwealth*. Care, however, has been had to avoid many things, in that work, which were found to be the pure product of his imagination, as alſo many errors or miſrepreſentations; and to make ſuch Additions to his Accounts as were neceſſary to the nature of this more general Hiſtory of *Rome*.

armies. The very greateſt men in the Republick inured their children to a hard and laborious way of life, to make them the more robuſt, and the more capable of ſuſtaining the fatigues of war. Y. of R. 255. Bef. J.C. 497. 12 Conſulſhip.

This domeſtic diſcipline had its riſe from the poverty of the firſt *Romans:* They afterwards made a virtue of what was the mere effect of neceſſity, and men of courage looked upon this equal poverty of all the citizens, as the means to preſerve their liberty from all uſurpation. Each citizen had at firſt for his ſubſiſtence but two acres of land. *Rome* afterwards extended her territory by acquiſitions from her neighbours. The *Romans* uſually ſold one moiety of the lands they conquered, to reimburſe the State for the charges of the war, and the other moiety was added to the publick domain, which was afterwards either given or let at a ſmall rent to the poorer ſort to help to maintain them: Such was the ancient cuſtom of *Rome*, under her Kings, that is to ſay, for above two hundred years. But after the extinction of the regal power, the Nobles and *Patricians*, who looked upon themſelves to be the only Sovereigns of the Republic, did, under various pretences, appropriate to themſelves the beſt part of thoſe conquered lands, if they lay near their own eſtates, or were any other ways convenient for them; thus inſenſibly enlarging their own revenues to the diminution of thoſe of the Republic: Or elſe under borrowed names, they cauſed thoſe portions which were allotted for the ſubſiſtence of the poor citizens, to be adjudged to themſelves at inconſiderable rates. They afterwards laid them to their other lands, without diſtinction; and a few years poſſeſſion, and their own great power covered theſe uſurpations. The State loſt its revenue; and the ſoldier, after having ſpent his blood to enlarge the bounds of the Republic, ſaw himſelf deprived of the ſmall portion of land that ought to have been at once his pay and his reward.

The covetouſneſs of ſome *Patricians* was not confined to theſe uſurpations only; but when the harveſt fell ſhort by the badneſs of the year, or by the irruptions of enemies, they knew how by an ill-meant relief to make themſelves a title to their neighbour's field. The ſoldier, who then was without pay, being entirely deſtitute was forced for his ſubſiſtence to have recourſe to the rich. They lent him no money but at uſury, and that uſury was in thoſe days arbitrary, if we may believe *Tacitus.* The debtor muſt engage his little inheritance, and the cruel aſſiſtance he received often coſt him his liberty. The laws of thoſe times allowed the creditor, upon default of payment, to ſeize his debtor, and carry him to his own houſe, where he was treated like a ſlave. Both principal and intereſt were often exacted with ſtripes and torments; his land was taken from him by accumulated uſury: And under pretence of the obſervation of the laws and ſtrict juſtice, the people daily ſuffered the utmoſt wrong. *Tac. Ann.* l. 6. *ad Ann.* 786.

A Government ſo ſevere in a new Republic, quickly raiſed a general diſcontent. Thoſe of the *Plebeians* who were oppreſſed with debts, and afraid of being arreſted by their creditors, applying themſelves to their

Y. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J.C.* 497. 12 Conſulſhip.

Patrons and the moſt diſintereſted among the Senators, repreſented to them their extream want, and the difficulty they had to bring up their children, and they added, that after having fought againſt the *Tarquins* for the defence of the public liberty, they were left expoſed to become the ſlaves of their own fellow-citizens.

Theſe complaints were followed by ſecret menaces, and the *Plebeians* finding no redreſs of their grievances, at length broke out under the Conſulate of *T. Lartius* and *Q. Clælius*, on occaſion of the powerful confederacy formed againſt the Commonwealth, by the *Latines* and their allies. As *Rome* had no ſoldiers but her own citizens, it was neceſſary to make the people take arms; but the poorer ſort, and eſpecially ſuch as were deep in debt, declared, that it was the buſineſs of thoſe who enjoy'd the dignities and riches of the Republic, to defend it; that for their parts, they were grown weary of expoſing their lives every day for Maſters ſo cruel and inſatiable. They refuſed to give their names [a], as was uſual, in order to be liſted in the legions; the hotteſt of them ſaid boldly, that they were no more tied to their country, where not an inch of land was left them in property, than to any other climate tho' never ſo remote; that at leaſt there they ſhould have no debts to pay; that the only way to free themſelves from the tyranny of their creditors was to leave *Rome*; and they openly threatened to abandon the City, unleſs all debts were aboliſhed by a *Senatus-conſultum*.

[a] It was the province of the Conſuls to direct the levying of men for the war. The two Conſular armies, generally ſpeaking, conſiſted at this time of four legions, each containing at leaſt four thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. The manner of making the levies was as follows.

After the Conſuls had choſen twenty-four Tribunes, fourteen from among the *Roman* Knights, and ten from among the *Plebeian* families, ſix of theſe Tribunes were appointed to every legion, to command and lead it: And it was the buſineſs of all the Tribunes to chuſe their ſoldiers in the following manner. Every tribe of the *Roman* people was brought into the area before the capitol, one tribe after another, according to the order in which it was their lot to be ſummoned. Then this tribe was divided according to the order of the claſſes, regard being had to their ſuperiority, *i. e.* their riches. After this, four perſons, who were of age to ſerve, were called out of theſe claſſes; and the Tribunes of each legion choſe one of the four into their legion. The Tribunes of the firſt legion choſe the firſt man, the Tribunes of the ſecond legion the ſecond man, and ſo on. When theſe four were thus diſtributed, four others were called; and then the Tribunes of the ſecond legion had their turn of chuſing the firſt man: So that the Tribunes of each legion had the firſt choice, one after another, according to the order of their legion; and every legion was very near equally furniſhed with good men. After a certain number of ſoldiers were choſen out of one tribe, another was called in; and the ſame number was choſen out of that, in the ſame manner, till the legions were ſufficiently full.

Here we muſt obſerve, that the *Roman* Knights, as being higher in rank, came ſooner to the Tribuneſhip than the *Plebeians*. But neither of them could be choſen Legionary Tribunes, till they had ſerved half of the time the laws preſcribed them. Thus the Knights who were obliged to ten years ſervice, might be promoted to the Tribuneſhip after five campaigns; whereas, the *Plebeians* could not come to it till after ten years ſervice in the Army; becauſe they were obliged to ſerve twenty complete. The latter were called *Seniores Tribuni*; and the former, *Juniores Tribuni*.

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The Senate, very much diſturbed at a diſobedience ſo little different from a barefaced rebellion, immediately aſſembled: Several opinions were given. The more moderate Senators were for relieving the people. *M. Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, and who after his example affected popularity, repreſented to *the Fathers*, that moſt of the poor *Plebeians* had been forced to contract debts only by the misfortunes of war; that if in ſuch a conjuncture as this, when a great part of *Italy* had declared in favour of *Tarquin*, they did not redreſs the grievances of the people, it was to be feared deſpair might drive them into the Tyrant's party, and the Senate by ſtretching their authority too far, might loſe it all in the re-eſtabliſhment of the Royalty. Y. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J. C.* 497. 12 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

Several of the Senators, and eſpecially thoſe who had no debtors, declared themſelves of the ſame opinion; but it was rejected with indignation by the richer ſort. *Appius Claudius* alſo oppoſed it, but from different motives. Auſtere in his manners, and a ſevere obſerver of the laws, he maintained, that no alteration could be made in them, without endangering the Republic. Tho' he commiſerated the condition of the poor, ſome of whom he daily relieved out of his own eſtate, he nevertheleſs declared in full Senate, that they could not with juſtice refuſe the authority of the laws to ſuch creditors as would proſecute their debtors with rigour; that juſtice being the ſureſt ſupport of a State, there was no aboliſhing the debts of particular perſons without ruining the public faith, the only bond of ſociety among men; that the people themſelves, in whoſe favour this unjuſt decree was propoſed, would be the firſt ſufferers by it; that in any new neceſſity the rich would ſhut their purſes; that the diſcontent of the great was no leſs to be feared than the murmurs of the people, and that perhaps the former would not eaſily bear to be ſtript of that wealth, which had been left them by their anceſtors, or was the fruit of their own temperance and œconomy. He added, that no-body could be ignorant that *Rome* at the beginning aſſigned no greater portions of land to the Nobles and *Patricians* than to the *Plebeians*; that theſe latter had but lately ſhared the eſtate of the *Tarquins*; that they had often got conſiderable booty in war, and that if they had ſquandered it all away in extravagant living, there was no reaſon why they ſhould be reimburſt at the expence of thoſe who had lived with more prudence and good management: That, after all, it ſhould be conſidered, that thoſe of the mutineers who made the moſt noiſe, were *Plebeians* of the very loweſt claſſes, and who in battle were uſually placed only in the wings or in the rear of the legions; that moſt of them were armed with nothing but ſlings; that there was neither great ſervice to be expected, nor great danger to be feared from ſuch ſoldiers; that the Republic would ſuffer but a very inconſiderable loſs in loſing a herd of people who ſerved only to fill a number; that to deſpiſe the ſedition was ſufficient to quell it, and to make the authors of it ſubmit themſelves humbly to the clemency of the Senate.

Some of *the Fathers* who were for finding a medium between two opinions ſo extremely oppoſite, propoſed, that without cancelling the debts,

Y. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J. C.* 497. 12 Conſulſhip.

they ſhould take away the creditors power over the perſons of their debtors. Others were for remitting the debts of thoſe only who were notoriouſly unable to pay. Some again, to ſave the public faith, and at the ſame time ſatisfy the creditors, propoſed to pay them out of the public treaſury. And laſtly, it was the judgment of others, that ſuch of the citizens as had been [b] ſold, or were in danger of being ſold, to ſatisfy their debts, ſhould be redeemed from ſlavery, by giving the creditors other ſlaves in their room.

The Senate accepted of none of theſe ſchemes; but in order to pacify the people, and engage them to take arms in defence of the State, they paſs'd a *Senatus-conſultum*, which granted a ſuſpenſion of all proſecutions for debt 'till the end of the war.

This condeſcenſion of the Senate was an effect of the approach of the enemy, who advanced towards *Rome*. But a great many of the *Plebeians*, grown bolder for the ſame reaſon, declared, that they would either have an abſolute remiſſion of all debts, or leave it to the rich and great to take care of the war, and defend a City in whoſe ſafety they thought themſelves no longer concerned, and which indeed they were ready to leave. The reſolution they ſhewed gained them companions. The number of the mal-contents increaſed daily; nay, and many among the people, who had neither debts nor creditors, could not help complaining of the ſeverity of the Senate, either thro' compaſſion for thoſe of their own order, or out of that ſecret averſion which every man naturally has to behold, in others, a ſpirit of domination.

Tho' the wiſeſt and richeſt of the *Plebeians*, and eſpecially the clients of the Nobles, had no part in the ſedition; yet the ſeparation which the

[b] When the debtor was inſolvent, the creditor had a right to put him in irons, or to ſell him as a ſlave. Sometimes he was cruel enough to whip him unmercifully. After a certain number of ſummons's, the law granted to the debtor thirty days of grace, to give him time to raiſe the ſum for which he was accountable. Theſe are the words of the law: *Æris confeſſi, rebuſque jure judicatis triginta dies juſti ſunto. Poſt dein manum endo jacito——Vincito aut nervo aut compedibus*——After the thirty days were expired, if the debtor had not diſcharged the debt, he was led to the *Prætor*, who delivered him up to the mercy of his creditors. Theſe bound him and kept him in chains, for the ſpace of ſixty days. Afterwards, for three market-days ſucceſſively, this debtor was brought to the tribunal of the *Prætor*. Then a publick Crier proclaimed in the *Forum*, the debt for which the priſoner was detained. Oftentimes there were found rich perſons who redeemed the priſoners, by paying their debts. But if no-body appeared in behalf of the debtor, after the third market-day, the creditor had a right to inflict the puniſhment appointed by the law. *Tertiis nundinis capite pœnas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregrè venumduito, &c.* If there were ſeveral creditors, they were allowed, in conſequence of ſo rigorous a law, to divide the body of the priſoner into ſeveral parts, and ſhare him among them. But according to *Quintilian* and *Cæcilius*, humanity and cuſtom had given preſcription againſt ſo barbarous a law, and it never was put in practice. The puniſhment was changed into *Coercition*, that is to ſay, the creditors had a right to impriſon their debtors in their own houſes, and make ſlaves of them. Theſe were called *Nexi* and not *Servi*, becauſe their ſlavery laſted no longer than till their debts were paid. This *Coercition* was afterward changed into publick impriſonments, which was a leſs rigorous puniſhment than the ſlavery the debtors underwent in their creditors houſes.

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mal-contents threatened, and their obſtinate refuſal of taking arms, were of dangerous example, eſpecially at a time when the greateſt part of the *Latine* forces, commanded by the ſons and ſon-in-law of *Tarquin* were at the gates of *Rome*. The Senate might indeed have proſecuted the moſt mutinous and the leaders of the ſedition, but the *Lex Valeria*, which allowed appeals to the aſſembly of the people, was a ſhelter for the ſeditious; who were ſure of being acquitted by the accomplices of their rebellion, Y. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J. C.* 497. 12 Conſulſhip.

The Senate, to elude the effect of a privilege that put ſuch a reſtraint upon their power, reſolved to create one ſupream Magiſtrate who, with the title of DICTATOR [c], ſhould be equally above the Senate and aſſembly of the People, and be inveſted with abſolute authority. To obtain the peoples conſent, it was repreſented to them in a public aſſembly, that in ſo difficult a conjuncture, when they had their domeſtic quarrels to decide, and the enemy to repulſe at the ſame time, it would be expedient to put the Commonwealth under a ſingle Governor, who, ſuperior to the Conſuls themſelves, ſhould be arbiter of the laws, and as it were the father of his country: That, however, leſt he ſhould abuſe this uncontroulable authority, by making himſelf a Tyrant, they ought not to truſt him with it above ſix months.

§. V. THE people not foreſeeing the conſequences of this change, agreed to it; and then the only thing that remained, was to pitch upon a man duly qualified for ſo great and important a truſt. *Titus Lartius*, one of the preſent Conſuls, appeared to the Senate to be of all men the moſt unexceptionable, yet they were unwilling to offend his Collegue by an invidious preference. The expedient they fell upon was to give the two Conſuls the power of naming the new Magiſtrate, but with this limitation, that he ſhould be one of the two, not doubting but that *Clælius* would readily yield to the ſuperior talents of *Lartius*. Nor were they diſappointed in this expectation. But then *Lartius*, no way behind his Collegue in modeſty or generoſity, with the ſame readineſs remitted the high honour in queſtion to him; and a conteſt aroſe between them, which of the two ſhould advance the other to ſovereign authority. The diſpute did not end the firſt day; but the day following, when the Senate met again upon this weighty affair, *Clælius* finding that he could no otherways prevail, ſtarted up on a ſudden, and after the manner of an INTERREX proclaimed [d] *Titus Lartius* DICTATOR, inſtantly abdicated the Conſulſhip, and deſcended from the tribunal. *D. Hal.* B. 5.

This new kind of Government erected at *Rome*, might be called an abſolute Monarchy in a Republic, tho' not durable. The moment the 1ſt Dictatorſhip.

[c] This Magiſtrate was alſo called, *Magiſter Populi* and *Prætor Maximus*.

[d] It became the cuſtom for this Magiſtrate to be choſen only in the night *viva voce*, by one of the Conſuls; and this choice was to be confirmed by the divination from birds. His power was confined in two other reſpects beſides that of time. He was not allowed to march out of *Italy*, leſt he ſhould take advantage of the diſtance of the place to attempt ſomething againſt the common liberty; and he was always to march on foot, except in caſe of a tedious or ſudden expedition, and then he formally aſked leave of the people to ride.

DICTATOR

Y. of *R.* 255. Bef. *J.C.* 497. 12 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 5. *Liv.* B. 1.

DICTATOR was named, he had power of life and death over all the Citizens of every degree, and without any appeal. The authority and the functions of all other Magiſtrates ceaſed, or were ſubordinate to him: He had the naming of the General of the Horſe, who was wholly at his command, and ſerved too as his Lieutenant-General. Like the Kings, he had twenty-four lictors armed with axes. He might raiſe troops or diſband them at his pleaſure. Whenever war was declared, he commanded the armies, and went upon all military enterprizes without being obliged to conſult either the People or the Senate; and when his authority was expired, he was not obliged to give an account of any thing he had done during his adminiſtration.

T. Lartius being inveſted with this great dignity, named, without the participation either of Senate or People, *Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus* for *General of the Horſe*; and in all his proceedings, tho' he was indeed one of the moſt moderate of the whole Senate, he outwardly affected a ſtately reſerve, and a peremptory manner, to make himſelf feared of the people, and awe them into their duty. The firmneſs of this Magiſtrate ſtruck a terror into every body; they found that under ſo reſolute a maſter, who would not fail to make an example of the firſt that ſhould rebel, ſubmiſſion was the only courſe they had to take.

All mutiny and murmurings being thus ſilenced, the Dictator commanded a *Cenſus* to be taken of the people, according to the inſtitution of King *Servius Tullius*; and there appeared to be in *Rome* 150700 men who were paſt the age of puberty. Out of theſe he formed four armies. The firſt he allotted to himſelf, the ſecond to *Clælius* his late Collegue, the third to *Caſſius*, his General of the Horſe; and theſe three were to take the field againſt the *Latines*; the fourth under the command of the Dictator's brother *Spurius Lartius*, was to ſtay in *Rome* and guard the City.

The *Latines* were not ſo forward in their preparations for the war as their menaces had given cauſe to fear they would be; ſo that there was little action this campaign. The Dictator having intercepted a detachment which they had ſent to ravage the *Roman* territory, treated the priſoners more like allies than enemies. He cauſed particular care to be had of the wounded, and ſet all at liberty ranſom free. By this humane and ſkillful conduct, he diſpoſed the *Latines* to liſten the more readily to the overtures which he at the ſame time made them for a ſuſpenſion of arms. Notwithſtanding all that *Tarquin* and *Mamilius* could do to hinder it, a truce was ſoon after agreed to for a year. And then *Lartius* ſeeing the Republic in tranquillity, reſigned the Dictatorſhip, tho' the time appointed for its duration was not yet expired; and what is remarkable, no citizen had been puniſhed with death or baniſhment, or in any manner ſeverely treated during the whole continuance of his uncontroulable power.

Y. of *R.* 256. Bef. *J.C.* 496. 13 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

The following Conſulſhip of *Sempronius Atratinus* and *Minutius Auguſtinus*, produced nothing memorable relating to war or conqueſt. The Senate ſeem to have been chiefly taken up with a compaſſionate concern for the *Roman* women married to *Latine* huſbands. It was feared they

might ſuffer by the rupture between the two nations. A decree therefore was paſſed by *the Fathers*, and confirmed by the People, (in conſequence doubtleſs of an agreement made with the *Latines*) that the *Latine* women who were willing to leave *Rome* and return to *Latium*, and the *Roman* women who were willing to come back from *Latium* to *Rome*, ſhould have liberty to quit their huſbands and return to the reſpective countries of their nativity; and it was ordered, with regard to their children, that the boys ſhould remain with their fathers, and the girls follow their mothers. How agreeable a place *Rome* was to wives moſt remarkably appeared on this occaſion. For out of the great number of *Latine* women who had married *Roman* huſbands, only two went back to *Latium*; but almoſt all the *Roman* women married to *Latines*, left their huſbands and returned to their native City. Y. of *R.* 256. Bef. *J. C.* 496. 13 Conſulſhip.

§. VI. THE year of the truce with the *Latines* was expired, when *Aulus Poſthumius* and *T. Virginius* took poſſeſſion of the Conſulſhip. The Nobles of *Latium* who were in the intereſt of *Tarquin*, carried all before them in the Aſſemblies of the States, contrary to the inclination of the people, many of whom came with their families to *Rome*, where they were well received. It was neceſſary therefore to prepare for war; and tho' there were no diſſentions at this time between the Senate and People, it was judged proper to put the conduct of it into the hands of a Dictator: The Conſuls had the power given them, as before, to name one of themſelves to that dignity; whereupon *Virginius*, tho' the elder of the two, readily yielded it to his Collegue as the more able Commander. Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J. C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

Poſthumius having named *Æbutius Elva* to be his *General of the Horſe*, divided the *Roman* forces, as the former Dictator had done, into four bodies; one he commanded himſelf, put another under the conduct of his late Collegue *Virginius*, the third under *Æbutius*, and committed the fourth to *Sempronius*, with the Government of the City. News was preſently brought, that the *Latines* had forced the caſtle of *Corbio*, a ſtrong hold belonging to the Republic, and put the garriſon to the ſword; and that this ſmall advantage gained by the enemy had determined the *Volſci* of *Antium* to join them. *Poſthumius* immediately marched from *Rome* with 8000 men, and encamped in the night near the lake *Regillus* *, upon a ſteep hill which was inacceſſible on every ſide. *Virginius* following ſoon after with his troops, poſted them on another hill over againſt the Dictator, the *Latine* army, which conſiſted of 40000 foot and 3000 horſe, under the command of *Sextus Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*, lying between them. As *Poſthumius* had no intention to fight, but only to obſerve and tire out the enemy, he ſent word to *Æbutius* to march ſecretly in the night with the cavalry and light armed infantry, and take poſſeſſion of a third hill, upon the only road by which proviſions could come to the *Latines*. The *General of the Horſe* obey'd his order, but before he could fortify his camp, he was briſkly attack'd by a body of the enemy under *Sextus Tarquinius*, who endeavoured to diſlodge him: However, the Dictator ſending him a timely reinforcement, the *Latines* were

* In *Latium*.

Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J. C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip. were repulſed with loſs, and retired. After this *Æbutius* intercepted two couriers who were carrying letters from the *Volſci* to the *Latine* Generals, importing that a conſiderable body of that people would join the *Latine* forces in three days. *Poſthumius* hereupon drew his three bodies of *Romans* together; for tho' they amounted to no more than 23700 foot and 1000 horſe, neceſſity conſtrained him now to hazard an engagement without delay.

D. Hal. B. 6. It was the cuſtom for Generals to harangue their troops, before they led them to battle; and the Dictator may be ſaid to have had at this time the better part of the *Roman* Nation for his auditors. The Senate almoſt to a man were come to ſerve as volunteers. Indeed there was no way of riſing to offices of dignity and power but by long and painful ſervice in the troops; but now even the oldeſt Senators had taken arms in defence of their country. *Poſthumius* in his ſpeech to the ſoldiers, (after he had put them in mind of the miſeries they muſt expect from the return of the *Tarquins*, and had encouraged them not to fear the ſuperior numbers of a faithleſs enemy whom their fathers had ſo often vanquiſhed) took particular notice of this, that in the preſent exigence, *the moſt ancient and venerable Magiſtrates had covered their grey hairs with the helmet. And ſhall then*, ſaid he, *the young, the healthy and ſtrong be unactive and fearful? Shall they be ſo ſhameleſs to turn their backs upon the enemy, when the old and the infirm are reſolved either to conquer or die? I declare, that whoever ſhall this day be guilty of ſo baſe a cowardice, ſhall be put to death by my order, and his dead carcaſe deprived of the rites of burial: But he that on the other hand ſhall bring me witneſſes of his having ſignalized his courage in the battle, ſhall, beſides the uſual honours decreed to men of diſtinguiſhed bravery, receive from the public an eſtate in land, as an additional recompence of his merit.*

Having thus ſpoken, the Dictator drew up his army in order of battle; and the *Latines* depending on their numbers, and beginning to want *D. Hal.* B. 6. and *Livy* B. 2. proviſions, did not decline the fight. *Titus Tarquinius* was in the center of their army at the head of the exiles and deſerters from *Rome*; *Mamilius*[e] commanded the right wing, and *Sextus Tarquinius* the left. In the *Roman* army the Dictator led the main body, *Æbutius* the left wing, and *Virginius* the right.

In this battle of *Regillus* the ancient manner of fighting, as it was in the heroic times, and as *Homer* has deſcribed it, ſeems to have been revived, the general action being ſometimes interrupted by ſingle combats between the Commanders. As *Poſthumius* was encouraging and marſhalling his men in the vanguard, *Titus*[f] *Tarquinius* coming out from the center of the *Latines*, ran full ſpeed at him to encounter him ſingly. The Dictator accepted the challenge, met his adverſary, and with a javelin

[e] *Dionyſius* leaves it uncertain, whether this *Mamilius* was the ſon-in-law of *Tarquin the Proud*, or the ſon of that ſon-in-law.

[f] *Livy* makes King *Tarquin* himſelf to be the perſon who attacked *Poſthumius*; but as he was now 90 years of age, it is very improbable.

pierced

pierced his right ſide. The firſt line of the *Latines* immediately advancing covered their General, and preſerved him from falling into the hands of the enemy; nevertheleſs, the battalions of the main body having now loſt their Leader, who was mortally wounded, and carried out of the field, made but a faint reſiſtance, when preſſed by the troops of the Dictator. They were already loſing ground and beginning to break, when *Sextus Tarquinius* coming up with the choice of the *Latine* cavalry, and ſupported by the exiles, took the place of his brother. Encouraged by the preſence and valour of this new Commander, the diſheartened *Latines* recovered their ranks, renewed the fight, and made the ſucceſs of the day in the center doubtful. Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J. C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

In the wings where *Mamilius* and *Æbutius* commanded, the fury of the battle was equal. After a long and bloody conflict, the two Commanders defy'd each other to ſingle combat; *Æbutius* with his lance wounded *Mamilius* in the breaſt through his cuiraſs, and *Mamilius* ran his ſword through *Æbutius*'s right arm. Neither of the wounds were mortal, but both Generals fell from their horſes and were carried out of the throng. *Æbutius*'s place was then ſupply'd by his Lieutenant *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Poplicola*. He put himſelf at the head of the *Roman* horſe, and with them endeavoured to break the enemy's battalions, but the cavalry of the *Roman* Royaliſts advancing to their ſuccour, quickly repulſed the cavalry of the Republic; and *Mamilius* alſo having recovered himſelf from the hurt he had received, appeared again in the van with a conſiderable body of horſe and light armed infantry. In this action *Valerius* received a wound in his ſide, fell from his horſe and died, which occaſioned the battle to be renewed with more fierceneſs than ever. The two nephews of the deceaſed, the ſons of *Poplicola*, fought with inexpreſſible courage to hinder the dead body from being ſtript of its ſpoils; and having recovered it from the enemy, delivered it to *Valerius*'s ſervants, to be convey'd to the *Roman* camp: But throwing themſelves afterwards into the midſt of the enemy, they were overpowered by numbers, and both killed upon the ſpot.

The loſs of *Valerius* and his two nephews, and eſpecially the abſence of *Æbutius*, greatly diſheartened the left wing of the *Romans*. *Poſthumius* perceiving that the ſoldiers began to give ground, haſtened to their aſſiſtance with a body of *Roman* Knights who attended him as his guard. He gave orders at the ſame to *Titus Herminius* one of his Lieutenants, to repair to the rear of the army, command thoſe who fled to ſtop, and put all to the ſword who would not obey. And now the Dictator himſelf with his Knights, giving the reins to their horſes, drove with the utmoſt fury upon the Royaliſts, broke them, killed many of them, and put the reſt to flight. *Herminius* in the mean while rallied the runaways, and returning preſently to the charge, fell upon ſome cloſe battalions of the enemy's right wing which ſtill kept their ground. His chief aim was at the perſon of *Mamilius* who commanded them, and who was eaſily known by his tall ſtature, and the richneſs of his habit and armour. The *Roman* to come at him, beat down all that ſtood in his way; he then attacked him,

Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J. C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

and with his firſt blow laid him dead upon the ground: Nevertheleſs he loſt his own life by a wound from an unknown hand, while he was buſy in ſtripping the Body of his enemy.

During all this time *Sextus Tarquinius*, who had returned from the center of the *Latines*, and put himſelf again at the head of the left wing, maintained the fight with great bravery againſt the Conſul *Virginius*. He had even broke the right wing of the *Roman* Army, when *Poſthumius* appeared on a ſudden with his victorious ſquadrons, to ſupport it. This unexpected turn of affairs made *Sextus* loſe at once all hopes of victory. Ruſhing therefore among the thickeſt ranks of the *Roman* Knights, he there ſunk under a multitude of wounds, after he had ſold his life dear.

The death of *Sextus Tarquinius* was followed by the entire rout of the *Latines*, who had before loſt their two other Generals. Their camp was taken the ſame day, and the plunder abandoned to the *Roman* Soldiers. No victory hitherto gained by the *Romans* had been either more neceſſary or more compleat. Scarce 10000 of the 43000 *Latines* who had come into the field returned home. The whole Nation for a long time after felt this ſevere ſtroke, nay, it may be truly ſaid, they never recovered of the blow which they received in the battle of *Regillus*.

The next morning *Poſthumius* diſtributed the uſual rewards to thoſe who had behaved themſelves well in the action, and returned thanks to the Gods by ſacrifices. Scarce were theſe ceremonies ended, when the ſcouts brought intelligence, that a great body of troops covered the plain, and was marching in order of battle. It was the *Volſci* come to the aſſiſtance of the *Latines*. Finding at their arrival how matters had gone, ſome of them were for falling upon the *Romans* before they could recover from the fatigue of the preceding day; but another party, willing rather to ingratiate themſelves with the Conquerors, prevailed to ſend meſſengers to the Dictator, to tell him, they came to his aſſiſtance. *Poſthumius* convicted them of falſhood by their letters which he had intercepted, and giving leave to the meſſengers to return, whom the multitude would have torn to pieces, he reſolved to attack the *Volſcian* army the next day: but in the night they broke up their camp and fled.

The Dictator at his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, and to his other names was added that of *Regillenſis*, from the place of the late action. He allotted a tenth part of the ſpoils to defray the expences of the publick Games, and to build ſome Temples in honour of the Gods; particularly one to *Caſtor* [a] and *Pollux*, who were ſaid to have appeared during

[a] *Dion. Hal.* is pretty long in relating a fabulous ſtory of two young horſemen, of an extraordinary and majeſtick ſtature, who during the action appeared to *Poſthumius* and his party. They marched at the head of the cavalry, ſtriking terror among the *Latines*, whom they wounded with darts and lances. In the evening, after the victory, the ſame horſemen appeared at *Rome* in the *Forum*. Their fierce and threatening countenances, and their horſes all dropping with ſweat, made people conclude that they were returned from the battle. When they had diſmounted, they waſhed themſelves in the water

during the battle of *Regillus* upon white Horſes, and to have fought for the *Romans*. Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J. C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip.

The *Latines* having now no remedy, but in an abſolute ſubmiſſion, choſe deputies out of thoſe cities which had oppoſed the war, to be mediators at *Rome*, in favour of the whole Nation. Theſe appeared in the Senate, bearing in their hands olive branches bound round with wooll, the uſual marks of ſuppliants. They laid the blame of the rupture wholly upon the Nobility of the country under the influence of the *Tarquins*. They repreſented in a moving ſtrain the loſs they had ſuſtained of all the flower of their youth; that ſcarce a family in *Latium* was out of mourning. They conjured the *Romans* to have regard to conſanguinity, and the zeal which the *Latines* had formerly ſhewn for the intereſts of *Rome*; and in concluſion, they yielded themſelves wholly to the judgment of the *Fathers*, laying at the feet of the Dictator the badges which they bore of ſuitors and ſuppliants.

Rome had long ſince made it a maxim, to ſpare the Nations which ſubmitted; and *Titus Lartius*, the late Dictator, declared himſelf for obſerving it in the preſent caſe. He adviſed a total oblivion of the fault committed by the *Latines*, and a renewal of the ancient treaties with them. Nevertheleſs the Senate was not without ſome ſevere men, who were for razing all the Cities of *Latium*, ſeizing their territories, and reducing the inhabitants to ſlavery. Among theſe was *Spurius Caſſius*. Others were for depriving them of half their lands, by way of puniſhment; and, in conſideration of kindred and blood, for leaving them in poſſeſſion of their liberty. But the opinion of *Lartius* being approved by *Poſthumius*, there was no further oppoſition to it; and a Decree was accordingly paſſed for renewing the old League; on condition however that the *Latines* reſtored the priſoners they had taken, delivered up the deſerters, and drove the *Roman* exiles out of *Latium*.

Such was the end of the laſt war which the *Romans* had with their neighbours on account of their baniſhed King. As for *Tarquin* himſelf, the only perſon now left of his family, being abandoned by the *Latines*, *Hetrurians*, *Sabines*, and all the other free States about *Rome*, he retired

ter of a ſpring that roſe near the Temple of *Veſta*; and they told the crowd of citizens, who ſurrounded them, the firſt news of the victory gained by the *Romans*; after which, they diſappeared. The next morning the Magiſtrates receiving Letters from the Dictator, which among the other circumſtances of the battle mentioned the ſudden appearance of the two young horſemen, who fought for the *Romans*, it was concluded they were the ſame who had brought the news to *Rome*, and that they could be no other than *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Paulus Æmilius*, adds to this relation, that *Lucius Domitius* was the firſt who was informed by *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, of the entire defeat of the *Latines*: and to make the fable ſtill more wonderful, the ſame author affirms, that *Domitius* having appeared ſurprized at the account, the two horſemen took him gently by the beard, and it immediately changed its colour from black to red; which miracle confirmed the relation, and got *Domitius* the ſirname of *Ænobarbus*: and this ſtory, fabulous as it is, was believed among the *Romans*. They tranſmitted it to poſterity by publick monuments, which were ſtill ſubſiſting in the time of *Dionyſius*.

Y. of *R.* 257. Bef. *J.C.* 495. 14 Conſulſhip. into *Campania* to *Ariſtodemus*, Tyrant of *Cumæ*; here he ſhortly after ended his days, at about 90 years of age, and after 14 years exile, which he had made remarkable by almoſt as many wars.

It muſt be granted, that *Tarquin* had ſeveral of thoſe endowments and qualifications which enter into the character of a Hero; intrepid courage; experience in arms; an excellent capacity for negotiations; an addreſs whereby, even in baniſhment, and when diveſted of all power, he could alienate from the *Romans* their ancient Allies, and unite thoſe Allies againſt *his* enemies; an invention fruitful in expedients; and a ſteady reſolution never to quit his claim to Empire but with life. All theſe made an aſſemblage of qualities not to be deſpiſed. But with theſe he had alſo ſuch a ſtrange compoſition in his nature of the moſt extravagant vices, as could not but prove fatal to his uſurped tyranny. And as a judicious * writer has obſerved, had not the death of the unfortunate *Lucretia* adminiſtered to the *Roman* people an opportunity of liberty, yet a far ſlighter matter would have ſerved them for a ſpecious reaſon to endeavour the aſſertion of their rights.

* *Kenn.* Antiq.

The freedom which the *Romans* recovered by the expulſion of *Tarquin the Proud* was now ſecured to them by his death; a freedom that was indiſputably the ſource of all their future grandeur. Nevertheleſs it is the opinion of *Livy*, that this very freedom, had they aſſumed it more early, and wreſted the Royal Power from any of their former Princes, would have proved the ruin of the riſing State. For what, *ſays he*, would have been the conſequence, if that commonalty, made up of herdſmen and outlaws from other countries, who found refuge and impunity at *Rome*, if they, being ſet free by ſome *Brutus* from the dread of Majeſty, had begun to be ruffled and agitated by the ſtorms of *Tribunician* fury? and in a ſtrange City had fomented ſtrife and contention with the Nobles, before the pledges of wives and children, and an affection (not quickly entertained) for the very place and ſoil, had aſſociated their hearts, and linked them together in one common intereſt. Certainly the State not yet come to maturity, would through diſcord have faded and periſhed; whereas a peaceable and gentle government foſtered and cheriſhed it, and by a proper nouriſhment brought it to ſuch a ſtrength and perfection as to be able to produce the wholeſom fruits of liberty.

Livy, B. 2.

How juſt this reflection of the *Latin* hiſtorian is, will ſufficiently appear by the events which come next to be related.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§. I. *The peace concluded with the* Latines *is followed by domeſtic broils at* Rome; *where the Senate get the Conſulſhip for* Appius Claudius *and* P. Servilius. §. II. *The* Volſci *encouraged by the civil feuds among the* Romans, *prepare to fall upon them. The* Plebeians *at* Rome *refuſe to liſt themſelves for the war.* Servilius *with an army of volunteers, who follow him out of perſonal affection, enters the territory of the enemy, and terrifies them into a ſubmiſſion for the preſent; but he has no ſooner led back his army, than they renew their preparations to attack the Republic.* §. III. *While the Senate are conſulting about the levies to be made on this occaſion, a ſudden accident occaſions an inſurrection at* Rome. Servilius *appeaſes the tumult. News comes that the* Volſci *are approaching.* Servilius *by fair promiſes in relation to the debts engages the people to liſt themſelves.* §. IV. *He defeats the enemy, and tho' the Senate refuſe him a triumph at his return, on account of his indulgence to the ſoldiers, he triumphs in ſpight of their oppoſition.* §. V. *After this he takes the field again, and defeats the* AURUNCI. §. VI. *The debtors at his return from the war claim the performance of his promiſes.* Servilius, *not having power to make them good, is treated by the people with contempt. He thereupon becomes their enemy and the ſedition increaſes.*

§. I. SCARCE was the dangerous war with the *Latines* over, and the Dictatorſhip of *Poſthumius* expired, when the domeſtic feuds and diſſentions at *Rome* revived. The Senate who thought it needleſs any longer to court the people or even to ſhew them any condeſcention, revoked, by a decree, that ſuſpenſion of the ſuits for debt, which nothing but neceſſity had before induced them to grant. The creditors began to proſecute their debtors with more rigour than ever, and theſe of courſe renewed their murmurs and complaints. To prevent the miſchiefs which this grand affair might occaſion, the Senate procured the Conſulſhip for *Appius Claudius*, whoſe reſolution they were well acquainted with. But leſt he ſhould carry it too far, they gave him, for his Collegue, *P. Servilius*, a man of a gentle, humane character, and agreeable to the poor and the multitude. Theſe two Magiſtrates were ſure to be of contrary opinions. *Servilius* out of goodneſs and compaſſion to the unfortunate, inclined to the remiſſion of the debts, or at leaſt of thoſe exorbitant and accumulated intereſts which conſiderably exceeded the principal. He exhorted the Senate to make ſome regulation in this matter, that might eaſe the people, and ſettle the tranquillity of the State upon a laſting foundation. Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

But *Appius*, a ſevere obſerver of the laws, maintained with his uſual conſtancy that it was a manifeſt injuſtice to relieve the debtors at the expence of their creditors; that this project tended to the very ruin

Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J. C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

ruin of the ſubordination neceſſary in a well governed State; that the condeſcenſion which *Servilius* was for ſhewing to the neceſſities of the people, would be looked upon by the ſeditious, only as a diſguiſed weakneſs, and ſo breed new pretenſions; whereas nothing would be a better proof of the power of the Commonwealth, than a juſt ſeverity ſhewed to thoſe who by their diſobedience and cabals had violated the Majeſty of the Senate.

This diverſity of opinion produced nothing but bitterneſs of ſpeech and perſonal reflections. The Senate aſſembled daily, and as often broke up without coming to any concluſion. In the mean time the people continued to be oppreſſed and to complain. Being informed of what paſſed in the Senate, and of the different inclinations of the two Conſuls, they ſhowered as many praiſes upon *Servilius*, as they heaped imprecations upon *Appius*. The moſt ſeditious among the multitude flocked together again: They held ſecret aſſemblies in the night and in by places; and in a word, the diſcontent and diſorder in the City were ſuch as ſeemed to preſage nothing leſs than a civil war.

§. II. THE news of theſe diſturbances at *Rome* having reached the *Volſci*, they immediately began to draw their forces together, in order to march and beſiege it, believing they could never have a more favourable opportunity to cruſh a Republic, which they hated and had always looked upon with a jealous eye. Had the authority of the Senate been regarded, an alarm of this kind would have been the luckieſt thing that could have happened for their views, becauſe it gave them a pretext to ſend away the moſt mutinous of the people from the City: But the *Roman* youth, being ſummoned as uſual to be liſted for the ſervice, abſolutely refuſed to appear; and this diſobedience occaſioned another diſpute between the Conſuls. *Appius* was for puniſhing the refractory with rigour, and *Servilius* for more indulgence.

As it was neceſſary to take the field againſt the enemy, the Senate without coming to any determination about the affair of the debts, decreed that *Servilius* ſhould conduct the war, and *Claudius* govern the City. They made this regulation, in hopes that *Servilius* being a popular man, would have leſs difficulty than the other to levy an army. Nevertheleſs the people ſtill refuſed to liſt themſelves in the accuſtomed manner. What troops he could raiſe were only volunteers who offered to ſerve, out of perſonal affection to the General. They were indeed the more formidable on this account; and the Conſul marched them ſtrait into the enemies territory. The *Volſci* depending on the civil broils at *Rome*, and little expecting that they ſhould ſo ſoon have occaſion to act upon the defenſive, had not been ſo expeditious in their preparations for the war, as to be in a condition to face the *Romans* in the field. They were forced therefore to have recourſe to ſupplications and intreaties; and by theſe they wrought upon the eaſy Conſul to favour them. He required of them only ſubſiſtence and clothes for his troops, and 300 hoſtages of the beſt families.

Not long after the return of *Servilius* to *Rome*, and when the rich Patricians believing the State to be in no danger from any quarter, were

purſuing their poor debtors with the uſual ſeverity, ſome Envoys from the *Latines* arrived in the city, bringing with them by force certain Deputies who had been ſent by the *Volſci* to the *Latine* Nation. Thoſe Deputies had been commiſſioned to engage the *Latines*, if poſſible, to join with the *Volſci*, the *Hernici* and *Sabines* in a league againſt *Rome*: But the *Latines* quite humbled by their defeat in the battle of *Regillus*, would liſten to no propoſal for a new rupture with the Republic; and the *Romans* to reward their fidelity, and the zeal they ſhewed on this occaſion, reſtored them 6000 priſoners taken in the laſt war; theſe captives they alſo new clothed before they ſent them home, in order to make the favour yet more obliging. Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J.C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

§. III. THE diſcovery made by the *Latine* Envoys of the ſecret negotiations of the *Volſci*, was more than ſufficient to determine the Senate to a declaration of war againſt them: However, the ſame difficulties as before, in relation to the levies, were again to be overcome. The Senate were debating this matter, as alſo what number of ſoldiers it would be proper to raiſe in the preſent exigence, when a ſudden accident ſuſpended their deliberations, and the calamity of a private man raiſed a general ſedition in *Rome*. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

A *Plebeian* loaded with chains, threw himſelf into the publick place as into an *Aſylum*. He was tall of ſtature, advanced in years, meagre, pale, and his eyes ſunk into his head. His cloaths were all ragged, and his rough buſhy beard, and diſordered hair made his countenance hideous. He was nevertheleſs very well known; and ſome remembered to have been with him in the wars, and to have ſeen him fight with great valour. He himſelf ſhewed the ſcars of the wounds that he had received upon ſeveral occaſions; he named the Conſuls and the Tribunes under whom he had ſerved, and addreſſing his ſpeech to a multitude of people that ſurrounded him, and that earneſtly enquired the cauſe of the deplorable condition he was in; he told them, that while he bore arms in the laſt war againſt the *Sabines*, he had not only been hindred from cultivating his little inheritance, but that the enemy, in an incurſion, after having plundered his houſe, had ſet it on fire. That the neceſſities of life, and the tributes which, notwithſtanding his misfortunes, he was obliged to pay, had forced him to contract debts; that the intereſt being by degrees grown to an exceſſive ſum, he was reduced to the melancholy expedient of yielding up his inheritance to diſcharge part of it. But that the mercileſs creditor not being yet quite paid, had dragged him to priſon, with two of his children; that to oblige him to haſten the payment of the reſidue, he had delivered him over to his ſlaves, who, by his order, had torn his body with whips: At the ſame time he flung off his garment, and diſcovered his back ſtill bloody with the laſhes he had received. *Livy*, B. 2. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

The people already ripe for ſedition, and juſtly provoked at ſo barbarous an action, utter'd a thouſand cries of indignation againſt the *Patricians*. The noiſe ran in a moment over the whole City, and the people flocked from all parts into the *Forum*. Thoſe whom the like misfortunes had thrown into

Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J.C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip. into the fetters of their creditors, made their eſcape; the ſedition quickly found leaders and abettors, and the authority of the Magiſtrate was no longer regarded. The Conſuls, who came in hopes of putting a ſtop to the diſorder by their preſence, being ſurrounded by the people hot with fury, found neither reſpect nor obedience in the citizens.

Appius, abhorred by the multitude, was juſt going to be inſulted, if he had not eſcaped under favour of the tumult. *Servilius*, though more agreeable to the people, was forced to throw off his conſular robe, and without any mark of his dignity, to run into the thickeſt of the crowd. He careſſed and embraced the moſt mutinous, and with tears in his eyes conjured them to appeaſe this diſorder. He gave them his word that he would immediately call the Senate, and take as much care of the people's intereſts in it, as any *Plebeian* could do; and as a proof of his ſincerity, he proclaimed by a herald, that no citizen ſhould be arreſted for debt, 'till the Senate had made ſome new regulation in this affair.

The people upon his word diſperſed themſelves; and the Senate immediately aſſembled. *Servilius* laid before them the diſpoſition of men's minds, and the neceſſity in ſuch a conjuncture of abating ſomewhat of the ſeverity of the laws. *Appius*, on the contrary, always faithful to his firſt opinion, firmly oppoſed it; and as he could never help tincturing his counſels with the auſterity of his character, and the harſhneſs of his manners, he publickly upbraided his Collegue with being a flatterer and a ſlave of the people. *Servilius* in his turn reproached him with the obſtinacy of his temper, his pride, and the animoſity he ſhewed againſt the *Plebeians*. The Senators divided themſelves between theſe two great men, each taking his party according to his inclination or intereſt. The warm contention, occaſioned by this oppoſition of ſentiments, had begun to raiſe a great noiſe in the aſſembly, when ſome horſemen came full ſpeed with an account that an army of *Volſci* were upon their march to *Rome*.

D. Hal. B. 6.

This news was received very differently by the Senate, from what it was by the people. The Senators, their Clients, and the richer ſort of *Plebeians* took arms. But thoſe who were oppreſſed with debts, ſhewing their chains, aſked with a bitter ſmile, whether it was worth their while to expoſe their lives to preſerve ſuch ornaments? And all theſe *Plebeians* obſtinately refuſed to give their names to be inrolled.

The city was in that agitation which uſually precedes the greateſt revolutions; the Conſuls divided; the people diſobedient to their Magiſtrates; and the *Volſci* at the gates of *Rome*. The Senate, who were almoſt equally afraid of the citizens and the enemy, engaged *Appius* to take upon him the defence of the city, becauſe they hoped the people would more willingly follow his Collegue into the field. *Servilius*, who was appointed to march againſt the enemy, conjured the people not to abandon him in this expedition; and to prevail upon them to take arms, he publiſhed a new prohibition againſt detaining in priſon any *Roman* Citizen who was willing to go with him to the war, or ſeizing his children or his goods: And by the ſame edict he engaged himſelf, in the name of the Senate, to give the

people at his return all manner of ſatisfaction, with relation to their debts. Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J. C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip.

This declaration was no ſooner publiſhed, but the people crowded in to liſt themſelves, ſome out of affection to the Conſul, whom they knew to be their friend, and others that they might not ſtay in *Rome* under the ſevere and imperious government of *Appius*. But of all the *Plebeians*, none inrolled themſelves more heartily, or ſhewed more courage againſt the enemy, than thoſe very perſons who had been moſt active in the laſt tumult.

§. IV. AS ſoon as the levies were compleated, *Servilius* marched to meet the enemy, and when he was come within a ſmall diſtance of them, encamped a little before night near the *Pontine* * lake. The *Volſci* inſulted him the very next morning in his camp. The Conſul was in no haſte to leave his entrenchments, not being yet ſufficiently aſſured of the good will of his troops; but when he overheard his men accuſe him of inactivity, and perceived their deſire of fighting by their ſhouts, he immediately ordered all the gates of his camp to be opened, and a general ſally to be made. The *Volſci* could not ſtand the attack of the *Romans*, but were entirely defeated; and the Conſul to reward his ſoldiers gave them all the plunder of the enemy's camp, which was very rich, to enable them to pay their debts. *D. Hal.* B. 6. *Liv.* B. 2. * In *Latium.*

He then marched to *Sueſſa Pometia*, a conſiderable City of the *Volſci*, took it by aſſault, and put all to the ſword who were paſt the age of puberty; an act of barbarity which ſeemed contrary to his natural temper. (*Appius* at the ſame time beheaded the 300 *Volſcian* hoſtages at *Rome.*) As to the ſpoil of *Sueſſa*, *Servilius* abandoned that likewiſe to his ſoldiers, without reſerving any part of it for the publick treaſury.

This profuſeneſs of the Conſul to his troops highly diſpleaſed his Collegue. *Servilius* in his return to *Rome*, where he doubted not to obtain a triumph, received intelligence that *Appius* had perſuaded the Senate to refuſe him that honour, under pretence, that he was a ſeditious man, who aimed at popularity by an exceſſive indulgence to his ſoldiers. The conqueror, touched to the quick with ſo undeſerved a treatment, no ſooner came before *Rome*, but he cauſed the People to be called together in a field without [a] the walls,

[a] *Servilius* made an halt, as ſoon as he came before *Rome*, becauſe the Laws did not permit him who demanded a Triumph to enter into the city. He was obliged to keep without the walls with his army, and there wait for the conſent of the Senate; to which he, according to cuſtom, ſent a letter wrapped up in laurel. Upon the receipt of this, the Senators aſſembled in the temple of *Bellona*, which ſtood in one of the ſuburbs of *Rome*. Here the General gave them an account of his expedition, after which they made a decree, whereby they granted the conqueror the honours of a triumph. This decree was reported to the people, who confirmed it, and fixed the day for the ceremony, unleſs the *Tribunes of the People* oppoſed it; which ſometimes happened. And this Law was a great inſtance of the policy of the *Romans*. An ambitious General, at the head of a victorious army, might have cauſed great diſorders in *Rome*, if he had been permitted to enter it with his army; and might by force have obtained a triumph, which he had not merited.

Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J. C.* 494. 15 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

and there complained to them of the jealouſy of his Collegue, and the injuſtice of the Senate. He preſently found by the diſpoſition of the audience, that he might attempt whatever he pleaſed. Without regard therefore to the Senate's deciſion, he immediately decreed himſelf a [a] triumph, and marched with the uſual pomp to the capitol, attended by his army and all the people. [About this time the number of tribes was regulated and fixed to 21.]

§. V. BEFORE the expiration of this Conſulſhip, a new enemy ſtarted up againſt the Republic. *Ecetræ* a *Volſcian* town had lately ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and theſe had ſent thither a garriſon to defend it. The AURUNCI, a ſmall community that poſſeſſed a part of *Campania*, not far from the *Ecetrans*, took umbrage at the neighbourhood of that garriſon; they ſent to *Rome* a haughty demand to have it inſtantly removed, and they added threatenings in caſe of refuſal. The Senate in anſwer, bid the Envoys *go tell their Maſters, That it was a dangerous thing to attack thoſe whoſe very neighbourhood was formidable to them.* A war preſently enſued. The *Aurunci* entered *Latium* and advanced as far as *Aricia:* there the *Romans* came up with them, and at firſt ſight of theſe new enemies, were a little daunted at their gigantick ſtature, thoſe fierce looks, and that martial air which diſtinguiſhed them from all the other Nations of *Italy:* However, as the legions had *Servilius* at their head, and *Poſthumius Regillenſis* commanded the cavalry, the remembrance of the great abilities of theſe Generals reſtored their confidence. In the beginning of the action the *Romans* had much the diſadvantage, being very unequal in ſtrength to the enemy, and unable to ſuſtain the fury of their firſt charge; and what greatly diſcouraged them, they quickly found that their horſe could be of no ſervice to them, becauſe the field of battle was extremely uneven and full of rocks. *Poſthumius* nevertheleſs recovered the day by his able conduct. Making his cavalry diſmount, he led them to the aſſiſtance of thoſe battalions that were giving ground, and by his words and example in a ſhort time brought them again into order; after which the enemy were ſoon routed and their camp taken. The *Aurunci* entirely diſappearing, *Servilius* marched his army back to *Rome.*

§. VI. AND now after ſo many victories obtained, chiefly by the bravery of thoſe who were moſt in debt, the people thought they might confidently demand the performance of *Servilius*'s promiſes; and indeed for his part, he left no means untried to make good his word. He employed his utmoſt efforts to prevail with the Senate to grant the debtors a general releaſe. But *Appius*, who looked upon the leaſt change in the laws to be dangerous, ſtrongly oppoſed his Collegue's deſire. He gave the creditors freſh power to drag the debtors to priſon; and the applauſes he thereby got from the rich, and the curſes from the poor, equally concurred to the confirming of this Magiſtrate in his ſeverity.

[a] This triumph is not marked in the *Capitoline Tables*; probably becauſe it was illegal.

Thoſe

Thoſe that were arreſted appealed to *Servilius*; they urged upon him the promiſes he had made to the people before the campaign, and the ſervices they had done in the war. They cried aloud before his tribunal, that either in quality of Conſul he ſhould undertake the defence of his fellow-citizens, or as General not deſert the intereſt of his ſoldiers. But *Servilius*, who was naturally timorous and averſe to ſtrife, durſt not declare openly againſt the whole body of Patricians; and by endeavouring to manage both parties, he diſobliged both, ſo that he got the hatred of the one, and the contempt of the other. Y. of *R.* 258. Bef. *J. C* 494. 15 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, Dec. 1. l. 2.

How low he was ſunk in the eſteem of the people moſt remarkably appeared when the time came to conſecrate a temple which had been erected to *Mercury*. The conſecrator was to have conſiderable powers and privileges. He was to be the Head and Founder of a ſociety of [a] Merchants in *Rome*; to have the charge of furniſhing the city with proviſions, and to inſpect them; and he was to perform all the functions of a *Pontifex Maximus* within the verge of this temple, and to have all the honours of one. *Appius* and *Servilius* ſtanding in competition for this office, the Senate were unwilling to decide any thing in the matter, and therefore referred it wholly to the people. This would ſome time ago have been in effect to decree in *Servilius*'s favour; but at preſent the people were ſo much diſſatisfy'd with both their Conſuls, that they would not beſtow the honour in queſtion upon either of them; they choſe one *M. Lætorius*, who was only a centurion, to perform the conſecration. Hereupon the two Magiſtrates equally enraged, joined with the Senate in putting the laws in execution againſt the debtors with the utmoſt rigour; a vain effort of revenge, for the multitude paid no regard to their authority. When any *Plebeian* was proſecuted for debt, the populace came in crowds into court, and made ſuch a noiſe, that the ſentence pronounced by the Judges could not be heard. They no longer endeavoured to appeaſe their creditors and mollify the Senate by intreaties, they inſulted both; and inſtead of the *Plebeians*, the *Patricians* were now in danger of impriſonment and ſlavery. Nothing prevailed in the City but force and violence.

[a] *Mercury* was thought by the *Pagans* to be the God of Commerce, whence *Cicero* calls Merchants *Mercuriales*.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *The people refuſe to obey the ſummons of the new Conſuls* (A. Virginius *and* T. Veturius,) *to liſt themſelves for a war againſt the* Sabines, Æqui *and* Volſci. *The Senate after ſome diſpute among themſelves, agree to create a Dictator.* Manius Valerius, *a brother of* Poplicola, *is named to that dignity.* §. II. Valerius *prevails with the people to ſerve, by promiſing them full ſatisfaction in relation to their complaints when the war ſhall be over, and by ſuſpending in the mean time all proſecutions for debt.*

Three armies are raiſed, to be commanded by the Dictator and the two Conſuls. The enemy are defeated on all ſides. §. III. *The Dictator at his return home demands of the Senate to diſcharge his engagements to the debtors. His demand is rejected. He excuſes himſelf to the people and reſigns the Dictatorſhip.*

Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J.C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

§. I. SUCH was the ſtate of *Rome* when *A. Virginius* and *T. Veturius*, men of little note or ſteddineſs took poſſeſſion of the Conſulate. The moſt conſiderable of the diſcontented *Plebeians* held private aſſemblies by night to conſult the proper meaſures for a redreſs of their grievances, and for preventing their being drawn by ſurprize into any thing diſadvantageous to them, when they ſhould be called together in legal *Comitia*. Notice being brought to the Conſuls of theſe ſecret meetings, they informed the Senate of them, ſubmitting it to the wiſdom of that venerable body to preſcribe a remedy for the growing evil; a deference that was by no means agreeable to the Conſcript Fathers who ſaw through the policy of their Magiſtrates, that were unwilling to draw the odium of puniſhing the offenders upon themſelves. The Senate having ſeverely reproved them for their timid conduct, ordered them immediately to raiſe an army in legal form, for a war which threatened the Republic. It ſeems the *Sabines*, encouraged by the inteſtine broils at *Rome*, had revolted, and they had engaged the *Roman* colony of *Medulia* to enter with them into a league confirmed by oaths. The Conſuls according to their inſtructions ſummoned the tribes, but it was to no purpoſe, the people being obſtinately determined not to liſt themſelves till ſuch time as all debts ſhould be aboliſhed. *Virginius* and *Veturius* finding that no-body regarded their ſummons, laid all the blame of the diſobedience upon the Senate. They even accuſed the *Fathers* to the *Fathers* themſelves, and they added, *Let thoſe of you who are the boldeſt within doors at making ſevere decrees, now ſhew their heads without doors, and face the fury of the multitude. You will then ſee whether it be to our want of courage or to your falſe meaſures that the untractableneſs of the people is owing.* Theſe words ſo provoked the younger Senators, that leaving their ſeats, they ſurrounded the Conſuls, called them cowards, and bid them come down from their thrones and diſcharge themſelves of a burthen that was too heavy for their weakneſs.

After ſome time ſpent in theſe mutual reproaches, the Conſuls returned once more to the Forum, guarded by a good number of the Senators, to add the more weight to their authority. They aſcended their tribunal, and called upon one of the moſt factious by name to come and be enrolled. The man did not anſwer, and his ſilence being taken for diſobedience, he was inſtantly ſeized: but the populace quite furious, tore him out of the lictors hands; and the Conſuls experienced on this occaſion how little reſpect is paid to Majeſty without ſtrength; they had enough to do to defend the Senators who attended them from blows.

While the people were thus enraged againſt the Senate, the Senate a-

gainſt the people, and the Conſuls regarded by neither People nor Senate, Envoys came from the *Latines* and *Cruſtumini* (allies of *Rome*) complaining of the hoſtilities of the *Æqui* and *Sabines*; and an Embaſſy from the *Volſci* arrived at the ſame time, demanding reſtitution of the lands conquered by the *Romans* from them. Upon this new alarm the Senate aſſembled extraordinarily. *Titus Lartius*, that venerable Senator, who had been formerly Dictator, gave his opinion firſt. He ſaid, *That the only way to put an end to theſe alarms from abroad, was to eſtabliſh peace at home*, and he propoſed, that the aſſembly might meet again the next day to deliberate about the methods neceſſary to procure that happineſs. That in the mean time the *Volſcian* Ambaſſadors ſhould be anſwered, *That it was not conſiſtent with the honour of the Republic to comply with their demands.* And as to the allies, he adviſed, that aſſurances ſhould be given them, *that* Rome *would never leave them expoſed to the inſults of their enemies, without ſending them ſuccours.* This advice was approved and followed. Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

The next day the Senate ſat again. Then the Conſul *Virginius*, who was a popular good natured man, ſpoke firſt, and propoſed a medium between the ſeverity of *Appius* and the general releaſe of debts. He was for having thoſe ſoldiers who had fought ſo ſucceſsfully the laſt year, protected by the Senate againſt their creditors, but for leaving the other debtors to the ſeverity of the law.

The wiſe *Lartius* ſtood up next and ſaid, "That he ſaw, with abundance of grief, *Rome* ſplit as it were into two Nations, and forming two "different Cities. That the firſt was full of nothing but riches and pride, "and the ſecond of miſery and rebellion. That there was no appearance "in either of juſtice or of honour, or even of common decency; and "that the haughtineſs of the great was no leſs odious than the diſobedience of the common people. That he was nevertheleſs obliged to own, "that he foreſaw the extream poverty of the people would always keep "up diſſention; and that he did not think it poſſible to reſtore peace and "union between the two orders, any otherwiſe than by a general abolition "of the debts.

Appius, when it came to his turn to ſpeak, was equally againſt both theſe propoſals: He affirmed, "That the frequent mutinies among the "people did not proceed ſo much from their want, as from an unbridled "licentiouſneſs, which ſeditious men were pleaſed to call by the name of "liberty, and from the abuſe which they made of the *Lex Valeria*. "They violate, *ſaid he*, the Majeſty of the Conſuls with impunity, becauſe they know they can appeal from the condemnation of their crime "to the very accomplices of it; and what order can we ever hope to "eſtabliſh in a State, where the decrees of the Magiſtrates are ſubject to "the reviſal and judgment of a rabble guided wholly by their fury and "caprice? We muſt create a Dictator, *added Appius*, whoſe judgments "are without appeal; and then we need not fear that any *Plebeian* will "be ſo inſolent as to repulſe the lictors of a Magiſtrate, who has the ſovereign diſpoſal of their lives and fortunes. The

Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J. C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

The younger Senators jealous of the Senate's honour, and thoſe eſpecially whoſe intereſt was concerned in the abolition of the debts, declared for *Appius*'s opinion; they were even for beſtowing the Dictatorſhip upon him: They ſaid that none but a man of his firmneſs and intrepidity, could reduce the people to their duty. But the old Senators, and the more moderate, thought that ſupreme power formidable enough of itſelf, without placing it in a man naturally ſevere, and odious to the multitude. One of the Conſuls by their advice named for Dictator *Manius Valerius*, a man of 70 years of age, brother to the famous *Poplicola*. His nomination was indeed contrary to law, which required that the Dictator ſhould always be choſen out of ſuch as had been, or were actually Conſuls; but as no man was judg'd ſo proper for that ſtation at this time, the neceſſity of the caſe made the Senate overlook rules.

D Hal. B. 6.

§. II. *VALERIUS*, *Plebeian* in his inclination, named for *General of the Horſe Quintus Servilius*, the brother of the laſt year's Conſul, and who thought as the Dictator himſelf did, that there was a great deal of juſtice in the people's complaints. He then convened a general aſſembly of the Citizens. He appeared in it with a countenance grave and modeſt; addreſſing himſelf to the people, he told them, that they need not have any apprehenſions that either their liberty, or the *Lex Valeria*, which was its chief ſupport, would be in danger under a Dictator of the family of *Valerius Publicola*. That he did not aſcend his tribunal to cheat them with falſe promiſes; that indeed there was a neceſſity of their marching againſt the enemies who were advancing towards *Rome*, but that he would engage in his own name, and on the part of the Senate, to give them full ſatisfaction with relation to their complaints at their return from the campaign: "And in the mean while, *ſaid he*, by the ſovereign power with which I "am inveſted, I declare your perſons, your lands, and your goods, to be "perfectly free: I ſuſpend the effect of all obligations that might be "made uſe of to give you trouble: Come and aſſiſt us to conquer new "lands from our enemies for your uſe."

This ſpeech filled the people with hopes and with comfort. Every body took arms with pleaſure, and ten legions were raiſed compleat; three were given to each Conſul, and the Dictator reſerved four to himſelf. The *Romans* marched againſt the enemy on different ſides. The Dictator gained a notable victory over the *Sabines*, laid waſte their country, and enriched his ſoldiers with ſpoil. The Conſul *Veturius* routed the *Volſci*, after which he took their camp, and then *Velitræ*, into which place he entered ſword in hand in purſuit of the vanquiſhed; and *A. Virginius*, the other Conſul, defeated the *Æqui*, and won a compleat victory, which by means of the haſty flight of the enemy, was without much bloodſhed.

Id. Ibid.

Thus the three *Roman* Generals were all ſucceſsful, and it proved a glorious campaign for the Republick. Except the victory at *Regillus*, the *Romans* had never gained a more important one than that obtained by the Dictator over the *Sabines*. Accordingly he was decreed a triumph by both Senate and People; and as a further mark of diſtinction, they allotted him

Livy, B. 2.

him an honourable place in the Circus, at the celebration of the public games, and appointed that a curule chair ſhould always be placed there for him; and this honour they made hereditary in his family. Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J.C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

§. III. THE Senate apprehending that the ſoldiers at their return would challenge of the Dictator the execution of his promiſe, deſired him and the two Conſuls to detain them ſtill under their enſigns, upon pretence that the war was not quite finiſhed. The two Conſuls obeyed; but the Dictator, whoſe authority was independent of the Senate, diſbanded his army. He declared his ſoldiers free of the [a] oath they took when they liſted themſelves; and as a new proof of his affection to the *Plebeians*, he choſe out of that order four hundred of the moſt conſiderable, whom he brought into that of the Knights. He then went to the Senate, and demanded that a decree ſhould be paſs'd for the abolition of the debts, purſuant to the promiſe he had made the people. The oldeſt Senators and the beſt men, excepting only *Appius*, were for conſenting to this demand. But the faction of the rich got the better, being ſupported by the young Senators, who thought that nothing could be done for the relief of the people, but to the diminution of the Senate's authority. There were even ſeveral who preſuming upon the Dictator's extream good nature, reproached him, that he ſought by the vileſt methods the applauſes of a baſe populace. His demand was rejected with great tumult; and he was made to underſtand, that if his dignity had not ſet him above the laws, the Senate would call him to an account for diſbanding his army, as a thing contrary to the military laws, and eſpecially while the enemies of the Republic were ſtill in arms. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

The venerable old man anſwered, "I plainly perceive that I am not "agreeable to you: I am accuſed of being too popular; may the Gods "grant that all the defenders of the *Roman* people, who ſhall riſe here- "after, may be as moderate as I am! But expect not that I will deceive *D. Hal.* B. 6.

[a] The giving the military oath, which was called *Sacramentum*, was, properly ſpeaking, the legal method of forming the *Roman* Armies. After the ſoldiers had been choſen out of each tribe, in the manner elſewhere deſcribed, this oath was adminiſtered to them. The ceremony was this. The *Tribunes* of each *Legion* aſſembled the body they commanded. Then one ſoldier in a *Legion* ſwore, in the name of all the reſt, to obey the Commanders of the *Roman* army. After this, every ſoldier came, and ſingly engaged to perform what had been ſworn. This cuſtom continued till the 538th year of *Rome*; and then another oath, called by *Livy*, B. 22. *Juſjurandum*, (of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place) was added to the former. By vertue of this laſt engagement, rebels and deſerters were puniſhed with death, and no appeal admitted. There was likewiſe another way of enliſting men, which was called *Conjuratio*. It took place, in caſe of unforeſeen commotions, and the ſudden irruptions of an enemy. Then, that no time might be loſt in raiſing the neceſſary ſuccours, the ſoldiers were excuſed the formalities uſually obſerved in enrolling them. The General only went up to the *Capitol*, and there erected two Standards; one red, for the foot; and the other blue, for the horſe. After which, he pronounced theſe words, with a loud voice: *Let thoſe who love the ſafety of the Republick, make haſte and follow me.* A third way of enrolling or enliſting men, then in uſe, was this. The Conſuls committed it to the care of choſen perſons, to raiſe troops in different places, as the Republick had occaſion for them; and this was called *Evocatio*.

Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J.C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

" my Fellow-Citizens, who took up arms upon my promiſe, and who at " the price of their blood have triumphed over your enemies. A fo- " reign war, and our domeſtic feuds, were the occaſion of the Repub- " lic's honouring me with the Dictatorſhip. We now have peace abroad, " and I am hindered from eſtabliſhing it at home; thus my power being " grown uſeleſs, I am reſolved to abdicate this high dignity. I had ra- " ther behold the ſedition as a private perſon, than with the title of Dicta- " tor." Concluding with theſe words, he left the Senate abruptly and convened an Aſſembly of the People.

When the Aſſembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the enſigns of his dignity; he firſt returned the people thanks for the readineſs with which upon his orders they had taken arms, and then he highly praiſed the valour they had ſhewn in every action of the war, againſt the enemies of the Commonwealth. " You, ſaid he, like good Citizens, have perform- " ed your duty. It were now my turn to acquit myſelf of the promiſe " I made you; but a faction more powerful than the authority of the Dic- " tator himſelf, hinders the effect of my ſincere intentions. I am pub- " lickly called an enemy to the Senate; my conduct is cenſured; it is " laid to me as a crime, that I left you the ſpoils of our enemies, and " above all, that I abſolved you from the military oath. I know after " what manner, in the vigour of my life, I ſhould have anſwered ſuch " injuries: but they deſpiſe an old man of above threeſcore and ten; and " as I am now paſt either revenging my ſelf, or doing juſtice to you, I " freely reſign a dignity in which I can do you no ſervice. If however " any one of my Fellow-Citizens ſtill condemns me for the non-perform- " ance of my word, I willingly put the ſmall remains of life I have left " into his hands; he may deprive me of it, and I ſhall neither murmur " at it, nor oppoſe it."

The People heard this diſcourſe with no other ſentiments than of reſpect and veneration: every body did him the juſtice he deſerved, and he was conducted quite home to his houſe by the multitude, with as many praiſes as if he had pronounced the abolition of the debts.

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *The diſcontent among the people augments. The Conſuls, to give the mutineers a diverſion, lead their two armies which they had not yet diſbanded, again into the field. The ſoldiers deſert their Generals, and by the advice of* Sicinnius Bellutus, *retire to a hill three miles from* Rome. §. II. *The Senate diſpatch a deputation to them to perſuade them to return; but in vain.* Poſthumius Cominius, *and* Spurius Caſſius, *are choſen Conſuls. Warm debates in the Senate. A ſecond deputation is ſent to the mutineers in ſpite of the remonſtrances of* Appius Claudius. §. III. *The artful management of* Sicinnius Bellutus, *and* Junius Brutus, *the two heads of the ſedition, in their conference with the Deputies.*

§. IV.

The Military Ensigns of the Romans.

§. IV. Menenius Agrippa, *by ſoft words and by his famous apologue, overcomes the obſtinacy of the mutineers; but when they are juſt ready to go back to the city,* Brutus *puts a ſtop to their march till the Senate have agreed to the creation of ſome new officers choſen out of the* Plebeians *to be the future protectors of the people. Theſe officers, ſtiled* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE, *being elected, and their perſons declared* ſacred, *the mutineers return to* Rome.

§. I. AND now the people turned their whole indignation againſt the Senate, which had ſo often deceived them. They kept no further meaſures, the *Plebeians* aſſembled publickly, and the moſt violent propoſals were the moſt agreeable to the multitude. The two Conſuls, who ſtill held the ſoldiers engaged by their oath, led them, by the Senate's advice, into the field, under pretence of news which they had cauſed to be brought, that the enemies were making freſh preparations for war. The people who perceived the artifice, went out of *Rome* with the utmoſt rage. They were no ſooner in the field, but the moſt furious were for murdering the Conſuls, in order to free the ſoldiers at once from the oath that bound them to their command. But the wiſeſt among them, and thoſe who were ſwayed by the fear of the Gods, having repreſented to them how uſeleſs as well as heinous ſuch a crime would be, ſince they could not thereby avoid the guilt of breaking their oath, thoſe hot blades took another method. They ſnatched up the enſigns, and marched away with them. The legions inſtantly forſaking their officers [a] followed; and by the advice of a *Plebeian* named *Sicinnius Bellutus*, they all retired to a hill, (afterwards called *Mons Sacer*) three miles from *Rome*, near the river *Anio*; and there they encamped. Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J. C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip.

§. II. A DESERTION ſo general, and which looked like the beginning of a civil war, gave great uneaſineſs to the Senate. They immediately ſet guards at the gates of the city, as well for its ſecurity, as to hinder any more of the *Plebeians* from joining the malecontents. But thoſe who were burthened with debts, and even many others who without being in debt were diſcontented, eſcaped notwithſtanding this precaution; and *Rome* ſaw at her gates a very formidable army made up of part of

[a] *Dion. Hal.* gives us the reaſon why the legions ſo readily followed their enſigns. The *Romans*, ſays he, reſpect nothing when they are in the field, more than their enſigns and ſtandards. They are to them as ſo many Deities. They indeed ſwear by their military enſigns, and pay them a ſort of religious worſhip. On certain feſtivals, they crown them with flowers, and perfume them. *Aquilæ certe, ac ſigna illa pulverulenta, & cuſtodiis horrida, inunguntur etiam feſtis diebus. Utinamque dicere poſſemus quis primus inſtituiſſet!* *Plin.* B. 13. This cuſtom is alſo atteſted by an inſcription on an ancient marble; which runs thus, CORONÆ. INLATÆ. SIGNA QUE UNCTA. Animated by this ſuperſtitious prejudice, the ſoldiers braved the greateſt dangers, and deſpiſed death itſelf, to ſecure theſe precious pledges from being taken by the enemy. It often was as much as a man's life was worth to ſuffer his ſtandard to be taken from him: Hiſtory gives us ſeveral inſtances of thoſe who were condemned to be whipped, and to loſe their heads, for having loſt the colours committed to their care.

Y. of *R.* 259. Bef. *J. C.* 493. 16 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 6. her own citizens, and ready to turn their arms upon thoſe that remained in the city.

The *Patricians* immediately divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies, to be differently employ'd: Some at the head of their clients, and of ſuch *Plebeians* as would not take part in the ſedition, ſecured the moſt advanced poſts; others intrenched themſelves at the entrance of the city; the old men undertook the defence of the walls, and all appeared equally vigorous and reſolute.

The Senate after theſe precautions, ſent a deputation to the malecontents, to offer them a general pardon, and exhort them to return into the city. But this ſtep, taken too ſoon, and in the firſt heat of the ſedition, only ſerved to increaſe the inſolence of the ſoldiers. The deputies were ſent back contemptuouſly, with no other anſwer but, That the *Patricians* ſhould quickly find what enemies they had to deal with.

The return of theſe Envoys augmented the trouble in the city. The two Conſuls, whoſe Magiſtracy was expiring, appointed the aſſembly for the election of their ſucceſſors; no body at ſo dangerous a time preſented himſelf candidate for that dignity; ſeveral even refuſed it. At length they obliged *Poſthumus Cominius*, and *Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus*, both conſular perſons, to accept it, and the Senate pitched upon them, becauſe they were equally agreeable to the Nobles and *Plebeians*, and becauſe *Caſſius* eſpecially had always behaved himſelf very artfully between the two parties.

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

The firſt care of the new Conſuls was, to convene the Senate to deliberate upon the moſt ſpeedy and eaſy methods of reſtoring peace and union in the State.

Menenius Agrippa, a conſular perſon, and eminent for integrity of manners, being the firſt called upon to give his opinion, declared that he thought it adviſable to diſpatch a new deputation to the malecontents, and to give the Deputies full power to put an end to this ugly affair upon whatever conditions they ſhould think neceſſary for the good of the Republick. Some of the *Fathers* objected, that it would be a derogation to the majeſty of the Senate, to ſend a ſecond deputation to rebels, who had given ſuch an unworthy reception to their firſt. But *Menenius* urged, that this was no time to inſiſt upon a vain formality; that the preſervation of the Republick, and even neceſſity, to which the Gods themſelves were forced to ſubmit, obliged the Senate to court the People. That *Rome*, the terror of her neighbours, was in a manner beſieged by her own Citizens; that indeed they had as yet committed no act of hoſtility, but that for this very reaſon the Senate ought to prevent the beginning of a war, which could not but be fatal to the State, let the ſucceſs be what it would.

He added, that the *Sabines*, the *Volſci*, the *Æqui*, and the *Hernici*, all irreconcileable enemies of the *Roman* name, would already have joined the rebels, if they had not perhaps thought it more proper to let the *Romans* weaken and deſtroy themſelves by their own diviſions. That no great aſſiſtance was to be expected from the Allies of the Republick; that as

for the nations of *Campania* and *Tuſcany*, they were always governed by events, and their faith was to be ſuſpected; that even the *Latines* were not much more to be depended on, a people jealous of the ſuperiority of *Rome*, and ever fond of novelty. That the *Patricians* deceived themſelves, if they hoped, merely with the help of their clients and ſlaves, to withſtand ſo many domeſtick and foreign enemies, who would join to deſtroy a power they abhorred. Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

M. Valerius, the late Dictator, whoſe mind was embittered againſt the Senate, added to what *Menenius* had ſaid, that every thing was to be feared from the fury of the *Malecontents*, moſt of whom had already abandoned the care of their inheritances, and the culture of the lands, as men who had renounced their country, and thought of ſettling elſewhere. That *Rome* would become a deſart, and that the Senate, by being too inflexible, would occaſion the loſs of its chief ſtrength. That if they had followed his advice during his Dictatorſhip, they might by the abolition of the debts have preſerved union and peace between the different orders in the ſtate; but that they muſt not imagine the people, who had ſo often been cheated by the falſe promiſes of the Senate, would be ſatisfied now with that abolition. That he was afraid the ill treatment they had received would make them demand ſtrong ſecurities for the continuance of their rights and liberties. That it could not be denied but that moſt of the *Plebeians* were deſpoiled of their Inheritances; that the poor wretches were thrown into chains like ſo many criminals, and that they complained perhaps with ſome juſtice, that the Nobles and *Patricians*, contrary to the original conſtitution of the State, ſtudied nothing but how to make themſelves Maſters of the Government. That the creation of a Dictator, a modern invention of the Senate's, quite deſtroy'd the purpoſe of the *Lex Valeria*, the People's refuge, and the guardian of their liberty. That the abſolute power which ſome were ſo ready to truſt in the hands of a ſingle perſon, would one day make the poſſeſſor of it the Tyrant of his Country; that theſe innovations owed their riſe to the imperious maxims of *Appius Claudius*, and others of his ſtamp, who ſeemed to be wholly taken up with the deſign of eſtabliſhing the domination of the Nobles upon the ruins of the public liberty; and to reduce free Citizens to the vile condition of ſubjects, and ſlaves to the Senate. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

Appius, when it was his turn to ſpeak, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to *M. Valerius*, ſaid, "If you had confined your ſelf barely to give your "opinion, without falling upon me ſo unjuſtly, you had not expoſed "yourſelf to hear truths, which may not be very agreeable to you. But "before I offer them to this Aſſembly, it is fit I ſhould anſwer your ca"lumnies. Tell me, *Valerius*, where are the *Romans* whom I have "proſecuted with the rigour of juſtice, to oblige them to pay me what "they owe me? Name the Citizens whom I have kept in chains; go "even to Mount *Velia*, ſearch among that crowd of male-contents, and ſee "whether there be one man who will ſay, he left the City out of fear of "being impriſoned by me. Every body knows on the contrary, that I

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J.C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

" have uſed my debtors like my clients and friends; that without conſidering the old debts, I have freely aſſiſted them again in their neceſſities, and that, as much as in me lay, the Citizens were always free. " Not that I propoſe my conduct as a rule for others; I will always contend for the authority of the laws in favour of thoſe who have recourſe " to them. I am even convinced, that with regard to certain debtors " who ſpend their lives in idleneſs and debauchery, it is as reaſonable to " make them pay, as it is noble and generous to forgive poor Citizens " who are peaceable and laborious, but whoſe misfortunes have reduced " them to extream want: ſuch has been my conduct, and ſuch are the *im-* " *perious maxims* with which I am charged. But, it ſeems, I have declared " myſelf a favourer of the great, and it is by my counſels that they " have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Government. This crime, Gentlemen, " *added* Appius. *turning towards the chief of the Senate*, I am guilty of in " common with you. The Government belongs to you, and you are too " wiſe to yield it up to an unbridled rabble, to that furious beaſt which " hearkens to none but its flatterers, but yet whoſe ſlaves often become " its Tyrants; and this is what we ought to apprehend from *M. Valerius*; " who, tho' all the credit he has in the Republic be owing to the dig- " nities with which we have honoured him, makes uſe of it now to ruin " our laws, change the form of our government, and by his mean con- " deſcentions pave himſelf a way to the tyranny. You have heard his " own words, and muſt have obſerved, that being better informed than " we of the pernicious deſigns of the rebels, he gives us notice to prepare " for new pretenſions; under colour of demanding ſecurity for the liberty " of the people, he ſeeks nothing but to deſtroy that of the Senate.

" But to come to the chief point, upon which we meet this day. I " ſay then, that it is ſtriking at the very foundation of a State to change " its laws, and that it is impoſſible to annul the contracts between pri- " vate perſons, without violating the public faith, and ruining that ori- " ginal contract, which formed the firſt ſocieties among men. Will you " now grant to a ſeditious mob, who are ready to turn their arms againſt " their Country, what you have often prudently refuſed to quiet Citizens, " and ſoldiers that fought under your enſigns? Conſider that you can " make no conceſſion in this article of the debts, without opening a door " at the ſame time to new pretenſions. Before it be long, the Leaders " of the ſedition, in concert with *M. Valerius*, will want to be admit- " ted into the chief dignities of the State. May the tutelar Gods of *Rome* " grant, that the Government do not at laſt fall wholly into the hands " of a baſe populace, that will puniſh you for your weakneſs, and baniſh " you your ſelves from your Country! Endeavours are uſed to terrify you " with the arms of the Rebels; but have not you their wives and children in " hoſtage? Will they attack with open force a City which incloſes all that " they hold moſt dear? But I will grant that they have no more regard to " the ties of Blood, than to the laws of the Government: Have they the " Generals, the Proviſions, the Money neceſſary to maintain themſelves

" in

" in ſuch an enterpriſe? What will become of them during winter, Y. of *R.* 260.
" which is now approaching, without bread, without ſhelter, and with- Bef. *J. C.* 492.
" out daring to ſtraggle for fear of falling into our hands? If they take 17 Conſulſhip.
" refuge among our neighbours, will they not find the Government there,
" as well as at *Rome*, in the hands of the great? Can rebels and run-
" aways expect to be placed in any other condition, than that of wretch-
" ed ſlaves? Perhaps it is feared that our neighbours and they will join
" their forces and beſiege *Rome*, and that the City will not have a ſuffici-
" ent number of inhabitants for its defence, as if the ſtrength of the Re-
" public lay wholly in the rebels. But have you not amongſt the *Pa-*
" *tricians* a flouriſhing youth, and full of courage? Our clients who are
" the ſoundeſt part of the *Plebeian* body, are they not like us immove-
" ably faithful to the intereſt of the Commonwealth? You know by the
" laſt numbering of the people, that the Republic has no leſs than
" 130000 men fit to bear arms; there is ſcarce the ſeventh part of theſe
" among the male-contents. But, if occaſion be, let us arm our ſlaves,
" let us make of them a new people; theſe we ſhall find obedient. In our
" ſervice, and by our example, they have learnt the diſcipline of war.
" How couragiouſly will they fight if liberty is to be the reward of their
" valour? If all theſe helps do not ſeem ſufficient, recall your
" colonies. Nay, rather than ſubmit to receive law from the re- *D. H.* L. 5. p.
" bels, grant the *Latines* the rights of Citizens of *Rome*, which they 293. an. 256.
" have ſo long ſued for. You will then ſee them immediately run to
" your aſſiſtance, and you will want neither Soldiers nor Citizens. To
" reduce my opinion to a few words, I think we ought not to ſend De-
" puties to the rebels, nor do any thing that can ſhew the leaſt fear
" or uneaſineſs. If they return to their duty, we ought to uſe them gent-
" ly; but we ſhould purſue them ſword in hand if they perſiſt in their
" revolt."

This advice ſo full of ſteddineſs and reſolution was approved, tho' for different reaſons, by the faction of the rich, and by all the young Senators. The two Conſuls on the other hand, who were *Plebeians* by inclination and courted the affection of the multitude, and the old men, naturally timorous, maintained, that Civil War was the greateſt calamity that could befal a State. The ſame was urged by ſuch of the Senate as regarded only the preſervation of the public liberty, and who doubted whether ſome ambitious and enterprizing man might not ariſe even out of the body of the Senate, and by the help of theſe diviſions make himſelf ſole maſter of the Government. But ſcarce were they ſo much as heard; the place was filled with nothing but clamour and threatnings. The youngeſt Senators, inſolent upon account of their birth, and jealous of the prerogatives of their rank, went even ſo far as to intimate to the Conſuls, that they ſuſpected them. They put them in mind, that being in the place of the Kings, they had not only the regal authority, but that of the Senate to maintain againſt the invaſions of the people; and the more violent declared, that if the leaſt inſult was offered to it, they would take

arms

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J.C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

arms to preſerve to their order a power which they had received from their anceſtors.

The two Conſuls, who were diſpoſed to favour the people, having conferred together in private, determined to give theſe hot ſpirits time to cool, and for that purpoſe to put off the deciſion of this great affair to another day: But before the Aſſembly broke up, in order to intimidate the young Senators, who had talked to them in ſo audacious a manner, they threatened them, that unleſs they behaved themſelves for the future with more modeſty in ſo venerable an Aſſembly, means would be found to exclude them wholly from it, by fixing[a] the age neceſſary for a Senator. As this had not yet been ſettled, the young Senators, more afraid of loſing their dignity than their point, truckled to the menaces and power of the Conſuls, who at the ſame time made uſe of another artifice againſt the older Senators who oppoſed the abolition of the debts. They told them they could no longer bear this diviſion in the Senate, and that if the *Fathers* did not enter into more unanimous meaſures, they would carry the affair before the People, to whom, as it related to war, they could not without injuſtice refuſe the cognizance of it, according to what had been practiſed even under the Government of the Kings.

The Senators who had embraced *Appius*'s opinion with moſt warmth, plainly ſaw by the turn which the Conſuls gave to this affair, that it would ſlip from them if they perſiſted in their firſt ſentiments. The fear of falling into the people's hands ſtaggered them; and the tears and cries of the women and children who embraced their knees, and begged of them their fathers and huſbands, gained them over entirely; ſo that the Senate being convened again, they declared for coming to an agreement with the malecontents. *Appius* remained almoſt alone in his oppoſition. Addreſſing himſelf to the two Conſuls, "I find, *ſaid he*, it "will be to no purpoſe for me to offer any thing further upon this mat- "ter; you ſeem reſolved to treat with the rebels upon their own conditi- "ons; however, you will give me leave to declare once more, that this "ſhall never be with my conſent. I repeat it, that I think we cannot in- "deed have too much regard to the miſeries of a people faithful and "obedient; but I affirm that all manner of negotiation with rebels is "dangerous ſo long as they continue in arms."

As the *Fathers* had taken their reſolution before, this diſcourſe was heard

[a] That there was a certain age, in after times required, is plain from the frequent uſe of *Ætas Senatoria* in Authors. *Dio Caſſius* poſitively limits it to five and twenty, which was the ſooneſt time any one could have diſcharged the Quæſtorſhip, the firſt office of any conſiderable note: Yet we meet with very many perſons promoted to this order without any conſideration had to their years, as it uſually happened in all other honours whatever. *Ken. Antiq.* p. 102.

Pompey eſtabliſhed among the *Bithynians* a law by which no one could become a Member of their Senate till he was thirty complete. It is probable that he followed the cuſtom of the *Roman* Republic in this regulation; and the more ſo, becauſe *Pliny the younger* tells us, in one of his letters to the Emperor *Trajan*, that the *Bithynians* made the *Romans* their pattern, eſpecially in what related to their Magiſtracy and Senate.

with

with uneaſineſs, and conſidered as the language of a man zealous indeed for the Senate's glory, but too conceited of his own abilities, and either through vanity, or an obſtinacy of temper, incapable of ever changing his opinion. Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

The Senate, giving no heed to what he ſaid, named ten Commiſſioners to treat with the malecontents, and choſe them out of thoſe of their own body who had always declared in favour of the people. At the head of this deputation were *T. Lartius*, *Menenius Agrippa*, and *M. Valerius*, all three in great eſteem, and of whom two had governed the Republic, and commanded her armies in quality of Dictators: They ſet forward with their Collegues towards the camp. This great news got thither before them; and the ſoldiers ran out in crowds to receive their old Captains, under whom they had ſo often ſerved. Furious as the rebels were with anger, there yet appeared in their countenances a certain ſhame, and a remainder of their former reſpect, ſuch as is created by the dignity of command, eſpecially when ſupported by great merit.

§. III. THE meer preſence of the Deputies had been ſufficient to bring back the rebels to their duty, if certain turbulent ſpirits had not taken care to keep up the fire of diſcord.

Sicinnius Bellutus, as was before obſerved, had gained the confidence of theſe ſoldiers; a *Plebeian*, very ambitious, a great maſter at fomenting diſcord, and one who expected his own advancement from the troubles of the State. This man was aſſiſted in his deſigns by another *Plebeian* much of the ſame character, but ſomewhat more crafty. He was named *Lucius Junius*, like the ancient deliverer of *Rome*, though of a very different family: Nay, he affected the ſurname of *Brutus*, out of a ridiculous vanity of comparing himſelf with that illuſtrious *Patrician*. *Brutus* adviſed *Sicinnius* to croſs the negotiation at firſt, and to ſtart new objections againſt a re-union, in order to find out what advantage they might get from it, and at what price the other party would purchaſe it. "The Senate, *ſaid he*, betray their fear: We are maſters, "if we know how to improve this opportunity: Let thoſe grave Magiſtrates ſpeak what they have to offer; I undertake to anſwer them "in the name of our comrades, and I hope that what I ſhall ſay will be "equally uſeful and agreeable to them."

Theſe two heads of the ſedition having agreed upon the different parts they were to act, *Sicinnius* introduced the Deputies into the camp, who when they had placed themſelves where they could be heard by the multitude, which flocked about them, were told that they might give an account of their commiſſion. *M. Valerius* then ſaid, that he brought them joyful news; that the Senate not only was pleaſed to forget their fault, but had empowered him and his Collegues to grant them all the favours that were compatible with the common good of their country; that nothing now hindered them from going back to the city, reviſiting their Houſhold Gods, and receiving the embraces of their wives and Children, who ſighed for their return. *D. Hal.* B. 6.

Sicinnius

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

Sicinnius replied, that before the people conſented to this, it was but juſt they themſelves ſhould lay open their grievances and pretenſions, and know what they might hope from theſe fine promiſes of the Senate; he then exhorted thoſe of the ſoldiers who would defend the publick liberty, to preſent themſelves and ſpeak. But a profound ſilence reigned in the aſſembly; the ſoldiers ſtood looking at one another, and being conſcious of their incapacity and want of elocution, not one of them had the boldneſs to make himſelf advocate for the common cauſe. Then *Brutus*, purſuant to his agreement with *Sicinnius*, ſtept forward, and addreſſing himſelf to his comrades, ſaid: "One would imagine, fellow-ſoldiers, by this deep ſilence that you are ſtill awed by that ſervile fear in which the *Patricians* and your creditors kept you ſo long. Every man conſults the eyes of the reſt to diſcover whether there be more reſolution in others than he finds in himſelf, and not one of you has the courage to ſpeak in publick, that which is the conſtant ſubject of your private converſations. Do you not know that you are free? This camp, theſe arms, do not they convince you that you are no longer under your Tyrants? And if you could ſtill doubt it, would not this ſtep which the Senate has taken be ſufficient to ſatisfy you? Thoſe *Patricians*, ſo haughty and imperious, now ſend to court us; they no longer make uſe either of proud commands, or cruel threats; they invite us as their fellow-citizens to return into our common city; nay ſome of our Sovereigns, you ſee, are ſo gracious as to come to our very camp, to offer us a general pardon. Whence then can proceed this obſtinate ſilence, after ſuch ſingular condeſcenſions? If you doubt the ſincerity of their promiſes; if you fear that under the veil of a few fine words they conceal your former chains, why do you not ſpeak? Declare your thoughts freely. Or, if you dare not open your mouths, at leaſt hear a *Roman*, who has courage enough to fear nothing but the not ſpeaking the truth."

D. Hal. B. 6.

Then turning to *Valerius*, "You invite us, *ſaid he*, to return to *Rome*; but you do not tell us upon what conditions: Can *Plebeians* poor, tho' free, think of being united with *Patricians* ſo rich, and ſo ambitious? And even though we ſhould agree to the conditions you have to offer, what ſecurity will the *Patricians* give us for the performance, thoſe haughty *Patricians*, who make it a merit among themſelves to have deceived the people? You talk to us of nothing but pardon and forgiveneſs, as if we were your ſubjects, and ſubjects in rebellion; but that is the point to be diſcuſſed. Is it the People or the Senate who are in fault? Which of the two orders was it, that firſt violated thoſe laws of ſociety, which ought to reign among the members of one and the ſame Republick? This is the queſtion.

"In order to judge of this without prejudice, give me leave barely to relate a certain number of facts, for the truth of which I will appeal to no other but yourſelf and your Collegues.

"Our State was founded by Kings, and never was the *Roman* people

" more free and more happy than under their Government. *Tarquin* Y. of *R.* 260.
" himſelf, the laſt of thoſe Princes, *Tarquin*, ſo odious to the Senate and Bef. *J. C.* 492.
" the Nobility, favour'd our intereſts as much as he oppoſed yours. 17 Conſulſhip.
" He loved the ſoldiers, he had an eſteem for valour, he was always for
" rewarding it; and every body knows that having found immenſe riches
" in *Sueſſa*, a town of the *Volſci*, which he had taken, he choſe rather to
" leave the booty to his army, than to appropriate it to himſelf; ſo that
" beſides the ſlaves, the horſes, the corn, and the houſhold-ſtuff, there
" remained over and above to each ſoldier five *Minæ* of ſilver.

" Nevertheleſs, to revenge *your* wrongs, we drove that Prince from
" *Rome*; we took arms againſt a Sovereign who defended himſelf only
" with the prayers he made to us to leave your intereſts, and return to
" his obedience. We afterwards cut to pieces the armies of *Veii*, and
" *Tarquinii*, which endeavoured to reſtore him to the throne. The for-
" midable power of *Porſenna*, the famine we underwent during a long
" ſiege, the fierce aſſaults, the continual battles, were all theſe, or in
" ſhort, was any thing capable of ſhaking the faith which we had given
" you? Thirty *Latine* Cities united to reſtore the *Tarquins*; what would
" you have done then, if we had abandoned you, and joined your ene-
" mies? What rewards might we not have obtained of *Tarquin*, while
" the Senate and Nobles would have been the victims of his reſentment?
" Who was it that diſperſed this dangerous combination? To whom are
" you obliged for the defeat of the *Latines?* Is it not to this people? Is
" it not to them you owe that very power which you have ſince turned
" againſt them? What recompence have we had for the aſſiſtance we
" gave you? Is the condition of the *Roman* people one jot the better?
" Have you aſſociated them in your offices and dignities? Have our poor
" Citizens found ſo much as the ſmalleſt relief in their neceſſities? On the
" contrary, have not our braveſt ſoldiers, oppreſſed with the weight of
" uſury, been groaning in the chains of their mercileſs creditors? What
" has come of all thoſe vain promiſes of aboliſhing in time of peace the
" debts which the extortions of the great had forced us to contract?
" Scarce was the war finiſhed, but you alike forgot our ſervices, and
" your oaths. With what deſign then do you come hither? Why do
" you try to ſeduce this people by the enchantment of your words?
" Are there any oaths ſo ſolemn as to bind your faith? And after all,
" what would you get by a union brought about by artifice, kept up
" with mutual diſtruſt, and which muſt end at laſt in a Civil War? Let
" us on both ſides avoid ſuch heavy misfortunes; let us not loſe the hap-
" pineſs of our ſeparation; ſuffer us to depart from a country where we
" are loaded with chains like ſo many ſlaves; and where being reduced
" to be only farmers of our own inheritances, we are forced to cultivate
" them for the profit of our Tyrants. So long as we have our ſwords in
" our hands, we ſhall be able to open ourſelves a way into more fortunate
" climates, and where-ever the Gods ſhall grant us to live in LIBERTY,
" there we ſhall find OUR COUNTRY."

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17. Conſulſhip.

This bold diſcourſe renewed in the aſſembly the melancholy remembrance of all thoſe miſeries whereof the people complained; every man was eager to quote examples of the rigour of the *Patricians*; ſome had loſt their inheritances; others complained of having long ſuffered in the priſons of their creditors; ſeveral ſhewed the marks of the ſtripes they had received; and there was not one who, beſide the general cauſe, had not a particular injury to revenge.

T. Lartius, the head of the deputation, thought himſelf bound to anſwer all theſe complaints, and he did it with that exact equity and uprightneſs, which was ſo natural to him. He ſaid, that to hinder men, who had fairly lent their money, from exacting the repayment of it, had been a thing impracticable; and that it was without example in any well regulated State, that the Magiſtrate ſhould refuſe the aid of the laws to thoſe who demanded it, ſo long as thoſe laws and cuſtoms ſerved for a rule in the Government. That nevertheleſs the Senate was willing to look into the neceſſities of the people, and to provide a remedy for them by new regulations; but that it became the Senate's juſtice at the ſame time to diſtinguiſh thoſe who by their ſober conduct deſerved relief, from ſuch as were fallen into poverty only thro' their own ſloth and intemperance; that thoſe ſeditious men who ſeemed to make it their buſineſs to keep up the diviſion between the Senate and the People, were not more deſerving of favour than thoſe idle debauchees, and that it would be a very great advantage to the Republic to loſe ſuch Citizens.

T. Lartius was going to continue his diſcourſe more ſincere, than ſeaſonable, when *Sicinnius*, provoked at what he had ſaid in relation to the Leaders of the ſedition, cut him off abruptly, and addreſſing himſelf to the Aſſembly: "You now ſee, my companions, *ſaid he*, by the haughty ſpeech of this *Patrician*, what you are to expect from his negotiation, and what treatment is preparing for you at *Rome*, if the Senate can once draw you into their power:" And then turning immediately to the Deputies: "Propoſe directly, ſaid he, the conditions you are impowered to offer us for our return, or this inſtant leave our camp, where we are not diſpoſed to bear with you any longer."

§. VI. THESE words were highly applauded by the multitude. But then *Menenius*, in the midſt of their acclamations, made a ſign to them, that he had ſomething to ſay. His known character of integrity, and of being a friend to the people, eaſily gained him attention. Silence being made, he told them, that the Commiſſioners were not come to the camp only to juſtify to them the Senate's conduct, but alſo to inform them of what the Senate had reſolved in their favour. That *the Fathers*, ſtudious of the public good, had carefully enquired into the cauſes of the unhappy diviſions, and had found, that the extreme indigence of the *Plebeians*, and the ſeverity of their creditors, were the true ſources of them. That in order to remedy theſe evils, they had, with unanimous conſent, determined to annul all bonds and obligations at preſent ſubſiſting, and to declare the poor Citizens free of all debts: and that as to thoſe which might

might be contracted hereafter, proviſion ſhould be made by a new regu- Y. of *R.* 260.
lation to be agreed upon between the People and the Senate; that a *Sena-* Bef. *J. C.* 492.
tus-conſultum, conformable to that agreement, ſhould be paſs'd, and ſhould 17 Conſulſhip.
become an eſtabliſh'd law; and that all the Commiſſioners in the Aſſembly engaged their lives to the people, and devoted themſelves and their children to the infernal Gods, if they failed in their promiſe.

This prudent Senator finding the minds of the people ſoftened by the promiſe he had made them, and deſiring to leſſen the jealouſy which they had of the rich, repreſented to them how neceſſary it was in a State, that one part of the Community ſhould be richer than the other: and we are told, that to make this truth the more palpable to them, he employ'd that *Livy*, B. 2.
famous apologue of a conſpiracy of all the members of the human body againſt the ſtomach, under pretence that this alone, without working, enjoy'd the fruit of all their labours. Having applied it to the people and the Senate, he deſired them to conſider, that this auguſt body, like *D. Hal.* B. 6.
the ſtomach, convey'd into the ſeveral members joined to it, the ſame nouriſhment that it received itſelf, but much better prepared, and that to it alone they owed their life and ſtrength. He added, "Were they not "the *Patricians*, who firſt ſtood up for the public liberty? To whom do "you owe the eſtabliſhment of the Republic? When dangers threaten, on "whom do you turn your eyes, and whence have always proceeded thoſe "generous counſels that have ſaved the State? Nothing is more precious "to that wiſe body, than your preſervation and union. The Senate loves "you all with the reaſonable affection of a father, but without debaſing "itſelf to the treacherous fawnings of a flatterer. You demand the abo-"lition of the debts; they grant it to you: but they grant it only becauſe "they think it juſt, and neceſſary to the welfare of our country. Return "then with confidence into the boſom of that common mother, who has "educated us all in ſentiments equally generous and free. Receive our "embraces as the firſt fruits of the peace between us; let us jointly carry "to *Rome* the firſt news of it; and may the Gods who protect this Em-"pire grant, that our re-union may be hereafter celebrated by new "victories over our enemies."

The people could not hear this diſcourſe without ſhedding tears; they all cried out, as with one voice, to *Menenius*, that they were ſatisfied, and that he might lead them back to *Rome*. But the pretended *Brutus*, who had juſt before ſpoken ſo ſharply againſt the Senate, put a ſtop to this ſudden motion. He told the people, that in truth they ought to be very thankful for the favour ſhew'd them at preſent, in the abolition of the debts; but that he could not forbear letting them know that he was very apprehenſive about the future; and that he feared the Senate would one day revenge themſelves for the juſt conceſſions they had been forced to make, unleſs means were found to ſecure the State and the liberties of the People againſt the enterprizes of ſo ambitious a body.

"What other ſecurity can you aſk, replied *Menenius*, beſide what "our laws and the conſtitution of the Republic already afford? Grant us,

V. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J.C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

" anſwered *Brutus*, ſome officers to be choſen out of the order of the " *Plebeians*. We do not deſire to have them diſtinguiſhed by the ho- " nourable marks of the Magiſtracy, by the robe bordered with purple, " or the curule chair, or the lictors. We are willing to leave all that " pageantry to *Patricians* proud of their birth or dignities; we ſhall be " contented if we may every year elect ſome *Plebeians*, who may have " authority only to hinder the injuſtices that might be done to the people, " and to defend their intereſts both public and private. If you came hi- " ther with a ſincere intention of peace, you cannot reject ſo equitable a " propoſal."

The people, who are always of the opinion of him that ſpeaks laſt, immediately applauded what *Brutus* had ſaid. The Deputies were extremely ſurpriſed at ſuch a demand; they retired a little apart from the Aſſembly to confer together; and when they were returned to it, *Menenius* told them, that they aſked a very extraordinary thing, and which in time might even be the ſource of new diſſentions; that it abſolutely exceeded the bounds of their inſtructions and powers; but that *M. Valerius* and ſome others of the Deputies would go and make their report of it to the Senate, and that it would not be long before they returned with an anſwer.

Theſe Commiſſioners repaired with all ſpeed to *Rome*, where, the Senate being immediately convened, they laid before the Aſſembly the new pretenſions of the male-contents. *M. Valerius* made himſelf their Advocate; he repreſented to *the Fathers*, that they ought not to think of governing a warlike people, a people who were Soldiers as well as Citizens, in the ſame manner as they might rule meer Citizens, quiet, and peaceable, and who never ſtirred from the hearths of their domeſtic Gods. That war, and a continual exerciſe of arms inſpired a kind of courage, which could not bear the ſervile dependence which was expected from theſe brave men: that it was but juſtice to treat with great conſideration a generous people, who had extinguiſhed tyranny at the expence of their blood; that it was his opinion, the Officers they demanded ought to be granted them; and that perhaps ſuch Inſpectors might not be altogether uſeleſs in a free State, to have an eye over thoſe among the great, who might ſome time or other be tempted to carry their authority too far.

Appius could not hear ſuch diſcourſe without burning with indignation: He called both Gods and Men to be witneſſes of all the miſchiefs ſuch an innovation in the Government would bring upon the Republic; and as if his zeal and anger had been the ſpirit of prophecy, he foretold the Senate, that by this exceſs of condeſcention, they were ſuffering a tribunal to be ſet up, which by degrees would riſe againſt their authority, and at length deſtroy it. But this generous Senator was little minded, and his remonſtrance was looked upon as only the ſpleen of a man obſtinately wedded to his own opinion, and out of humour that it was not followed. The other ſide prevailed; moſt of the Senators, weary of theſe diviſions, were willing to have peace at any rate; ſo that with almoſt an univerſal conſent, a *Senatus-conſultum* was paſſed to permit the creation of theſe new Magiſtrates, who were called TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE. This

This Decree, which included alſo the abolition of the debts, was carried by the Deputies of the Senate to the camp as the ſeal of peace. The people now ſeemed to have nothing to detain them longer out of *Rome*; but the Leaders of the ſedition would not allow them to ſeparate before they had elected the new Magiſtrates. The aſſembly was held in the very camp; the auſpices were taken; the voices and ſuffrages were gathered by *Curiæ*, and they choſe for the firſt *Tribunes of the People*, according to *Dionyſius*, *L. Junius Brutus*, and *C. Sicinnius Bellutus*, the Leaders in the revolt, who immediately made *C.* and *P. Licinius*, and *Sp. Icilius Ruga* their aſſociates in the ſame dignity. *Livy* ſays that *C. Licinius* and *Lucius Albinus* were the firſt Tribunes, and that they choſe themſelves three Collegues, among whom *Sicinnius Bellutus* was one; and that Hiſtorian adds, that ſome Authors related that there were but two Tribunes created upon the *Mons Sacer*. Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J.C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

Be that as it will, the firſt Tribunes, to ſecure themſelves effectually againſt the Senate's reſentment, contrived to intereſt the whole body of the Nation in their defence. By their advice, the people, before they left the camp, declared the perſons of their TRIBUNES *ſacred*; a Law was paſſed which made it death to offer the leaſt violence to a Tribune, and all the *Romans* were obliged to ſwear, for themſelves and their poſterity, inviolably to obſerve this Law. The people after theſe regulations erected an altar to *Jupiter the Terrible*, upon the top of the hill where their camp ſtood; and when they had offered ſacrifices to the God, and conſecrated this place of their retreat, which from this time was called *The Sacred Mount*, they returned to *Rome*, led by their Tribunes and the Deputies of the Senate.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *The* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE *are no ſooner created than they endeavour to enlarge their authority. With the Senate's permiſſion they create two new Officers, to be their Miniſters and Aſſiſtants, who are afterwards called* ÆDILES. §. II. *Theſe conceſſions to the* Plebeians *keeping all quiet at home, the war is renewed againſt the* Volſci. *The* Roman *arms prevail.* Caius Marcius Coriolanus *ſignalizes his courage in this war.* §. III. T. Geganius *and* P. Minucius *are choſen Conſuls.* Rome *ſuffers extremely by a famine, and this calamity revives the civil diſſentions. The Senate, to diſburthen the City, ſend away great numbers of the people to plant two Colonies, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Tribunes. And becauſe theſe latter refuſe the Senate levies regularly made to act againſt the* Antiates, Coriolanus *at the head of ſome Volunteers takes the field and ravages the enemy's territory, ſharing all the ſpoil among his ſoldiers.* §. IV. *The Tribunes more angry than ever give out, that the dearth of proviſions is owing to the malice of the Senate. The Conſuls convene the People to undeceive them. The Tribunes diſpute with the Conſuls for the right of ſpeak-*

ing in the aſſembly. A law is paſſed by the People in favour of the Tribunes, and it is made penal to interrupt them when they are ſpeaking in the Comitia. *The Senate after ſome oppoſition conſent to this law; and then the People bear the famine patiently.*

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

§. I. *ROME*, by the eſtabliſhment of the Tribuneſhip, made a great advance towards a new change in the form of her Government. It had paſſed before, as we have already ſeen, from the Monarchic State, to a kind of Ariſtocracy; for upon the expulſion of *Tarquin*, the whole authority did really and in fact devolve upon the Senate and the Great: But now by the creation of the Tribunes, a Democracy began to take place, and the people by inſenſible degrees, and under different pretences, got poſſeſſion of the much greater ſhare in the Government.

The Senate indeed had no reaſon at firſt to apprehend ſo fatal a miſchief to their authority from the Tribunes. Theſe Officers at their original inſtitution had neither the quality of Senators, nor a particular tribunal, nor any juriſdiction over their fellow-citizens, nor the power of calling the Aſſemblies of the People. Habited like mere private men, and attended by only one ſervant, called *Viator*, who was indeed little different from a footman, they ſate upon a bench without the Senate, and were never admitted into it but when the Conſuls called them in to aſk their opinion upon ſome affair that concerned the intereſts of the people. Their ſole function was to defend the liberties of the *Plebeians* and to interpoſe in all grievances and impoſitions offered by their ſuperiors. This *interpoſing* in matters determined by the Senate or other Magiſtrates was called *Interceſſio*, and was performed by ſtanding up and pronouncing only one word, VETO, (*I forbid it.*) And this power was confined within the walls of *Rome*, or extended at moſt to a mile round it. And that the people might always have protectors at hand to take their part, the Tribunes were not allowed to be abſent from the city any one whole day, except in the *Feriæ Latinæ*. For the ſame reaſon they were obliged to keep their doors open day and night to receive the complaints of ſuch citizens as ſhould ſtand in need of their protection. Such Magiſtrates ſeemed to have been inſtituted only to prevent oppreſſion; but they did not long contain themſelves within the bounds of their proper office. There was nothing afterwards ſo great and exalted to which they did not raiſe their ambitious views. Under pretence of ſecuring the liberty of the people, they concealed a deſign of ruining the authority of the Senate.

One of the firſt ſteps of theſe Tribunes towards an increaſe of power was to aſk permiſſion of the Senate to chuſe two *Plebeians* who might be their Subſtitutes and Aſſiſtants in the multitude of affairs with which they ſaid they were overloaded in ſo great a city as *Rome*, and eſpecially in the beginning of a new Magiſtracy.

The Senate, always divided, and having loſt ſight of the fixed point of their Government, ſuffered themſelves to be carried away juſt as theſe ambitious

bitious men pleaſed; this new demand alſo was granted them. Such was the origin of the PLEBEIAN ÆDILES. They were at firſt called *Miniſters* and *Aſſiſtants* of the Tribunes; and indeed, in the beginning, they were nothing more than the Tribunes Agents, but they had afterwards the inſpection of the public edifices, the care of the temples, baths, aqueducts; and the cognizance of a great many affairs which before belonged to the Conſuls: and then they were ſtiled * ÆDILES. The more popular Senators pleaſed themſelves with the hopes, that by theſe conceſſions to the *Plebeians* they had reſtored quiet to the Republic; and indeed the reunion of the People with the *Patricians* had for ſome little time the appearance of being ſincere and durable.

Y. of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C* 492. 17 Conſulſhip.

D. Hal. B. 6.

* *Ab Ædibus curandis.*

§. II. ALL oppoſition to the making of regular levies being now at an end, the Conſul *Cominius* led an army againſt the *Volſci*. He defeated them in battle, and took from them *Longula* and *Poluſca*; after which he beſieged *Corioli*, which was the metropolis of the *Volſci*, and ſtrongly fortified. He carried this place, and gained a victory over the *Antiates* the ſame day: but CAIUS MARCIUS, an eminent *Patrician*, had all the glory of both actions. The troops detached by the Conſul to ſcale the walls of *Corioli* being repulſed in their firſt aſſault, *Marcius* by his words and example rallied the fugitives; he led them on afreſh to the charge, drove back the enemy within their walls and entered the city with them, of which he made himſelf Maſter. This exploit over, he haſted with all expedition to put himſelf in the foremoſt ranks of the Conſul's main army, that was juſt going to engage with the *Antiates* who were come to the relief of the place; and there he behaved himſelf with equal bravery, and had equal ſucceſs.

The next day the Conſul having cauſed his Tribunal to be erected before his tent, called the ſoldiers together. His whole ſpeech to them was little more than a panegyrick upon *Marcius*. He put a crown of gold upon his head, aſſigned him a tenth part of all the ſpoil, and in the name of the Republic made him a preſent of a fine horſe with ſtately furniture, giving him leave at the ſame time to chuſe out any ten of the priſoners for himſelf; and laſtly, he allotted him as much money as he could carry away. Of all theſe offers *Marcius* accepted only the horſe and one captive of the ten, an old friend of his family, that he might give him his liberty. So generous and diſintereſted a conduct left no room for jealouſy or envy; and to add to the glory of the brave warrior, the Conſul beſtowed on him the ſurname of CORIOLANUS, transferring thereby from himſelf to *Marcius* all the honour of the conqueſt of *Corioli*.

Cominius, at his return to *Rome*, diſbanded his army, and war was ſucceeded by works of religion, public games, and treaties of peace. The *Latines* having deſerved well of the Republic the ancient treaty with them was again renewed and confirmed by oaths; and a third day was added to the *Feriæ Latinæ*.

During this feſtival *Menenius Agrippa* died, and in great poverty like *Poplicola*. His relations thought to bury him privately and without ceremony; but the people being informed of it, and the motion being made by

Y of *R.* 260. Bef. *J. C.* 492. 17 Conſulſhip. by their new Tribunes, they agreed to pay a *Sextans* (or two ounces of braſs) *per* head, in order to have magnificent obſequies for him. Upon this the Senate entered into an emulation with the Commons, and would by no means ſuffer an illuſtrious *Patrician* to be buried at the expence of the *Plebeians*. They allotted a ſum out of the public treaſury for his funeral, and committed the care of it to the *Quæſtors*. Nevertheleſs the People refuſed to receive back their money, and ordered it to be given to *Menenius*'s children, *to comfort them in their indigence, and excite them to the purſuit of virtue.*

A *Cenſus* and a *Luſtrum* cloſed the events of this memorable Conſulſhip; there appeared to be in *Rome* at this time no more than 110000 men fit to bear arms, a number by many thouſands leſs than at the laſt enrollment.

Y. of *R.* 261. Bef. *J. C.* 491. 18 Conſulſhip. §. III. UNDER the following adminiſtration of *T. Geganius* and *P. Minucius*, *Rome* was terribly afflicted by a famine, occaſioned chiefly by the neglect of ploughing and ſowing during the late troubles. Nothing but the authority of the Magiſtrates could have hindered the people from killing the ſlaves to eat them. The Senate diſpatched Agents into all parts to buy corn, but with little ſucceſs. The Nations bordering upon *Rome* being jealous of her greatneſs, refuſed to furniſh her. Some ſmall ſupplies indeed were brought from *Hetruria*, but theſe were quickly conſumed. The Purveyors who went into *Latium* were interrupted in their corn traffick by the *Volſci*. At *Cumæ* the Tyrant *Ariſtodemus* ſeized their barks by way of repriſal for the effects of King *Tarquin*, whoſe heir he pretended to be. So that the Senate was obliged to ſend into *Sicily*, and even there it was a tedious while before the Commiſſioners could get a cargo, having as many petty tyrants to treat with as there were heads of villages. In the mean time the miſery at *Rome* became exceſſive; the people murmured againſt the rich and envied them the little wholſome ſuſtenance they purchaſed at a great price, whilſt they themſelves were reduced to eat any thing they could get, and nature in ſo great extremity loathed nothing.

During this diſtreſs a Deputation came from *Velitræ* a *Volſcian* City, where the *Romans* had formerly planted a colony, repreſenting that nine parts in ten of its inhabitants had been ſwept away by a plague, and praying the *Romans* to ſend a new colony to repeople it. The *Conſcript Fathers* thinking it a good opportunity to get rid of many uſeleſs mouths, and alſo that *Velitræ* might be an excellent barrier againſt the *Volſci*, decreed that a colony ſhould be ſent thither; and they ordered at the ſame time that an army ſhould be raiſed to take the field againſt the *Volſci* who made incurſions upon the *Roman* territory. The Senate hoped that the unanimity which generally reigns among fellow-ſoldiers in the ſame camp, might take place of that animoſity between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, which was already beginning to revive; and they were ſure to draw this advantage at leaſt from the expedition, that the troops deſtined for the campaign would find bread in the enemies country, and by that means diſburthen their own.

The

The people at firſt had no diſlike to a propoſal that gave them a proſpect of relief in their hunger: but *Sicinnius* and *Brutus*, who were ſtill their Tribunes, ſeditiouſly oppoſed the departure of the *Romans* either for *Velitræ* or the war. " Shall we tamely ſit down, *ſaid they*, and ſee ſo many " miſerable *Plebeians* baniſhed from their native city under the ſpecious " pretence of founding a colony? The country deſigned for them is " covered with dead bodies, which the living are yet too weak to put " into the ground. To how many dangers muſt this colony be expoſed, " in cultivating lands which lie under the curſe of the Gods! Is it not a " leſs evil to ſuffer hunger here, than to breathe infected air at *Velitræ*? " And to what purpoſe ſhould we undertake a war in ſuch a time of di- " ſtreſs? Have we not calamities enough at home, that we muſt go " abroad to ſeek death from the peſtilence or the ſword?" Y. of *R.* 261. Bef. *J. C.* 491. 18 Conſulſhip.

Theſe diſcourſes of the Tribunes took off the edge of the people's deſire to leave *Rome*. None of them would give their names to be enrolled either for the army or the colony. The Senate nevertheleſs paſſed a decree that the people ſhould aſſemble by *Curiæ* and draw lots, and that thoſe to whoſe lot it fell to be of the colony ſhould inſtantly march for *Velitræ*, or ſuffer the ſevereſt puniſhments for their diſobedience. Fear and hunger made the people comply; and the *Fathers* a few days after ſent away a ſecond colony to *Norba* a conſiderable city of *Latium*.

In the mean time the *Antiates* taking advantage of the famine with which *Rome* was afflicted, and of the diſcord between the People and the Senate, made incurſions up to the very gates of the city. *Coriolanus* could not bear this inſult, and finding that the Tribunes ſtill oppoſed any regular levies being made, he, with the Senate's leave, put himſelf at the head of his friends and of the braveſt of the *Plebeians*, whom his known courage and experience in war eaſily diſpoſed to follow him, eſpecially as he promiſed to bring them home loaded with booty. With theſe he took the field, ſurprized the enemy ſcattered over the country, beat them in ſeveral engagements, drove them back into their own territories, and at length forced them to ſhut themſelves up in *Antium*. He then uſed repriſals, and while he held the Gates of that city as it were ſealed up by the terror of his arms, his ſoldiers in their turn ravaged the lands belonging to it, and gathered in the harveſt ſword in hand. The General ſuffered his men to keep all for their own uſe, and they returned to *Rome* well provided with corn, cattle and ſlaves. Thoſe of the people who had ſtaid behind, then murmured at their Tribunes for having diverted them from following ſo ſucceſsful a Leader.

§. IV. *SP. ICILIUS* was now the chief of the Tribunes, and *Brutus* and *Sicinnius*, to keep themſelves ſtill in the management of affairs, had got the Ædileſhip. Thoſe ſeditious men, whoſe credit ſubſiſted only by the miſunderſtanding they fomented between the two orders in the Commonwealth, maliciouſly gave out, that the *Patricians* having their own granaries full, had purpoſely cauſed the preſent dearth in the public, that by the exceſſive price at which they ſhould ſell their corn, they might

Y. of *R.* 261. Bef. *J. C.* 491. 18 Conſulſhip.

make themſelves a compenſation for the loſs they had ſuſtained by the abolition of the debts; that this was a new kind of uſury invented by thoſe tyrants, with a view to get at an inconſiderable rate the little land that was ſtill left to the poor *Plebeians.* Nevertheleſs the Tribunes could not but know, that the people themſelves, by their retreat to the *Mons Sacer* at the time for ſowing the corn, had occaſioned the ſcarcity complained of: but theſe dealers in ſedition ſtudied for nothing but pretences, being well aſſured, that let them be never ſo improbable, they would paſs for the moſt ſolid arguments with a populace that wanted bread; and they inveighed againſt the Government, only that they might themſelves become maſters of it, or at leaſt change it according to their own intereſts.

D. *Hal.* B. 7.

The Fathers at firſt uſed no defence againſt theſe invectives, but a conſtant and generous care, and a continual application to provide for the public neceſſities. But as the Tribunes continued to ſpread ſuch falſe and wicked reports, ſhewing plainly an intent thereby to make the people riſe, the Conſuls thought it neceſſary to convene the Senate, and lay before it the danger there ſeemed to be of a general inſurrection. The Senators were divided. Some were for employing ſoft words and fair promiſes to quiet and gain over the moſt mutinous. But *Appius*'s opinion prevailed; which was, that the Conſuls ſhould call the people together, aſſure them that the Senate had taken proper care to provide for their wants, and threaten the Tribunes, thoſe diſturbers of the public peace, with the ſevereſt puniſhments, if they did not amend their behaviour. When the Conſuls towards the cloſe of the day, having aſſembled the people, were beginning to declare the Senate's reſolution, the Tribunes interrupted them; they even diſputed with them the right of ſpeaking in the *Comitia:* they pretended that the Conſuls ought to preſide in the *Senate* only, and that it belonged to the Tribunes preferably to all other Magiſtrates to ſpeak to the *People* in their Aſſemblies. The Conſuls, in anſwer, alledged their known and eſtabliſhed prerogatives, and the ſupreme dignity of their office: but all they could ſay on this head was in vain. They remonſtrated, to as little purpoſe, that the Tribunes had no legal power to tranſact any matter whatſoever with the *Comitia*, that their ſole privilege was a right of oppoſition, and that they ought not to pretend to any thing more, not even in the caſe of a propoſal diſadvantageous to the intereſts of the People.

The diſpute grew warm, and the hotteſt in each party were juſt ready to come to blows, when *Brutus*, thinking this diſorder a favourable opportunity for extending the authority of the Tribunes, addreſſed himſelf to the two Conſuls, and promiſed them to appeaſe the tumult, if they would give him (who was now but *Ædile*) leave to ſpeak.

The Conſuls extremely pleaſed to hear a *Plebeian*, a Leader of the faction, apply to them for permiſſion to ſpeak, inſtead of aſking it of his Tribunes, readily conſented to let him ſay whatever he thought fit, not doubting but he would divert the Tribunes from their ambitious claim of preſiding in Aſſemblies, which, tho' called *Aſſemblies of the People*, comprehended

hended the Senators and the whole body of the *Patricians*, as well as the *Plebeians*. But *Brutus* had very different thoughts, and inſtead of addreſſing himſelf either to the People or the Tribunes, he turned to the Conſul *Geganius*, who had been one of the Commiſſioners ſent by the Senate to the mutineers on the *Mons Sacer*: "Do you remember, *ſaid he*, that "when we laboured jointly to bring the two orders in the Republic to "an agreement, no *Patrician* interrupted thoſe who were appointed to "take care of the intereſts of the people, nay, and that it was expreſly "ſtipulated that it ſhould be ſo, to the intent that each party might ſet "forth their reaſons with the more order and tranquillity? I remember it "very well, replied *Geganius*. Wherefore then, *continued Brutus*, do you "now interrupt our Tribunes, whoſe perſons are ſacred, and who are in-"veſted with a public Magiſtracy? We interrupt them juſtly, *anſwered* "*Geganius*, becauſe having ourſelves convened the Aſſembly, accord-"ing to the privileges of our dignity it belongs to us to ſpeak." The Conſul added too raſhly, and without thinking of the conſequences, "That "*if the Tribunes had convened the Aſſembly*, far from interrupting them, "he would not even have come to hear what they ſaid. Y. of *R.* 261. Bef. *J.C.* 491. 18 Conſulſhip.

Brutus no ſooner heard theſe words, but he cried out in a tranſport of joy, "The victory is yours, O *Plebeians*; Tribunes, give way to the "Conſuls; let them ſpeak to-day as much as they pleaſe, to-morrow I "will ſhow you what is the dignity and power of your office. If I "abuſe your confidence, I am ready to expiate theſe raſh promiſes with "the forfeit of my life."

The Aſſembly was forced to break up, night coming on during theſe contentions; the people went away impatient to ſee the effect of *Brutus*'s promiſes; and the *Patricians*, on their part, retired deſpiſing the boaſts of a private man, unable as they thought to give any greater extent to the function of a Tribune, than the ſingle privilege of oppoſition which had been granted upon the *Mons Sacer*.

But *Brutus*, more ſkillful than the Senate imagined, went to the Tribune *Icilius*; he ſpent part of the night in conſulting with him, and his Collegues, and he let them into his deſigns. "All we have to do, ſaid "he, is to convince the people that the Tribuneſhip can be of no uſe to "them, unleſs they empower their Tribunes to convene them, and to re-"preſent to them when aſſembled whatever may concern their intereſts; "the people will never refuſe to paſs a law which cannot but be advan-"tageous to them; all the difficulty lies in preventing the Senate and *Pa-*"*tricians* who might oppoſe it: for this purpoſe we muſt hold the Aſſembly "as early as poſſible, and poſſeſs our ſelves betimes of all the avenues to the "*Roſtra*[a]." His Collegues having approved his ſcheme, ſent into the ſeveral parts of the City to ſollicite the principal *Plebeians* to repair to the *Forum* by break of day, with as many of their friends as they could poſ-

[a] Liberty is taken to uſe this word for the *Suggeſtum* or *Pulpit*, from whence the Magiſtrates uſed to ſpeak to the people, tho' it was not called by the name of *Roſtra* till many years after this time.

Y. of *R.* 261. Bef *J. C.* 491. 18 Conſulſhip.

ſibly get together. As for the Tribunes they got thither before morning, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Temple of *Vulcan*, which ſtood in the place where the Aſſemblies were held. An innumerable multitude quickly crowded the *Forum*. *Icilius* took upon him to ſpeak: and in order to imbitter their minds, and exaſperate them anew, he began with ſumming up all the hardſhips the people had ſuffered from the avarice and inhumanity of the great, before the eſtabliſhment of the Tribuneſhip. He then repreſented, that the public miſery would never have had an end, if two Citizens had not been found, who had courage enough to ſtand up againſt the tyranny of the *Patricians*. That after the abolition of the debts, thoſe very *Patricians* had taken advantage of the famine, to bring the people once more into ſlavery, and that they endeavoured to hinder the Tribunes from ſpeaking in the Aſſemblies, for fear they ſhould give the people light into their true intereſts. He added, "This manifeſt tyranny renders the "Tribuneſhip uſeleſs. Is it not evident, that thoſe who have not the "power to ſpeak what they think, will never be able to execute what they "deſire? Aboliſh therefore at once the Magiſtracy you have inſtituted, or "give us authority to convene the Aſſemblies, and there to inform you "of what concerns your rights and intereſts. Let a new law be made to "this effect, and let it be penal to interrupt or diſturb a Tribune in the "execution of this part of his office.

This diſcourſe was received as uſual with great applauſes. The people immediately cried out that he ſhould himſelf propoſe the law. He had prepared it the night before, leſt if the publication of it were deferred till the next Aſſembly, the Senate and *Patricians* ſhould be there to oppoſe it. He read it aloud, and it was conceived in theſe terms.

D. Hal. B. 7. "Let no man preſume to interrupt a Tribune who is ſpeaking in the "Aſſembly of the *Roman* People. If any one break this law, he ſhall "preſently give bail to pay the fine to which he ſhall be condemned: If he "refuſes, he ſhall be put to death, and his goods confiſcated.

The People by their ſuffrages gave force to this law. The Conſuls having ſhewn an intention to reject it, alledging that it was a law procured by mere ſurprize, and in an Aſſembly held by ſtealth, without auſpices, and without being called by any lawful authority, the Tribunes loudly declared that they would have no more reſpect to the *Senatus-conſulta*, or decrees of the Senate, than the Senate ſhould have for this *Plebiſcitum*[a], or

[a] Strictly ſpeaking, the *Romans* called thoſe regulations, or laws, *Plebiſcita*, which were made by the *Plebeians* aſſembled at the requeſt of the Tribunes. This is *Juſtinian*'s definition of them: and *Feſtus* ſays, *Scita Plebis appellantur ea, quæ Plebs ſuo Suffragio, ſine Patribus juſſit, Plebeio Magiſtratu rogante.* There was this difference between the *Plebiſcita*, and the other laws, that the former were enacted, *Rogante Tribuno*, i. e. *at the deſire of the* Tribune *who aſſembled the People:* whereas the latter were publiſhed in the name of the *Curiæ*, or Tribes, or Centuries, aſſembled by the Conſul, or one of the chief Magiſtrates, in his abſence. The *Plebiſcita* were at firſt obligatory only on the *Plebeians*; but what was enacted in *Comitia* aſſembled by the Conſul, or his Repreſentative, had the force of a law over all the Citizens, without exception. In after times the *Patricians* themſelves were ſubject to the *Plebiſcita*.

decree

decree of the Commons. This was the ſubject of many diſputes, which were carried on with mutual reproaches, but without ever coming to acts of violence. At length the Senate, like a good father, gave way to the obſtinacy of the *Plebeians*, whom it always looked upon as its children. The law was received with conſent of the two orders; the people, ſatisfied with having enlarged the power of their Tribunes, bore the famine patiently; and they ſtill retained ſo much equity in their diſtreſs, as to pay a veneration even to thoſe of the Senators who had been the moſt warm in oppoſing their pretenſions. Y. of *R.* 261. Bef. *J.C.* 491. 18 Conſulſhip.

CHAP. IX.

§. I. *Plenty of corn being brought to* Rome *from* Sicily, *freſh diſputes ariſe in the Senate about the diſtribution of it.* Coriolanus *is for taking advantage of the people's diſtreſs to get the Tribuneſhip aboliſhed. The younger Senators applaud the motion.* §. II. *The Tribunes who had been preſent at this debate go away in a fury and ſtir up the people to revenge. They cite* Coriolanus *to appear before them. He refuſes. They endeavour to ſeize him as he comes out of the Senate-houſe, but are repulſed by thoſe who attend him. The Conſuls appeaſe the tumult.* §. III. *Early the next morning the Tribunes hold an Aſſembly of the People on this affair.* Minucius *the Conſul by gentle words diſpoſes the multitude to peace; but* Coriolanus *ſpoils all by a freſh declaration of the ſame ſentiments which had before offended them. The Tribunes condemn him to death. The* Patricians *oppoſe the execution of this raſh ſentence, and the People ſeem not to approve it. The Tribunes therefore reſolve to proſecute* Coriolanus *in a legal way, and to convene the People by* Tribes *for his trial. The Aſſembly is adjourned.*

§. I. THE City remained for ſome time in quiet, till plenty ſucceeding to the famine furniſhed the Tribunes with a new occaſion of extending their power, and of rekindling ſedition.

P. Valerius and *L. Geganius*, whom the Senate had employ'd to go into *Sicily*, returned with a great number of ſhips laden with corn, under the Conſulate of *M. Minucius* and *A. Sempronius*. *Gelo*, Tyrant of *Sicily*, had made a preſent of the greater part of it, and the Envoys of the Senate had bought the remainder with the publick money: the queſtion now was, what price to ſet upon it; the Tribunes were called into the Senate to give their opinion; thoſe of the Senators whoſe only aim was to reſtore a perfect intelligence between the People and the Senate, were for diſtributing *gratis* among the poor that corn which they owed to the liberality of *Gelo*, Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J.C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

Y. of *R.* 262. and for ſelling at a moderate rate that which they had bought with the pub-
Bef. *J. C.* 490. lic treaſure. But when it came to *Coriolanus*'s turn to ſpeak, this Senator,
19 Conſulſhip. to whom the inſtitution of the Tribuneſhip was odious, maintained that ſuch a condeſcention in the Senate to the neceſſities of the People would only encourage them in their inſolence; that there was no keeping them to their duty any longer than they were in indigence, and that the time was now come to avenge the majeſty of the Senate, violated by a ſeditious rabble, whoſe Leaders by an additional crime had extorted dignities for themſelves, as a reward for their rebellion. It was thus that he declared himſelf in the very preſence of the Tribunes.

But before we proceed to the conſequences of this affair, it will be proper to give ſome further knowledge of a man, who is to act ſo great a part in this period of our Hiſtory.

Life of *Plut. Coriol.* *Caius Marcius Coriolanus* was deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious *Patrician* families in *Rome*. He received the ſirname of *Coriolanus*, as was before obſerved, for having taken, ſword in hand, *Corioli*, one of the chief towns of the *Volſci*. Having loſt his father in his infancy, he was educated with great care by his mother *Veturia*, a woman of auſtere virtue, who omitted no methods to inſpire her own ſentiments into her ſon.

Coriolanus had an excellent underſtanding, was frugal, diſintereſted, of ſtrict probity, and inviolably attach'd to the obſervation of the laws. Theſe pacific virtues were never known to be accompanied with a more exalted courage, or ſuch a capacity for the art of war; he ſeemed to have been born a General; but he was harſh and imperious in command; as ſevere to other men as to himſelf; a generous friend, an implacable enemy; too haughty for a Republic. Satisfied with the uprightneſs of his own intentions, he neglected thoſe arts of management and inſinuation ſo neceſſary in a State founded upon equality and moderation. He had demanded the Conſulſhip the preceding year, and moſt of the Senators being of opinion that ſo great a Captain would do very ſignal ſervices to the State, if he were inveſted with that dignity, had uſed their intereſt in his favour. This recommendation of the Great was in the minds of the people a ſufficient objection to his promotion. The Tribunes, who dreaded the extraordinary courage and great firmneſs of *Coriolanus*, had repreſented to the *Plebeians* the ſolicitations of the Senate as a conſpiracy againſt their order, and had thereby engaged the people to refuſe him their voices. This refuſal he laid extremely to heart; and he conceived the ſharpeſt reſentment of it, which he ſhewed on the preſent occaſion. He ſaid in full Senate, "If the "people expect to have a ſhare in our liberalities, if they think to have "proviſions at a moderate price, let them reſtore to the Senate its ancient "rights, and wipe out the very footſteps of the laſt ſeditions. Why muſt
Livy, B. 2. "I behold in the *Forum*, and at the head of the people, Magiſtrates "unknown to our fathers, forming as it were two different Republics "within the walls of one and the ſame city? Shall I ſuffer a *Sicinnius*, a "*Brutus* to reign imperiouſly in *Rome*, I that could not endure to ſee her "ruled by Kings? Shall I be forced to look with fear upon Tribunes,

"that

"that owe their power to nothing but our exceſſive indulgence? Let us no longer bear ſo great an indignity; let us reſtore to our Conſuls the juſt authority which they ought to have over all who call themſelves by the *Roman* name. If *Sicinnius* is diſcontented at this, let him retire once more with thoſe rebels who feed his inſolence and ſupport his tyranny. The way to the *Mons Sacer* is ſtill open to them; we want no ſubjects, but what are peaceable and obedient, and we had much better be rid of a vile rabble than ſhare with them the government and dignities of the State." Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſuiſhip. *Livy*, B. 2.

The oldeſt Senators, and thoſe eſpecially who had managed the laſt accommodation, thought this vehement ſpeech more haughty than prudent. The young Senators, on the contrary, who did not foreſee the conſequences of it, gave it the higheſt commendations. Admirers of *Coriolanus*'s virtue, they cried out that he was the only man who had the courage of a true *Roman:* They reproached themſelves as guilty of an unpardonable cowardice, in having conſented to the erection of the Tribuneſhip: They talked loudly of aboliſhing it; and the majority of voices were for re-eſtabliſhing the Government upon its ancient foundations.

§. II. THE Tribunes, who had been called into the Senate, as was ſaid before, ſeeing this kind of conſpiracy againſt their order, went out in the greateſt fury, invoking the Gods, the revengers of perjury, to bear witneſs of the ſolemn oaths by which the Senate had authoriſed the eſtabliſhment of the Tribuneſhip. They aſſembled the people tumultuouſly, and cried aloud from the *Roſtra*, that the *Patricians* had made a league to deſtroy them, their wives and children, unleſs the *Plebeians* delivered their Tribunes chained into the hands of *Coriolanus*, a new Tyrant riſing up in the Republic. Ibid.

The people at theſe exclamations inſtantly took fire; they uttered a thouſand confuſed cries full of indignation and threats. *Rome*, but juſt delivered from one tumult, beheld another ſedition more dangerous than the former. No-body thought now of retiring to the *Mons Sacer*; the people, who had made a trial of their ſtrength, reſolved to diſpute with the *Patricians* the Empire of *Rome* in the middle of *Rome* itſelf: They talked of nothing leſs than going directly and tearing *Coriolanus* out of the Senate, to ſacrifice him to the public hatred. But the Tribunes, who were for a more ſecure way of deſtroying him, under pretence of obſerving the forms of juſtice, ſent him a ſummons to come and anſwer for his behaviour before the Aſſembly of the People; thinking that by this means, if he obeyed, they ſhould be the Maſters and Arbiters of the life of their enemy; or that they ſhould make him more odious to the people, if he refuſed to acknowledge their authority.

Coriolanus, naturally haughty and reſolute, having contemptuouſly ſent back their Officer, as the Tribunes foreſaw he would, they immediately went with a gang of the moſt mutinous among the *Plebeians*, and waited for him at the door of the Senate, in order to ſeize him when he ſhould come out. They met him attended as uſual with a crowd of his clients, and a great number of young Senators who had a reſpect for his

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip. perſon, and who thought it an honour to follow his opinion in the Senate, and his example in war. The Tribunes no ſooner ſaw him, but they ordered *Brutus* and *Icilius*, who this year performed the office of *Ædiles*, to lead him to priſon. But it was not eaſy to execute ſuch a commiſſion, and the enterprize was as daring as it was extraordinary. *Coriolanus* and his friends ſtood upon their defence. They beat back the *Ædiles* with their fiſts: No other arms were uſed in thoſe days, in a city where the inhabitants never put on the ſword, but when they marched out againſt the enemy. The Tribunes, enraged at this reſiſtance, called the people to their aid; the *Patricians* on their ſide ran to the aſſiſtance of ſo illuſtrious a member of their body. The tumult increaſed; they fell to abuſes and reproaches. The Tribunes complained that a mere private man ſhould dare to violate a ſacred Magiſtracy. The Senators on the other hand demanded of them, by what authority they preſumed to arreſt a Senator, a *Patrician*, a man of an order ſuperior to the people, and whether they meant to ſet themſelves up for Tribunes of the Senate, as they were of the People. During theſe contentions the Conſuls came up, diſperſed the crowd, and as much by intreaties as authority prevailed upon the People to retire.

D. Hal. B. 7.

§. III. BUT the Tribunes did not ſtop here; they convened the Aſſembly the next morning. The Conſuls and Senate, ſeeing the People run to the *Forum* at the very break of day, repaired thither too with all diligence, in order to hinder any haſty reſolution, which might be there taken, contrary to the dignity of the Senate, and the ſafety of *Coriolanus*. Their preſence did not keep the Tribunes in awe. Theſe inveighed, as uſual, againſt the whole order of the *Patricians*; and then bending their diſcourſe againſt *Coriolanus*, they reported the words he had ſpoke in the Senate relating to the diſtribution of the corn.

Another thing urged againſt him as a crime was, the great number of friends, which his virtue drew about his perſon, and which the Tribunes called the Tyrant's guard. "It was by his order, *ſaid they*, *addreſſing* "*themſelves to the People*, that your *Ædiles* were inſulted. He fought by "thoſe firſt blows to begin a Civil War; and if we had not ſhewn more "moderation than he, your Citizens might perhaps have taken arms one "againſt another." When they had ſpent themſelves in invectives to make *Coriolanus* more odious to the multitude, they added, that if there was any *Patrician* who would undertake his defence, he might mount the *Roſtra* and ſpeak to the People.

Minucius the firſt Conſul preſented himſelf. Having firſt complained in general, and with abundance of moderation, of thoſe who catched at the leaſt pretence to raiſe new diſturbances in the Republic, he then remonſtrated to the people, how very unreaſonable it was to accuſe the Senate and *Patricians* of having cauſed the dearth, when every body knew it to have been wholly occaſioned by the deſertion of the people, and their neglecting to cultivate and ſow their lands. He told them, that the other calumnies they ſo often heard, of the Senate's deſigning to aboliſh the Tribuneſhip,

Tribuneſhip, and to make the whole *Roman* People periſh by famine, were no leſs extravagant and monſtrous. That to put a ſtop at once to reports ſo falſe and injurious, he declared to them, that the Senate did again confirm the power of the Tribunes; and that as to the corn, they left it entirely to the People to fix what price upon it they themſelves thought fit. Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 7.

The Conſul, after a preamble ſo well adapted to ſoften the minds, and win the good will of the People, added by way of a mild reproach, that he could not help blaming them for the precipitation with which they ſuffered themſelves to be carried away by the firſt reports ſpread abroad by ſome particular incendiaries. That it was a ſtrange thing to hear the Senate accuſed as criminal in relation to a matter wherein it had neither done, nor determined any thing, and only becauſe in the debates about it, the members had delivered different opinions. "Remember, *ſaid he*, that "at the time of your ſeceſſion on the *Mons Sacer*, all your intreaties, "and even your utmoſt wiſhes at firſt were only to obtain the abolition of "the debts. Scarce had you received ſo great a favour, but you made "yourſelves a kind of new right, founded on the eaſineſs of the Senate, "to demand the creation of two *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, whoſe whole au- "thority, according to your own propoſal, was to be confined to the "hindering a *Patrician* from oppreſſing a *Plebeian:* a new grant, for "which you returned us the greateſt thanks, and which ſeemed to give "you full content. In thoſe troubleſome times, even when the ſedition "was at the higheſt, you never thought of requiring a diminution "of the Senate's authority, or an alteration in the form of our Govern- "ment. By what right then do your Tribunes now pretend to carry "their inſpection, and give their cenſure upon what paſſes in our delibe- "rations? When till now was a Senator ever treated as a criminal, for "having ſpoke his mind freely in the Senate? What laws give you au- "thority to demand his baniſhment or his death, as you do with ſo much "heat? But I will ſuppoſe that by an unheard-of ſubverſion of all order, "the whole body of the Senate is accountable to your Tribunes. Let us "further ſuppoſe, if you will have it ſo, that *Coriolanus* has let ſlip ſome "words too harſh in delivering his opinion; are you not obliged in "equity to forget a few random words that were loſt in air, for the ſake "of his real ſervices, of which you yourſelves have reaped all the fruit? "Preſerve the life of ſo excellent a Citizen, preſerve to your Country ſo "great a Captain; and if you will not acquit him as innocent, at leaſt "grant him as criminal to the whole Senate, who intreat this favour of you "by my mouth. This will be a bond to unite us more cloſely than ever, "and will be a new motive to the Senate to continue their goodneſs to- "wards you: whereas if you perſiſt in your reſolution of deſtroying this "Senator, perhaps the oppoſition you may meet with from the *Pa-* "*tricians* may produce calamities that will make you repent of having "puſhed your reſentment too far."

V. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip. This diſcourſe made an impreſſion upon the multitude, and brought them to an inclination for peace and union. *Sicinnius* was ſurpriſed and confounded at it: but diſſembling his ill deſigns, he gave great praiſes to *Minucius* and all the Senators, for having been pleaſed to condeſcend ſo far as to account to the People for their conduct, and for not having diſdained to interpoſe their prayers and good offices in favour of *Coriolanus*. Then turning to that Senator, *he added in an ironical tone*, "And you, excellent Citizen, will you not defend to day before the People that advice "ſo uſeful to the public, which you gave ſo boldly in the Senate? "Or rather why have you not recourſe to the clemency of the *Roman* "People? *Coriolanus*, I ſuppoſe, thinks it below his courage to de"baſe himſelf ſo far, as to aſk pardon of thoſe whom he thought to "deſtroy."

The artful Tribune ſpoke in this manner, becauſe he was perſuaded that *Coriolanus*, a man of too lofty a ſpirit to retract what he had ſaid, or to ſtoop to ſupplications, would provoke the People afreſh by the haughtineſs of his anſwers. Nor was he deceived in his hopes; for *Coriolanus* was ſo far from owning himſelf guilty, or endeavouring to pacify the people, as *Minucius* had done, that on the contrary he quite deſtroyed the effect of that Conſul's ſpeech, by an ill-timed reſoluteneſs, and by the harſhneſs of his expreſſions. He inveighed more violently than ever againſt the enterprizes of the Tribunes, and declared boldly that the People had no right to judge a Senator: but that if any man was offended at what he had ſaid in the Senate, he might ſummon him before the Conſuls and the Senators, whom he acknowledged for his natural judges, and before whom he ſhould be always ready to give an account of his behaviour.

The young Senators, charmed with his intrepidity, and overjoyed to have a man who durſt ſpeak openly what they all thought, cried out, that he had advanced nothing but what was conformable to the laws: but the People, who ſaw themſelves deſpiſed, reſolved to make him feel their power. They immediately proceeded againſt him as a rebel, a citizen who refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the *Roman* People. *Sicinnius* having conſulted apart with his Collegues, without ſo much as giving himſelf the trouble to collect the voices of the Aſſembly, pronounced ſentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock; a puniſhment inflicted upon ſuch as were enemies of their Country.

D. H. B. 7. *Plut.* in *Cor.* The *Ædiles*, who were the uſual miniſters of all the violences of the Tribunes, drew near to lay hold of his perſon; but the Senate and all the *Patricians* in the Aſſembly ran to his aſſiſtance; they placed him in the midſt of them, and making arms of whatever in their indignation and rage they could catch up, they ſeemed reſolutely determined to oppoſe force with force.

But now the People, either not daring to attack a body in which they ſaw their Magiſtrates and Captains, or thinking their Tribunes had carried their animoſity too far, in condemning a Citizen to death for mere words,

words, remained in a kind of ſuſpence, and refuſed to give aſſiſtance to their *Ædiles*. *Sicinnius* obſerving this, and fearing leſt *Coriolanus* ſhould eſcape him, called aſide *Brutus*, his counſellor and his oracle, as ſeditious as himſelf but leſs haſty, and a much abler politician. He privately aſked him his opinion upon this irreſolution in the People which broke all his meaſures. Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

Brutus told him, that he muſt never think of deſtroying *Coriolanus* ſo long as he was guarded by the whole body of the Nobility; that even the People had begun to murmur at his pretending to be both Judge and Party at the ſame time; that the multitude, who turn in an inſtant from the moſt violent fury to ſentiments of compaſſion, looked upon the ſentence of death as too rigorous; that in the preſent diſpoſition of mens minds he certainly would not ſucceed by methods of violence; but that under the pretence, ever ſpecious, of deſiring to do nothing but what was according to the forms of juſtice, he ſhould demand of the Senate, that *Coriolanus* might be tried by the Aſſembly of the People; and above all, that he ſhould at any rate get the Aſſembly convened by tribes, where the great and the rich would be mingled with the poor, and every man's voice would be of equal value; whereas in an Aſſembly *by Centuries*, the rich *Patricians* would carry their point againſt a majority of the Citizens.

Sicinnius having reſolved to follow this advice, made a ſign to the People, that he was going to ſpeak: ſilence being made, he ſaid, "You ſee, "O *Romans*, that it is not the fault of the *Patricians*, if much blood is not "ſhed this day, and that they are ready to come to the greateſt extremi- "ties to reſcue the declared enemy of the *Roman* People out of the hands "of juſtice. But it is our duty to ſet them better examples: we will do no- "thing raſhly. Tho' the criminal is ſufficiently convicted by his own "confeſſion, we are nevertheleſs willing to give him time to prepare for "his defence. *Then turning to the accuſed, he added*, We cite thee, Co- "RIOLANUS, to appear before the People in ſeven and twenty days. As "for the diſtribution of the corn, if the Senate does not take due care of "that matter, the Tribunes will give directions about it themſelves." Having thus ſpoken, he adjourned the Aſſembly.

CHAP. X.

§. I. *The Conſuls endeavour by remonſtrances to allay the heat of the Tribunes, and bring them to conform to the ancient uſages, which did not allow the People to take cognizance of any affair till it was referred to them by a decree of the Senate. The Tribunes conſent to obſerve this rule, and deſire they may be heard by* the Fathers *in relation to their charge againſt* Coriolanus. §. II. *The Tribune* Decius *makes a long ſpeech in the Senate, inveighing bitterly againſt the accuſed, and contending for the People's right to judge him.* §. III. Appius Claudius *in very ſtrong terms oppoſes this pretenſion.* §. IV. *But* Valerius *in terms no leſs ſtrong, urges the expe-*

diency of the Senate's compliance. He exhorts Coriolanus *in the moſt pathetic manner to ſubmit himſelf to the People's judgment; and he adds a diſcourſe in behalf of a balance of power between the* Patricians *and* Plebeians. §. V. *It is carried by a majority of votes that* Coriolanus *ſhall be tried by the People.* Coriolanus *having aſſurances given him, that the accuſers charge ſhall be confined to the ſingle crime of Tyranny, conſents to the drawing up of the decree. The Senate fix a day for the trial.*

§. I. DURING the interval of the twenty-ſeven days which the Tribunes had given *Coriolanus* to prepare his defence, the Senate in order to ſooth the People, fixed the price of corn at the loweſt rate it ever had been at even before the ſedition. The Conſuls likewiſe, in hopes to appeaſe the Tribunes, and to diſſuade them from violating the ancient rules of the Government, entered into conference with them upon the affair of the accuſed. *Minucius* repreſented to them, that it was contrary to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, to refer any affair to the People, before it had paſſed the judgment of the Senate: that the Kings themſelves had always had this deference for ſo auguſt a body. He exhorted them to conform to the uſage of their anceſtors, and, if they had any conſiderable grievances to lay to the charge of *Coriolanus*, to apply themſelves to the Senate, who according to the nature of the crime, and the ſolidity of the proofs, would refer it by a *Senatus-conſultum* to the judgment of the People, who then, and not till then, would have a right to try a Citizen.

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

Sicinnius clamoured againſt this propoſal with his uſual inſolence, and declared that he would never ſuffer the authority of the *Roman* People to be reſtrained and directed by a *Senatus-conſultum*. His Collegues, however, (who meant as ill as he did, but who were more ſkilful in the conduct of their deſigns) plainly perceiving they ſhould make themſelves odious even to the *Plebeians*, if they ſo manifeſtly deviated from the uſual forms of juſtice, obliged *Sicinnius* to deſiſt from his oppoſition, under pretence of a particular reſpect for the Conſuls. But this ſeeming complaiſance was of the leſs moment, as they had taken a firm reſolution, if the *Senatus-conſultum* was not ſuch as they deſired, to appeal from it to the Aſſembly of the People, and for ſo doing to make the *Lex Valeria* their foundation of right; ſo that in reality the only queſtion was, whether the affair ſhould be carried before the People in the firſt or ſecond inſtance.

Thus the Tribunes readily agreed to let the Senate decide as uſual, whether the Commons ſhould take cognizance of the matter depending; and they only demanded, that they might be heard in the Senate with relation to the grievances which they pretended they had to lay to the charge of the perſon accuſed.

§. II. THE Conſuls and Tribunes having agreed upon theſe preliminaries, the latter were the next day introduced into the Senate. *Decius*, tho' the youngeſt of the Tribunes was their ſpeaker; this honour was yielded to him becauſe of his eloquence, and the readineſs with which he expreſſed

himſelf in public; a qualification abſolutely neceſſary in all popular Governments, and eſpecially at *Rome*, where the talent of ſpeaking was no leſs requiſite in order to obtain advancement, than courage and reſolution. *Decius* addreſſing himſelf to the whole Senate, ſpoke to this effect; Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

"You know, *Conſcript Fathers*, that having by our aſſiſtance expelled "*Tarquin*, and aboliſhed the regal power, you eſtabliſhed in the Repub- "lic the form of Government which is now obſerved in it, and of which "we do not complain. But neither can you be ignorant, that in all the "differences which any poor *Plebeians* had afterwards with wealthy "*Patricians*, thoſe *Plebeians* conſtantly loſt their cauſes, their adverſaries "being their Judges, and all the Tribunals being filled with *Patricians* "only. This abuſe was what made *P. Valerius Poplicola*, that wiſe Con- "ſul, and excellent Citizen, eſtabliſh the law which granted an appeal "to the People from the decrees of the Senate, and the judgments of the "Conſuls.

"Such is the law called *Valeria*, which has always been looked upon "as the baſis and foundation of the public liberty. It is to this law that "we now fly for redreſs, if you refuſe us the juſtice we demand upon a "man black with the greateſt crime that it is poſſible to commit in a "Republic. It is not a ſingle *Plebeian* complaining; it is the whole body "of the *Roman* People, demanding the condemnation of a Tyrant who "would have deſtroyed his fellow-citizens by famine, has violated our "Magiſtracy, and forcibly repulſed our Officers, and the *Ædiles* of the "Commonwealth. *Coriolanus* is the man we accuſe of having propoſed "the abolition of the Tribuneſhip, a Magiſtracy made ſacred by the "moſt ſolemn oaths. What need is there of a *Senatus-conſultum* to pro- "ſecute a criminal like this? Does not every man know that thoſe par- "ticular decrees of the Senate are requiſite only in unforeſeen and extra- "ordinary affairs, and for which the laws have as yet made no Provi- "ſion? But in the preſent caſe, where the law is ſo direct, where it ſo "expreſly devotes to the infernal Gods thoſe that infringe it, is it not to "become an accomplice in the crime to heſitate in the leaſt? Are you not "apprehenſive that theſe affected delays, this obſtruction you throw in "the way of our proceedings againſt the criminal, by the pretended ne- "ceſſity of a previous decree of the Senate, will make the People in- "clined to believe that *Coriolanus* only ſpoke the ſentiments of you all?

"I know that ſeveral among you complain it was merely by violence "that we extorted your conſent for the abolition of the debts, and the "eſtabliſhment of the Tribuneſhip. I will even ſuppoſe that in the high "degree of power to which you had raiſed yourſelves after the expulſion "of *Tarquin*, it was neither convenient nor honourable for you to yield "up part of it in favour of the People; but you have done it, and the "whole Senate is bound by the moſt ſolemn oaths never to undo it. Af- "ter the eſtabliſhment of thoſe ſacred laws, which render the perſons of "our Tribunes inviolable, will you in compliance with the firſt ambitious "man that ariſes, attempt to revoke what makes the ſecurity and peace

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

" of the State? Certainly you never will; and I dare anſwer for you, ſo " long as I behold in this Aſſembly thoſe venerable Magiſtrates who had " ſo great a ſhare in the treaty made upon the *Mons Sacer*. Ought you " to ſuffer a matter like this to be ſo much as brought into deliberation? " *Coriolanus* is the firſt who by his ſeditious advice has endeavoured to " break thoſe ſacred bonds which, ſtrengthened by the laws, unite the " ſeveral orders in the State. It is he alone who is for deſtroying the " Tribunitian Power, the People's *Aſylum*, the bulwark of our liberty, " and the pledge of our re-union. In order to force the People's conſent, in " order to perpetrate one crime, he attempts another much greater. He " dares even in a holy place, and in the midſt of the Senate, pro- " poſe to let the People die of hunger. Cruel and unthinking man at the " ſame time! did he not conſider that this People whom he meant to ex- " terminate with ſo much inhumanity, and who are more numerous and " powerful than he could wiſh, being reduced to deſpair, would have " broken into the houſes of the rich, forced open thoſe granaries and thoſe " cellars which conceal ſo much wealth, and would either have fallen " under the power of the *Patricians*, or have totally rooted out that " whole order? Could he imagine that an enraged populace would in " ſuch a caſe have hearkened to any law but what was dictated by ne- " ceſſity and reſentment?

" For that you may not be unacquained with the truth, we would not " have periſhed by a famine brought upon us by our enemies: But hav- " ing called to witneſs the Gods, Revengers of injuſtice, we would have " filled *Rome* with blood and ſlaughter. Such had been the fatal conſe- " quences of the counſels of that perfidious Citizen, if ſome Senators, " who had more love for their country, had not hindered them from taking " effect. It is to you, *Conſcript Fathers*, that we addreſs our juſt com- " plaints. It is to your aid, and to the wiſdom of your decrees, that we " have recourſe, to oblige this publick enemy to appear before the whole " *Roman* People, and anſwer for his pernicious counſels. It is there, *Co-* " *riolanus*, that thou muſt defend thy former ſentiments, if thou dareſt ſo " to do, or excuſe them as proceeding from want of thought: Take my " advice; leave thy haughty and tyrannical maxims; make thy ſelf leſs; " become like us; nay put on a habit of mourning, ſo ſuitable to thy " preſent fortune. Implore the pity of thy fellow-citizens, and perhaps " thou may'ſt obtain their favour, and the forgiveneſs of thy faults.

This Tribune having left off ſpeaking, the Conſuls aſked the opinion of the Aſſembly: They began with the Conſulars and the oldeſt Senators; B. 7. for in thoſe days, ſays *Dionyſius*, the young Senators were not ſo preſumptuous as to think themſelves capable of inſtructing their ſeniors. Modeſt and reſerved, and not daring to ſpeak, they only gave their opinion by ſome ſign, or by walking over to that ſide which they thought to be moſt in the right. It was from this reſpectful way of declaring their minds, that they were called *Senatores Pedarii*, (from the Latin *pes*, a foot:)

Thus it was a common ſaying, that a *Pedarian* opinion was like a head without a tongue. Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490.

§. III. ALL the Senators waited, ſome with impatient deſire, others with uneaſy apprehenſions, to hear how *Appius Claudius* would declare himſelf. When it came to his turn to ſpeak, he ſaid, 19 Conſulſhip. "You know, "*Conſcript Fathers*, that I have long oppoſed, and frequently alone, that "too great eaſineſs with which you grant the People whatever they de- "mand. Perhaps I made my ſelf troubleſome, when I ſo frankly laid "before you the misfortunes which I preſaged would follow from our "re-union with the deſerters from the Commonwealth. The event how- "ever has but too well juſtified my apprehenſions. That ſhare of power "which you yielded up to thoſe ſeditious men, is now turned againſt your "ſelves. The People puniſh you by means of your own benefactions; "they take advantage of your favour to ruin your authority. 'Tis in "vain for you to attempt to hide from yourſelves the danger which the "Senate is in; you cannot but ſee that there is a deſign to change the form "of our Government: The Tribunes make gradual advances to the "Tyranny. At firſt the only demand was the abolition of the debts; "and this People, who are now ſo haughty, and who endeavour to "make themſelves the ſupreme Judges of the Senators, then thought they "ſtood in need of a pardon, for the diſreſpectful manner in which they "ſued for that firſt conceſſion.

"Your eaſineſs gave occaſion to new pretenſions; the People would "have their particular Magiſtrates. You know how earneſtly I oppoſed "theſe innovations; but in ſpight of all I could do, you aſſented in this "point alſo; you allowed the People to have Tribunes, that is to ſay, "perpetual ringleaders of ſedition. Nay the People intoxicated with fury, "would have this new Magiſtracy conſecrated in a particular manner, "ſuch as had never been practiſed, not even in favour of the Conſulſhip, "the firſt dignity in the Republic. The Senate conſented to every thing, "not ſo much out of kindneſs for the People, as want of reſolution; the "perſons of the Tribunes were declared ſacred and inviolable, and a law "made to that effect. The People required that it ſhould be confirmed "with the moſt ſolemn oaths; and that day, *O Fathers*, you ſwore upon "the altars the deſtruction of yourſelves and children. What has been the "fruit of all theſe favours? They have only ſerved to make you con- "temptible in the eyes of the People, and to increaſe the pride and inſo- "lence of their Tribunes, who have made to themſelves new rights "and prerogatives. Theſe modern Magiſtrates, who ought to live as "mere private men, take upon them to convene the Aſſemblies of the "People, and without our privity procure laws to be enacted by the "voices of a baſe rabble.

"It is to ſo odious a Tribunal that they now ſummon a *Patrician*, a "Senator, a Citizen of your order, in a word, *Coriolanus*, that great "Captain, and withal that good man, yet more illuſtrious for his ad- "herence to the intereſts of the Senate than for his valour. They preſume

"to

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

" to make it a crime in a Senator to ſpeak his opinion in full Senate, " with that freedom ſo becoming a *Roman*; and if you yourſelves " had not been his buckler and defence, they had aſſaſſinated him even in " your preſence. The Majeſty of the Senate was juſt going to be violat- " ed by this murder; the reſpect due to your dignity was forgot, and " you yourſelves were loſing both your empire and your liberty.

" The reſolution and courage which you ſhewed upon this laſt occa- " ſion, in ſome meaſure awakened theſe mad-men from their drunken fit. " They ſeem now to be aſhamed of a crime which they could not com- " pleat; they deſiſt from violent methods becauſe they have found them " unſucceſsful, and they ſeemingly have recourſe to juſtice, and the rules " of law.

" But what is this juſtice, immortal Gods, which theſe men of blood " would introduce! they endeavour by appearances of ſubmiſſion to ſur- " priſe you into a *Senatus-conſultum*, which may give them power to drag " the beſt Citizen of *Rome* to puniſhment. They alledge the *Lex Valeria* " as the rule of your conduct; but does not every body know, that this " law, which allows of appeals to the Aſſembly of the People, relates " only to ſuch poor *Plebeians*, as being deſtitute of all other protection, " might be oppreſſed by the credit of a ſtrong cabal? The text of the " law is plain; it expreſly ſays, That a Citizen condemned by the Con- " ſuls ſhall have liberty to appeal to the People. *Poplicola* by this law " only provided a refuge for thoſe unhappy men who had reaſon to com- " plain of having been condemned by prejudiced Judges. The deſign of " the law was only to have their cauſes heard over again, and when you " afterwards conſented to the creation of the Tribunes, neither you, nor " even the People themſelves, intended any thing more in the eſtabliſh- " ment of thoſe new Magiſtrates, than that this law might have protectors, " and the poor be provided with advocates who might prevent their be- " ing oppreſſed by the great. What relation is there between ſuch a law, " and the caſe of a Senator, a man of an order ſuperior to the People, and " who is accountable for his conduct to none but the Senate? To ſhew " that the *Lex Valeria* relates only to *Plebeians*; for about ſeventeen years " that it has been made, let *Decius* give me one ſingle inſtance of a *Pa-* " *trician* called in judgment before the People by vertue of that law, and " our diſpute will be at an end. And indeed what juſtice would there be " in delivering up a Senator to the fury of the Tribunes, and to ſuffer " the People to be Judges in their own cauſe; as if their tumultuous As- " ſemblies, directed by ſuch ſeditious Magiſtrates, could be without pre- " judice, without hatred, without paſſion? Thus, O Fathers, it is " my advice, that before you come to any determination, you maturely " conſider that in this affair your intereſts are inſeparable from thoſe of " *Coriolanus*: As to the reſt, I am not for your revoking the favours you " have granted the People, by whatever means they obtained them; but " I cannot forbear exhorting you to refuſe boldly for the future whatever " they ſhall endeavour to obtain of you contrary to your own authority, " and the form of our Government."

§. IV. IT

§. IV. IT is plain by theſe two oppoſite ſpeeches of *Decius* and *Appius*, that the buſineſs of *Coriolanus* was only uſed as a colour to affairs of greater importance. The true cauſe of the diſpute and animoſity between the two parties was this, that the Nobles and *Patricians* pretended a right of ſucceſſion to the regal authority, upon the expulſion of *Tarquin*, and that the Government ought to be purely Ariſtocratic; whereas the Tribunes, by new laws, endeavoured to turn it into a Democracy, and to bring the whole authority into the hands of the People, whom they governed as they pleaſed. Thus ambition, intereſt, and jealouſy animated the two parties, and made the wiſeſt men apprehenſive of a new ſeparation, or of a Civil War. Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

This was what *M. Valerius*, that Conſular who had been ſo ſerviceable in the treaty upon the *Mons Sacer*, repreſented to the Senate in terms equally ſtrong and moving. He was a true Republican, and was diſpleaſed to ſee thoſe of his own order conſtantly affecting a diſtinction and power ever odious in a free State. As he was maſter of a ſweet inſinuating eloquence, he firſt ſpoke in general of the benefits of peace, and of the neceſſity of preſerving union in the Republic. Then he proceeded to the affair of *Coriolanus*, and declared himſelf for referring the cognizance of it to the Aſſembly of the People. He maintained that the Senate, by yielding up ſome ſmall part of its authority, would ſecure the duration of the remainder; that it would be ſtronger by being leſs, and that nothing was more likely to diſarm the People's rage againſt the illuſtrious *Patrician* accuſed, than to leave him to their judgment: that the multitude, charmed with ſuch a condeſcenſion, would never condemn a man whom they knew to be ſo dear to the Senate: and that, to appeaſe them entirely, he would have all the Senators diſperſe themſelves among the Aſſembly, and each endeavour by a more gentle and popular behaviour, to win over thoſe of the *Plebeians* with whom he was acquainted.

Valerius then turning to *Coriolanus*, conjured him in the moſt affecting manner to give peace to the Republic: "Go, *Coriolanus*, offer your-"ſelf generouſly to the People's judgment; this is the only way of juſti-"fying yourſelf that is worthy of you; this is the ſureſt means to ſilence "thoſe who accuſe you of aiming at the tyranny. The People, moved "with beholding ſo great a ſoul bending under the power of their Tri-"bunes, can never bring themſelves to pronounce ſentence of condem-"nation upon *Coriolanus*; whereas if you perſiſt in ſhewing a contempt "for that tribunal, if you diſown its juriſdiction, and continue obſtinate-"ly reſolute to be try'd only by the Conſuls, you will occaſion a conteſt "between the Senate and the People, and kindle a dreadful ſedition. "You alone will be the fatal torch; and who can tell how far the flame "may ſpread? Set before your eyes the frightful image of a Civil War; "the laws without force; the Magiſtrates without power; fury and vio-"lence poſſeſſing both parties; fire and ſword gleaming on all ſides, "and your fellow-citizens murdering each other: the wife calling upon "you for her huſband, the father for his children; all loading you with

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J.C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

" imprecations. Laſtly, ſet before your eyes *Rome*, to which the Gods " have promiſed ſo glorious a deſtiny, ſinking under the rage of the two " parties, and buried beneath its own ruins."

Valerius, who ſincerely loved his country, and was ſoftened by the idea of theſe great calamities, could not reſtrain his tears; and the tears of ſo venerable a Conſular, more eloquent than even his diſcourſe, touched the greater part of the Senators, and diſpoſed their minds to peace.

Then *Valerius*, finding that he was maſter of the aſſembly, raiſed his voice, and, as if he had got freſh ſtrength, or were become another man, ſhewed himſelf undiſguiſed, and ſpoke to them with that authority which his age and long experience in affairs gave him. " We are made to fear, " that the public liberty will be in danger, if we grant ſo much power " to the People, and allow them to try thoſe of our order who ſhall be " accuſed by the Tribunes. I am perſuaded on the contrary, that nothing " is more likely to preſerve it. The Republic conſiſts of two orders, " *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; the queſtion is, which of thoſe two orders " may more ſafely be truſted with the guardianſhip of that ſacred *depoſitum*, " our liberty. I maintain that it will be more ſecure in the hands of the " People, who deſire only not to be oppreſt, than in thoſe of the Nobles " who all have a violent thirſt of dominion. The Nobles, inveſted with " the prime Magiſtracies, diſtinguiſhed by their birth, their wealth, and " their honours, will always be powerful enough to hold the People to " their duty: And the People, when they have the authority of the laws, " being naturally haters and jealous of all exalted power, will watch over " the actions of the Great, and by the dread of a popular enquiry and " judgment, keep a check upon the ambition of ſuch *Patricians* as might " be tempted to aſpire to the tyranny. You aboliſhed the Royalty, *Con-* " *ſcript Fathers*, becauſe the authority of a ſingle man grew exorbitant. " Not ſatisfied with dividing the ſovereign power between two annual " Magiſtrates, you gave them a Council of three hundred Senators to be " inſpectors over their conduct, and moderators of their authority. But " this very Senate, ſo formidable to the Kings and to the Conſuls, has " nothing in the Republic to balance its power. I know very well that " hitherto there is all the reaſon in the world to applaud its moderation. " But who can ſay whether we are not obliged for this to our fear of ene- " mies abroad, and to thoſe continual wars which we have been forced " to maintain? Who will be anſwerable that our ſucceſſors, growing " more haughty and more potent by a long peace, ſhall not make attempts " upon the liberty of their country, and that in the Senate there ſhall not " ariſe ſome ſtrong faction, whoſe Leader will find means to become the " Tyrant of his country, if there be not at the ſame time ſome other " power, out of the Senate, to withſtand ſuch ambitious enterpriſes, by " impeaching the authors and abettors of them before the People?

" Perhaps the queſtion will be aſked me, whether the ſame inconveni- " ency is not to be apprehended from the People, and whether it is poſſi- " ble to make ſufficient proviſion, that there ſhall not at ſome time ariſe

" among

" among the *Plebeians*, a head of a party who will abuſe his influence Y. of *R.* 262.
" over the minds of the multitude, and under the old pretence of defend- Bef. *J. C.* 490.
" ing the People's intereſts, in the end invade both their liberty and that 19 Conſulſhip.
" of the Senate? But you well know, that upon the leaſt danger which
" the Republic may ſeem to be in on that ſide, our Conſuls have power
" to name a Dictator, whom they will never chuſe but from among your
" own body; that this ſupreme Magiſtrate, abſolute Maſter of the lives
" of his fellow-citizens, is able by his ſole authority to diſſipate a popular
" faction; and the wiſdom of our laws has allowed him that formidable
" power but for ſix months, for fear he ſhould abuſe it, and employ in
" the eſtabliſhment of his own Tyranny, an authority intruſted with him
" only to deſtroy that of any other ambitious men.

" Thus with a mutual inſpection the Senate will be watchful over the
" behaviour of the Conſuls, the People over that of the Senate; and the
" Dictator, when the State of Affairs requires the intervention of ſuch a
" Magiſtrate, will curb the ambition of all. The more eyes there are up-
" on the conduct of every branch of our Legiſlature, the more ſecure will
" be our liberty, and the more perfect our conſtitution."

Other Senators, who were of the ſame opinion, added, that nothing was more likely to preſerve their liberty, than to allow every *Roman* Citizen compriſed in the *Cenſus*, the privilege of impeaching before the Aſſembly of the People, any man who ſhould violate the laws; that this right of accuſation would not only keep the Great in awe, but alſo be ſerviceable in giving vent to the People's diſcontents, which without ſuch relief might turn into ſedition.

In concluſion, it was carried by a great majority to refer the cauſe in queſtion to the judgment of the People; a reſolution the more willingly taken, becauſe the petition which the Tribunes had made for a previous *Senatus-conſultum* to empower them to proſecute the accuſed, would for the future ſerve as a proof and confirmation of the Senate's privilege and authority.

§. V. BEFORE the decree was drawn up, *Coriolanus*, who found the Senate were deſerting him, deſired leave to ſpeak; and having obtained it, he ſaid, " You know, *Conſcript Fathers*, what the whole courſe
" of my life has hitherto been. You know that this obſtinate hatred of
" the People, and this unjuſt perſecution which I now ſuffer from it,
" are occaſioned only by the inviolable zeal which I have always ſhewn
" for the intereſt of this body. I ſhall ſay nothing of the return I now
" meet with; the event will ſhew the weakneſs and perhaps the malice
" of the counſels which are given you in this affair. But ſince *Valerius*'s
" opinion has at length prevailed, let me know at leaſt what is the crime
" I am charged with, and upon what conditions I am delivered over to
" the fury of my adverſaries."

Coriolanus ſaid this to find out whether the Tribunes would ground their *D. Hal.* B. 7. accuſation upon the ſpeech he had made in full Senate. This was indeed the only cauſe of the Tribunes rage againſt him; they could never for-

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J.C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip. give the propoſal he had made to aboliſh the Tribuneſhip; but as they fear'd they ſhould make themſelves too odious to the Senate, if they pretended to call every Senator to account for the opinions he ſhould give in the public deliberations, they declared, after conferring together, that they would confine their whole accuſation to the ſingle crime of Tyranny.

Coriolanus inſtantly replied, "If that be the only charge I am to anſwer to, I freely ſubmit my ſelf to the judgment of the People; let the Senate's decree be put in writing."

The Senate was not diſpleaſed to ſee the affair take this turn, and that no mention would be made of what had paſſed in the laſt Aſſembly, which muſt have brought the honour and authority of their body into diſpute. Thus with the conſent of all parties, the decree was drawn up; it allowed the accuſed ſeven and twenty days to prepare his defence. This decree was put into the hands of the Tribunes; and leſt, notwithſtanding their promiſe, they ſhould ſtill pretend in the Aſſembly of the People to urge as an article againſt *Coriolanus* what he had advanced with relation to the Tribuneſhip, and the price to be fixed upon corn, they made another *Senatus-conſultum*, diſcharging him from all proſecutions that might be raiſed againſt him upon either of thoſe accounts: a precaution which the Senate took, that they might not have the uneaſineſs to ſee it diſcuſſed before the People, how far the Senators might carry the freedom of ſpeaking their opinions. The Tribunes having aſſembled the People, and read the Senate's decree to them, exhorted all the Citizens of the Republic, as well thoſe who dwelt in the country, as the inhabitants of *Rome*, to be at the *Forum* on the day appointed for the deciſion of this affair. Moſt of the *Plebeians* waited impatiently till the time ſhould come when they might ſignalize their hatred to *Coriolanus*, and they ſeemed as zealous againſt him, as if the preſervation of the Commonwealth had depended on his deſtruction.

CHAP. XI.

§. I. *The day being come for* Coriolanus's *trial, a diſpute ariſes between the Conſuls and Tribunes, whether the People ſhall give their Suffrages by* CENTURIES, *according to the ancient cuſtom, or by* TRIBES, *which had never yet been practiſed. The Tribunes who are for the latter prevail.* §. II. Coriolanus's *cauſe is heard. He is condemned to baniſhment, and leaves* Rome.

§. I. AT length the fatal day appeared, when the great affair of *Coriolanus* was to be decided; and an innumerable multitude crowded the *Forum* betimes in the morning. The Tribunes (who knew what they did) ſeparated them by tribes before the Senators came; whereas, from the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the voices

voices had always been gathered by centuries. This ſingle[a] difference gave the deciding turn to the preſent affair, and was afterwards in almoſt all conteſts between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, ſufficient to weigh down the ſcale in favour of either ſide. The Conſuls being come to the Aſſembly, were for keeping up the ancient cuſtom, not doubting but they cou'd ſave *Coriolanus* if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the *Patricians* themſelves and the richeſt Citizens made the majority. But the Tribunes, no leſs artful, and more reſolute, alledged that in an affair which concerned the rights of the People and the Public Liberty, it was but juſt that the vote of every the pooreſt and meaneſt Citizen ſhould be of equal weight and value with that of the richeſt and moſt noble, and they loudly declared, that they would never conſent to let the voices be collected otherwiſe than by tribes. This diſpute was carried very far; but at length the Senate, who would not make *Coriolanus*'s cauſe their own, and who were apprehenſive their authority would be attacked directly, gave way as uſual to the obſtinacy of the Tribunes. Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

However, *Minucius* the firſt Conſul, to hide, if poſſible, the weakneſs and indeed the ſcandal of this conduct in the Senate, mounted the *Roſtra*. He opened his diſcourſe with the advantages flowing from peace and union, and the calamities which attend diſcord. From theſe commonplaces, he proceeded to the affection which the Senate had for the People, and the favours it had heaped upon them at different times; and he declared that all the return *the Fathers* aſked was *Coriolanus*'s diſcharge. He exhorted the *Plebeians* not to conſider ſo much a few words which had eſcaped him in the heat of his diſcourſe, as the important ſervices which he had done the Commonwealth; to be ſatisfied with his ſubmiſſion to their cenſure; and not ſuffer it to be ſaid, that ſo illuſtrious a Citizen underwent the forms of juſtice like a criminal. *Sicinnius* anſwered, that if ſuch indulgence were to take place in the Government of States, none would be ſecure. That any man who had done great ſervices, might then attempt the moſt miſchievous crimes with impunity. That in Monarchies the King had power to forgive; but in Commonwealths the laws alone governed, and thoſe laws, deaf to all ſolicitations, puniſhed offenders with the ſame ſtrictneſs of juſtice, that they rewarded the deſerving.

"Well then, replied *Minucius*, ſince, notwithſtanding our intreaties, "you obſtinately inſiſt that *Coriolanus* ſhall be tried by this Aſſembly, I "demand that, purſuant to your agreement with the Senate, you confine "your accuſation to the ſingle article of Tyranny, and bring proofs and "witneſſes of this crime. For, as to what he has ſaid in our Aſſemblies, "beſide that you have no right to take cognizance of any thing of that "nature, the Senate has diſcharged him." To prove what he alledged, he read aloud to them the *Senatus-conſultum* relating to it; after which he deſcended from the *Roſtra*. And this was all the aſſiſtance that ſo illuſtrious a *Patrician* received from the timorous policy of the Senate.

[a] See this matter fully explained p. 93, 94, 95.

§. II. *Si-*

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J.C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip.

§. II. *SICINNIUS* the Tribune then began the accuſation with a laboured ſpeech, which conſiſted however of only general invectives, importing that the accuſed by the whole tenour of his words and actions againſt the People, had manifeſtly diſcovered an intention to invade their Liberties, and become the tyrant of his Country.

As ſoon as the Tribune had done ſpeaking, *Coriolanus*, with a courage deſerving a better fortune, preſented himſelf in the Aſſembly, and anſwered the calumnies thrown upon his conduct, by a bare recital of his ſervices. He began with his firſt campaigns, he gave an account of all the engagements in which he had fought, the wounds he had received, the military honours which his Generals had beſtowed upon him, and the ſeveral commands in the army to which he had been gradually promoted. He expoſed to the view of the whole People a great many different crowns which he had received either for mounting the breach firſt in aſſaults, or for having firſt broke into the enemies camp; or laſtly, for having in various battles ſaved the lives of a great number of Citizens. He called them aloud, each by his name, and cited them as witneſſes of what he advanced. Theſe men immediately ſtood forth, and gave public teſtimony of the obligations they lay under to him. Stretching out their hands as ſupplicants, they conjured the Aſſembly not to deſtroy a man to whom they owed their lives, and all that was dear to them; and they offered to undergo in his ſtead, any puniſhment to which he ſhould be condemned. As theſe *Romans* were moſtly *Plebeians*, and men known to have deſerved well of their Country, the multitude could not reſiſt their preſſing ſolicitations, nor even refrain from tears. Then *Coriolanus*, tearing away his robe, ſhewed his breaſt all covered with the ſcars of a great number of wounds which he had received: "It was to ſave theſe worthy men, "ſaid he, it was to reſcue theſe good Citizens out of the hands of our ene- "mies, that I have a thouſand times ventured my life. Let the Tri- "bunes ſhew if they can, how ſuch actions are conſiſtent with the treache- "rous deſigns they lay to my charge. Is it eaſy to believe, that an ene- "my of the People, a man who intended to deſtroy them in a time of "peace, would expoſe himſelf to ſo many dangers in war, only to pre- "ſerve their lives?"

This diſcourſe, ſupported by a noble air, and that confidence which flows from innocence and truth, made the *Plebeians* quite aſhamed of their malice. The beſt men of that order cried out, that they ought to acquit ſo good a Citizen. But then the Tribune *Decius*, alarmed at this change, ſtood up and ſaid, "Tho' the Senate does not allow us to prove the ill "deſigns of this enemy of the People, by the odious words which he "ſpoke in full Senate, we ſhall not want other proofs equally eſſential. I "will mention ſome actions where that ſpirit of tyranny and pride are no "leſs apparent. You know that according to our laws, the ſpoils of the "enemy belong to the *Roman* People; that neither the ſoldiers, nor their "General himſelf has power to diſpoſe of them; but that all ought to "be ſold, and the money thence ariſing, carried by a Quæſtor into the

" public treaſury; ſuch is the uſage and conſtitution of our Government. Y. of *R.* 262.
" Nevertheleſs, contrary to theſe laws, which are as ancient as *Rome* it Bef. *J. C.* 490.
" ſelf, *Coriolanus* having got a conſiderable booty in the territories of the 19 Conſulſhip.
" *Antiates*, divided it all by his private authority among his friends,
" giving them what was the People's due. This I call a proof of Tyran-
" ny. For indeed what was this, but with the public money to ſecure
" to himſelf creatures, and guards, and ſupporters of his intended uſur-
" pation? He muſt therefore either deny a notorious fact, and ſay, that
" he did not diſpoſe of this booty, or elſe make it appear that he had
" power to do it without violating the laws. So that without dazzling us
" with this ſplendid ſhow of his crowns and ſcars, or uſing any other arts
" to blind the Aſſembly, let him anſwer directly to this one article which
" I urge againſt him."

It is true, *Coriolanus* had by his private authority diſpoſed of the plunder which the Tribune ſpoke of: but he had been ſo far from diſpoſing of it only in favour of his friends and creatures, as was objected to him, that it is certain, his ſoldiers, who made part of that very People which now proſecuted him with ſo much violence, received the whole benefit of that pillage. And the chief reaſon why he had let them ſhare the booty among them was, that he might by their example incite the reſt of the *Plebeians* to take the field, and ſeek proviſions in the enemy's country, at a time when *Rome* was grievouſly diſtreſſed by a famine, and the Tribunes oppoſed all regular levies of Soldiers. This was the real fact. But thoſe of the people who had not had any ſhare in that expedition, could not without a ſecret jealouſy behold *Coriolanus*'s ſoldiers return to *Rome* well provided with corn. *Decius* who had diſcovered this uneaſineſs in their minds, reſolved to make advantage of it on the preſent occaſion, not doubting but thoſe *Plebeians*, envious of the good fortune of their neighbours, would readily condemn *Coriolanus* for a generous action by which they themſelves had received no benefit.

The Tribune therefore, urgent and audacious, inſolently aſked *Coriolanus* whether he was King of *Rome*, and by what authority he had diſpoſed of what belonged to the Republic? *Coriolanus*, ſurpriſed at an accuſation againſt which he had prepared no defence, contented himſelf with giving a bare relation of the matter of fact, as it has been ſtated. He repreſented that one part of the People had received the advantage of the ſpoils of the enemy, and he called with a loud voice upon the Centurions and principal *Plebeians* who had gone with him in that incurſion, to bear teſtimony to the truth. But thoſe of the Aſſembly who had not been ſharers in the corn of the *Antiates*, being more numerous than *Coriolanus*'s Soldiers, made ſo much noiſe, that the latter could not be heard. The Tribunes, finding the People were blown up again to their former animoſity, laid hold of this opportunity to collect the ſuffrages; and *Coriolanus* was at length condemned to perpetual baniſhment. Of the twenty one tribes, but nine voted for him, and twelve againſt him.

Moſt

Y. of *R.* 262. Bef. *J. C.* 490. 19 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 7. *Plut. in Coriol.* *Liv.* B. 2.

Moſt of the Nobles and *Patricians* thought themſelves in a manner condemned to baniſhment with this great man, who had always been the defender and ſupport of their order. At firſt it was only a general conſternation, but this was quickly ſucceeded by indignation and rage. Some reproached *Valerius*, that he had miſled the Senate by his artful diſcourſes; others reproached themſelves for their exceſs of condeſcenſion to the People; all repented that they had not rather endured the laſt extremities, than abandoned ſo illuſtrious a Citizen to the inſolence of a ſeditious Rabble.

Coriolanus was the only perſon among the *Patricians* who ſeemed unconcerned at his diſgrace; he left the Aſſembly with the ſame tranquillity, in appearance, as if he had been acquitted. He went immediately to his own houſe, where he found his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife all drowned in tears, and in the firſt tranſports of their grief. He exhorted them in few words to bear this reverſe of fortune with courage and conſtancy; and having recommended to them the care of his children, which were yet but infants, he inſtantly took his leave, not ſuffering any body to attend him in his exile, except three or four of his clients. A great number of the Senators and other *Patricians* accompanied him to the gates of the city, but he ſaid not one word to them by the way, and he parted from them in the ſame reproachful ſilence, neither thanking them for any good offices paſt, nor requeſting any future favour[a].

[a] *Coriolanus* was probably about 35 years of age at the time of his baniſhment. He had ſtood for the Conſulſhip the year before, and (according to *Plutarch*) had then ſerved 17 years. He began to ſerve as ſoon as he was of an age to bear arms, that is at 17.

CHAP. XII.

§. I. *The* Plebeians *exult upon the victory they have gained over the* Patricians *in the affair of* Coriolanus. *The* Romans *having now no war abroad, nor ſquabble at home to employ them, turn their minds wholly to ſuperſtition, during the Conſulate of* Q. Sulpicius *and* Sp. Lartius. §. II. *The Tribunes from a view of ſelf-intereſt perſuade the People at the next election of Conſuls to chuſe men of mean talents and little credit in the Senate. Their choice falls upon* C. Julius *and* P. Pinarius Rufus. §. III. *In the mean time,* Coriolanus *retires privately to* Antium, *one of the principal cities of the* Volſci, *diſcovers himſelf to* Attius Tullus, *General of that Nation, offers him his ſervice againſt* Rome, *and is nobly received by the* Volſcian. §. IV. *Theſe two Generals concert a ſtratagem to ſtir up the* Volſci *to renew the war with the* Romans. Coriolanus *is introduced by* Tullus *into the Aſſembly of the* Volſcian *States, and there makes a ſpeech, which is highly applauded. They reſolve upon war, and to commit the conduct of it to* Tullus *and* Coriolanus; *but firſt, by the advice of the latter, ſend an embaſſy to* Rome, *to make ſuch demands of the Republic, as they are ſure will be rejected. The* Volſcian *Ambaſſadors are diſmiſſed by the* Roman *Senate with a haughty anſwer.*

§. I. NEVER did the People teſtify more joy, not even upon vanquiſhing the moſt formidable enemies of *Rome*, than they did now for the advantage they had juſt gained over the Senate and the body of the Nobility. By the proceedings in the affair of *Coriolanus* the form of the Government was abſolutely changed. The *Plebeians* who had hitherto been dependent on the *Patricians* were become their judges, and poſſeſſed of a right to call before their Tribunal the greateſt men in the Commonwealth, and to decide their fate.

So delightful a privilege, together with the plenty which by the Senate's care flowed in upon the city, after the grievous famine it had ſuffered, kept the People quiet for ſome time. During the following Conſulſhip of *Q. Sulpicius* and *Sp. Lartius* *, ſuperſtition alone filled the minds of the *Romans*. Nothing now was talked of but viſions, ſpectres, miraculous voices, monſters, and prodigies of all ſorts. *Titus Latinus*, or, according to *Livy*, *Tib. Atinius*, an old man, and bed-rid, made himſelf be convey'd in a litter from the country to *Rome*, where he related to the *Conſcript Fathers* a dream, in which he ſaid *Jupiter Capitolinus* had appeared to him, and commanded him to tell the Senate, "That they muſt repeat "the celebration of the Publick Games, becauſe in the laſt performance "a bad Dancer had led up the dances. *He added*, That he having ne"gleſted the admonition, *Jupiter* in revenge had thrown him into the "condition he then was, and had killed one of his ſons." As faſt as the man diſcharged his commiſſion, ſo faſt he recovered the uſe of his limbs; and this put the Senate into a terrible fright. Strict enquiries were made after the bad Dancer, and he was at length found to be a Slave whoſe Maſter, a ſubſtantial Citizen, had, juſt before the religious proceſſion that preceeded the ſports, cauſed to be whipp'd through the *Croſſways*, the *Forum* and the *Circus*, through all which places the proceſſion was to paſs. The poor wretch from the violence of his pain had uttered imprecations, and had ſcrew'd himſelf into an hundred odd poſtures at every ſtroke; an improper and indecent prelude to ſo ſolemn a ceremony. And this it ſeems had offended *Jupiter*. The Citizen was fined, and a decree paſſed for renewing the Games in a more ſumptuous and expenſive manner than before. The Senate however deferred the celebration of them to the next Conſulate.

Y. of *R.* 263. Bef. *J. C.* 489. 20 Conſulſhip. * A 2d time Conſ.

§. II. THE Conſular Power being now the only thing which kept the Tribunes in awe, they employed their utmoſt efforts to hinder its falling into any hands but of *Patricians* devoted to their intereſts, or ſo little eſteemed as to give them no cauſe to be apprehenſive of any thing they could do. And to prepare the multitude to vote conformably to their private views, they inſinuated in all Aſſemblies, that the greateſt Captains were not the moſt fit to govern a Commonwealth. That men of their exalted courage, being always uſed to an abſolute power in the armies, brought home with their victories a ſpirit of pride, ever dangerous in a free State. That in the fatal obligation the People lay under, to chuſe their Conſuls

Y. of *R.* 263. Bef. *J. C.* 489. 20 Conſulſhip. out of the body of the *Patricians*, it was of great importance to them to pick out men of but moderate talents, capable of buſineſs, but without too great an elevation and ſuperiority.

The People who no longer acted but according to the impreſſion they received from their Tribunes, refuſed their voices to the greateſt men in the Republic, in the *Comitia* held by *Sulpicius* and *Lartius* for the election of their ſucceſſors. As the Conſuls were always choſen in the *Comitia* by centuries, of which thoſe of the firſt and richeſt claſs made the majority, the Senators and *Patricians* had uſually diſpoſed of that dignity as they pleaſed. But now even in that kind of Aſſembly the *Plebeian* party carried their point by the artful management of the Tribunes, who found ways to gain ſome and intimidate others. *C. Julius* and *P. Pinarius Rufus* were proclaimed Conſuls: They were but indifferent ſoldiers, had no credit in the Senate, and would never have attained that dignity if they had deſerved it [a].

D. Hal. B. 8. Y. of *R.* 264. Bef. *J. C.* 488. 21 Conſulſhip.

§. III. IN the mean time, *Coriolanus* wandering about in his exile did not ſo much look out for an *Aſylum* or Retreat, as for means and opportunities of avenging his wrongs. This exalted ſpirit, this *Roman* ſo immovable in appearance, being now left wholly to himſelf, could not reſiſt the ſecret motions of his reſentment; and in the deſigns which he laid for the deſtruction of his enemies, he was not aſhamed to involve the ruin of his country. He ſpent the firſt days of his baniſhment at a country ſeat of his own. His mind, toſt about by violent paſſions, formed ſucceſſively different ſchemes. At length, when he had caſt his eyes upon the ſeveral nations that were neighbours and enemies to *Rome*, *Sabines*, *Æqui*, *Tuſcans*, *Volſci*, and *Hernici*, he found none that ſeemed more exaſperated againſt the *Romans*, or in a better condition to undertake a war than the *Volſci*.

[a] Mr. *Vertot* obſerves upon this occaſion, that the Senate and the People acted both of them contrary to their real intereſts, and ſeemed to aim at joining two things incompatible. All the *Romans*, *ſays he*, as well *Patricians* as *Plebeians*, aſpired to the conqueſt of *Italy*; the command of the armies was reſerved to the *Patricians*, who indeed poſſeſſed all the dignities of the State; they had no ſoldiers but the *Plebeians*, whom they would reduce to that timid ſubmiſſion and that ſervile dependence, which they could ſcarce have expected in mean artificers, and a populace bred up in obſcurity. The People on the other hand powerful, numerous, and full of that ferocity growing from a continual exerciſe of arms, in order to leſſen the authority of the Government, were for having Conſuls and Generals who would be eaſy, indulgent, complacent to the multitude, and would behave themſelves towards their ſoldiers rather with the modeſt manners of equality, than with that lofty and imperious air which the command of armies naturally gives a General. It was neceſſary for putting an end to the miſunderſtanding between thoſe two orders in the Republic, that they ſhould either jointly have reſolved to content themſelves with the narrow limits of their State, and lay aſide the ambition of making conqueſts; or that the *Patricians* ſhould have allowed a greater ſhare in the Government to a warlike People, Citizens during winter, but Soldiers all the ſummer; and the People, on their ſide, ſhould have named to the command none but the beſt Generals in the Republic.

Mr. *Vertot* adds, that he owes this reflection to the events that follow; it not being long before the People repented their having intruſted the government of the State, and the command of the Armies, to two men equally incapable of thoſe functions.

They

They were a Republic or Community conſiſting of ſeveral ſmall cantons united by a league, and governed by an aſſembly of Deputies from each of them. This Nation bordering upon *Rome*, and jealous of her riſing greatneſs, had always oppoſed it with remarkable courage, though with little ſucceſs. The *Romans* had taken from them ſome of their towns, and part of their territory; and, during the time that *Coriolanus*'s affair was depending, had by threatening them with a new war (on occaſion of ſome violence they had offered to certain *Sicilian* Ambaſſadors ſent to *Rome* upon the corn traffick) terrified them into the ſubmiſſion of ſuppliants for peace. The *Volſci* obtained of the Republic a truce for two years. But this did not leſſen the animoſity in their hearts; they ſought all over *Italy* to ſtir up new enemies againſt the *Romans*, and upon the knowledge of this it was that *Coriolanus* built his hopes of engaging them to renew the war. But he was the moſt unfit man in the world for ſuch an undertaking; he had done them more miſchief than all the other *Roman* Generals; more than once he had cut to pieces their troops, ravaged their country, taken and plundered their towns: the name of *Coriolanus* was as odious as it was formidable throughout the whole community of the *Volſci*.

Y. of *R.* 264. Bef. *J. C.* 488. 21 Conſulſhip.

Beſides, this petty Republic was then governed by *Attius Tullus*, the General of that Nation, jealous of the glory of *Coriolanus*, who had beat him in every action where they had fought againſt each other; a diſgrace which men would gladly hide even from themſelves, but which they never forgive. Nothing could be more dangerous than to put himſelf into the hands of ſuch an enemy. All theſe reaſons offered themſelves to the mind of *Coriolanus*; but immoderate thirſt of vengeance prevailed in a heart incapable of fear, and he came to a reſolution to apply himſelf directly to *Tullus*.

He departed from his retreat in diſguiſe; and in the evening entered *Antium*, one of the chief Cities of the *Volſci*. It was here that *Tullus* reſided, and to his houſe *Coriolanus* went directly. With his face covered, and without ſpeaking one word, he ſat him down by the hearth of the domeſtic Gods, a place ſacred in all the houſes of the ancient *Pagans*. A behaviour ſo extraordinary, and a certain air of authority that never abandons great men, ſurpriſed the ſervants; they ran to tell their maſter. *Tullus* came, and demanded of him who he was, and what he required.

Livy, B. 2. *Plut.* in *Cor.* *D. H.* B. 8. *Val. Max.* B. 5.

Coriolanus then diſcovering himſelf: "If thou doſt not yet know me, "ſaid he, I am *Caius Marcius*, my ſirname is *Coriolanus*, the only re- "ward left me of all my ſervices. I am baniſhed from *Rome* through "the hatred of the People, and the puſillanimity of the Great: I ſeek re- "venge; it lies in thy power to employ my ſword againſt our common "enemies. If thy Republic will not accept of my ſervice, I give my "life into thy hands; deſtroy an old enemy, who otherwiſe may do "more miſchief to thy Country."

Tullus, amazed at the greatneſs of his courage, gave him his hand: "Fear nothing, *Marcius*, ſaid he, thy confidence is the pledge of thy

Y. of *R.* 264. Bef. *J.C.* 488. 21 Conſulſhip.

" ſecurity. By bringing us thy ſelf, thou giveſt us more than ever thou " tookeſt from us. And we ſhall know how to value thy ſervices better " than thy fellow-citizens. So great a Captain may juſtly expect the " higheſt honours from the *Volſci*." He then led him into his apartment, where they privately conferred about the means of renewing the war.

§. IV. IT has been already obſerved, that there was at this time a truce between the *Volſci* and the *Romans*; the buſineſs was to bring the former to a reſolution of breaking it. But this was not without its difficulties, becauſe of the loſſes which the *Volſci* had ſuffered in the laſt war. However, the two Generals found means to compaſs what they deſired. The *Romans* were preparing for their public ſports (a part of the religion of thoſe times) purſuant to the admonition, before mentioned, of *Jupiter* by the old man. The People about *Rome* flocked to the *ſhow* from all parts, and there went particularly a great number of the *Volſci*. They crowded every quarter of the City; nay, there were many who not being able to find hoſts to receive them, lay under tents in the public places. This great multitude of ſtrangers gave uneaſineſs to the Conſuls; and to add to it, *Tullus* cauſed a falſe alarm to be given, that the *Volſci* were to ſet fire to ſeveral parts of *Rome*. The Conſuls made their report of this to the Senate; and as the animoſity of that People againſt the Republic was well known, the Magiſtrates cauſed an order to be publiſhed throughout the City, enjoining all the *Volſci* to depart from it before night, and even preſcribing the gate thro' which they ſhould paſs. This order was executed ſtrictly, and all of that Nation were inſtantly driven out of *Rome*. They carried with them each into his canton the ſhame of this ill uſage, and a ſtrong deſire of revenge. *Tullus* met them in the way as by chance; and having heard the unworthy manner in which they had been treated, " And " is it poſſible, *he cried*, they could drive you from a public feſtival, " and, as one may ſay, from an Aſſembly of Gods and Men, like the " profaneſt wretches and outlaws? Can you, after ſo vile a treatment, " conceal from your ſelves the implacable hatred which the *Romans* bear " you? Will you patiently wait till without regard to the truce which " has diſarmed you, they come and ſurprize you, and lay waſte your ter- " ritories once again?"

An Aſſembly of the States was held tumultuouſly; the more violent ſort were for taking arms immediately, and for carrying fire and ſword into the territory of *Rome*, in revenge for the inſult they had received. But *Tullus*, who conducted this affair, adviſed them, before they broke out, to ſend for *Coriolanus* into their Aſſembly: " That Captain, ſaid he, " whoſe valour we have ſo often experienced, and who now bears more " enmity to the *Romans*, than even we our ſelves, ſeems to have been " brought hither by the Gods to reſtore our affairs; and he will give us " no counſels, whereof he will not ſhare the dangers of the execution."

The *Roman* was called, and introduced into the Aſſembly: He appeared with a countenance ſad, but reſolute at the ſame time; all preſent fix-

ed their eyes attentively upon a man who had been more dreadful to them, than all the reſt of the *Romans* together; and they liſtened to his words with that reſpect, which is always paid to merit under perſecution. He addreſſed himſelf to them in words to this effect. Y. of R. 264. Bef. J.C. 488. 21 Conſulſhip.

" None of you can be ignorant that I am condemned to perpetual ba-
" niſhment, through the malice or weakneſs of thoſe who are the authors
" or accomplices of my diſgrace. If I had ſought only a place of
" refuge, I might have retired either among the *Latines* our allies, or to
" ſome *Roman* colony. But a life ſo obſcure had been to me inſupporta-
" ble, and I always thought it better for a man to die, than be reduced
" to ſuch a condition, as to be able neither to ſerve his friends, nor to
" revenge himſelf upon his enemies. This is my temper: I would de-
" ſerve by my ſword the *Aſylum* I aſk of you: let us join our common
" reſentments. You know full well that thoſe ungrateful Citizens, who
" have baniſhed me ſo unjuſtly, are your moſt inveterate enemies: *Rome*,
" that haughty City, threatens you with her chains. It is your intereſt to
" weaken ſo formidable a neighbour: I find with pleaſure, that you are
" diſpoſed to renew the war, and I confeſs it is the only way to ſtop the
" progreſs of that ambitious Nation. But in order to render this war ſuc-
" ceſsful, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be juſt in the ſight of the Gods,
" or at leaſt appear ſo before men; it is neceſſary that the motive or pre-
" tence upon which you ſhall take up arms, be ſuch as may engage your
" neighbours in your cauſe, and procure you new allies. You may feign
" a deſire to convert the truce which is between the two Nations into a
" ſolid peace: let the Ambaſſadors whom you ſend to *Rome* demand but
" this one condition, *A reſtitution of the lands which the* Romans *have got*
" *from you, either by the chance of war, or by compulſive treaties.* You
" are not to be informed that the territory of *Rome*, at the foundation of
" that City, was at moſt but of five or ſix miles extent. That little
" Canton is inſenſibly become a great Country by the conqueſts, or to
" ſpeak more truly, by the uſurpations of the *Romans*. *Volſci*, *Sabines*,
" *Æqui*, *Albans*, *Tuſcans*, *Latines*, in a word, there is not in all their
" neighbourhood, a Nation from which they have not wreſted ſome of
" its towns, and part of its territory. Thoſe injured States will every
" one of them become your allies, and will join with you in an enter-
" prize that equally concerns the intereſt of all.

" If the *Romans*, intimidated by your menaces of a war, conſent to
" reſtore to you the towns and the lands which they have deprived you
" of, then, after your example, the other Nations of *Italy* will each of
" them demand back what has been taken from them; which will at one
" ſtroke reduce that proud People to the ſame ſtate of weakneſs in which
" it was in its origin. Or if the *Romans* undertake, as I doubt not but
" they will, to retain their uſurpations by force of arms, then in a war ſo
" equitable you will have both Gods and men your friends. Your allies
" will tie themſelves more cloſely to you; there will be formed a powerful
" league, capable of deſtroying, or at leaſt of humbling ſo haughty a Re-
" public,

Y. of *R.* 264. Bef. *J.C.* 488. 21 Conſulſhip.

" public. I will not mention the little ſkill I have acquired in war: Sol-
" dier or Captain, in whatever rank you place me, I will gladly ſacrifice
" my life to revenge you of our common enemies."

This diſcourſe was heard with pleaſure, as are all thoſe that engage and flatter our paſſions. War was reſolved on; the community of the *Volſci* intruſted the conduct of it to *Tullus* and *Coriolanus*; and to bind the latter more ſtrictly to them, they conferred on him the quality of Senator. At the ſame time, according to his advice, Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to *Rome*; where they were no ſooner arrived, but they repreſented to the Senate, that their Superiors, after the example of the *Latines*, aſpired to the honour of being allies of the *Roman* People; but in order to make this union compleat and durable, " We demand, *ſaid they*, that the Repub-
" lic reſtore to us the towns and lands which we have loſt by the chance
" of war. This will be the ſureſt pledge of a ſolid and laſting peace;
" otherwiſe we cannot avoid taking poſſeſſion of them again by force of
" arms."

The Ambaſſadors being withdrawn, the Senate did not ſpend much time in deliberation: it was unknown at *Rome* what it was to yield to menaces; and it was a fundamental maxim of their Government, not to ſubmit to an enemy, even though victorious; ſo that the Ambaſſadors were ſoon called in again. The firſt Conſul told them in few words, that fear would never make the *Romans* give up what they had conquered by their valour; and that if the *Volſci* were the firſt to take arms, the *Romans* would be the laſt to lay them down. And with this anſwer they were diſmiſſed.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. Coriolanus *at the head of a* Volſcian *army recovers from the* Romans *all the towns they had taken from the* Volſci; *carries ſeveral cities in* Latium *by aſſault, and then leads his troops within five miles of* Rome; *where new Conſuls are choſen,* Sp. Nautius *and* Sex. Furius. §. II. *The People terrified at his approach cry out to have the ſentence of his baniſhment reverſed. The* Patricians *oppoſe it. He marches to* Rome *and inveſts the place. The Senate and People agree to ſue to him for peace. Three Deputations are ſent to him ſucceſſively, to perſuade him to deſiſt from his demands in favour of the* Volſci; *but all in vain.* §. III. *The Mother and Wife of* Coriolanus *go attended by all the* Roman *Ladies of diſtinction to make a fourth attempt upon his reſolution.* §. IV. *The Interview and conference between* Coriolanus *and his Mother, who prevails upon him to raiſe the ſiege of* Rome; *after which he is aſſaſſinated by the* Volſci.

§. I. THE return of the *Volſcian* Ambaſſadors was followed by a declaration of war. *Tullus* and *Coriolanus*, who foreſaw the Senate's anſwer, held their troops in readineſs to enter upon action. The firſt, with a body of reſerve, ſtaid

in the country to defend the entrance of it againſt the enemy, while *Corio-* Y. of *R.* 264.
lanus at the head of the main army threw himſelf into the territory of Bef. *J.C.* 488.
the *Romans* and their allies, before the Conſuls had taken any meaſures 21 Conſulſhip.
for reſiſting him. According to *Livy*, he firſt drove from *Circæum* a colony of *Romans* that were eſtabliſhed there; but *Dionyſius* ſays, that the inhabitants, intimidated by the approach of the enemy, opened their gates, and that *Coriolanus* only obliged them to furniſh him with proviſions and cloaths for his ſoldiers. He then took from the *Romans*, *Satricum*, *Longulum*, *Poluſca*, and *Corioli*, which they had won but a little before from the *Volſci*; he alſo made himſelf Maſter of *Corbio*, *Vitellium*, and *Trebia*; *Toleria*, *Bola*, *Labicum* and *Pedum*, all in *Latium*, or upon the confines of it, were carried ſword in hand, and the inhabitants given up to the fury of an enemy victorious and enraged. *Coriolanus*'s ſoldiers ſpreading themſelves over the country carried fire and ſword into all parts. But in this general devaſtation, they had private orders to ſpare the houſes and eſtates of the *Patricians*. *Coriolanus* affected ſo remarkable a diſtinction, either out of ſome remains of regard for thoſe of his own order; or, which is more probable, to make the Senate ſuſpected by the People, and to increaſe the diſſentions between them.

This conduct had all the effect which he expected from it. The People failed not to accuſe the Senate publickly of having an underſtanding with *Coriolanus*, and of having engaged him to come at the head of an army, in order to aboliſh the Tribunitian power. The *Patricians* on their ſide upbraided the People, that they had forced ſo great a Captain to throw himſelf in deſpair into the party of the enemy. Suſpicion, diſtruſt, hatred, reigned in both parties; and in this diſorder they thought leſs of repulſing the *Volſci*, than of decrying and ruining, each of them its domeſtick enemies. The two Conſuls, hid behind the walls of *Rome*, made levies but ſlowly. *Spurius Nautius* and *Sextus Furius*, who ſucceeded Y. of *R.* 265.
them, did not ſhew more courage and reſolution. It was viſible they Bef. *J.C.* 487.
were afraid to venture themſelves againſt ſo great a General. The People 22 Conſulſhip.
themſelves, and their Tribunes, thoſe active and mighty men in the *Roman Forum*, were in no haſte to give their names to be inrolled; no-body cared for ſtirring out of *Rome*, whether it was that they had no great opinion of the capacity of their Leaders, or that they found themſelves deſerted by their allies who had changed ſides with fortune.

Coriolanus, finding no army in the field to oppoſe his deſigns, advanced ſtill on, took *Lavinium*, and at length came and encamped at the *Cluilian* trenches five miles diſtance from *Rome*.

§. II. UPON the fame of this great run of ſucceſs, moſt of the *Volſci* flock'd to *Coriolanus*'s army. The very ſoldiers of *Tullus* himſelf, drawn by the hopes of the plunder of *Rome*, left their General, and declared they acknowledged no other but the *Roman:* This was in a manner a freſh victory which *Coriolanus* gained over *Tullus*, and which left a ſharp reſentment in that *Volſcian*'s breaſt. The eyes of all *Italy* were turned upon the *Romans* and *Volſci*, who by only one man's changing ſides had

Y. of *R.* 265. Bef. *J. C.* 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

had felt ſo great a change in their fortunes: So true it is, that the ſtrength of a ſtate conſiſts not ſo much in the number and bravery of its troops, as in the experience of him who commands them. The conſternation was general at *Rome*. The People, who from the top of the walls beheld the enemies ſpread all over the country, came into the *Forum*, and with loud cries demanded peace, and to have the ſentence againſt *Coriolanus* reverſed. That very People which had juſt baniſhed him with ſo much fury, with equal violence now inſiſted upon his being recalled. The Senate being aſſembled to conſider of this propoſal, abſolutely rejected it; which they did either to remove the ſuſpicion of their having kept up the leaſt intelligence with him, or perhaps out of that ſpirit of generoſity ſo common among the *Romans*, which made them never more averſe to peace than upon ill ſucceſs.

Plut.

Coriolanus no ſooner heard of the Senate's reſolution but he broke up his camp, marched directly to *Rome*, and inveſted the place as if he meant to beſiege it. A deſign ſo daring threw both the *Patricians* and the People into an equal conſternation; all courage and reſolution failed them, and hatred gave place to fear. The Senate and People with one accord determined now to ſue for peace. Five Senators, who had been zealous friends of *Coriolanus*, were choſen to be ſent to him upon this negotiation. Theſe were *M. Minucius*, *Poſtumus Cominius*, *Sp. Lartius*, *P. Pinarius*, and *Q. Sulpicius*, who had all five been Conſuls.

The *Volſci* made theſe Deputies paſs thro' two ranks of ſoldiers ſtanding to their arms, and *Coriolanus*, ſurrounded by his chief officers, received them ſeated in his tribunal, with the ſtate of an enemy who is reſolved to preſcribe the law.

Minucius exhorted him in modeſt and pathetick terms to give peace to the two Nations; and conjured him not to puſh the advantages, which his ſuperior courage and abilities had given the *Volſci*, ſo far as to forget the welfare of his Country. He put him in mind of the regard the *Patricians* had always ſhewn him, and even excuſed in ſome meaſure the People, of whom nine tribes had voted for him. He repreſented to him the unreaſonableneſs of carrying his reſentments to ſuch an unbounded exceſs, and the remorſe that muſt follow ſo criminal an enterprize as he was engaged in, how ſucceſsful ſoever it might prove. He then reminded him of the inſtability of fortune, tho' it had hitherto favoured him; and in concluſion invited him to return into the boſom of his native City, which now as a tender mother ſtretched out her arms to receive him.

To all theſe remonſtrances *Coriolanus* gave this ſevere anſwer. That *Rome* might obtain a peace if ſhe would reſtore to the *Volſci* the Country ſhe had taken from them, grant them the ſame rights of Citizenſhip which ſhe had granted to the *Latines*, and recal the *Roman* colonies from thoſe towns ſhe had got poſſeſſion of unjuſtly; but that he could abate nothing of theſe demands.

That as to the liberty offered him of going back to *Rome*, it was not worth his acceptance. "With what ſatisfaction, *ſaid he*, can I return to

"a City

" a City where injuſtice reigns, and vice enjoys the honours which are Y. of *R.* 265.
" due to virtue. Conſider the men who govern there, and the man you Bef. *J. C.* 487.
" have driven thence. What was my crime? I could not bear to ſee the 22 Conſulſhip.
" whole authority of the Government fall into the hands of factious Tri-
" bunes and a ſenſeleſs Populace. This was the offence for which the
" Senate delivered me up to the fury of the People. Yes, the Senators
" are they whom I accuſe as the Authors of my misfortunes. The in-
" juſtice of the People indeed condemned me, but it was the weakneſs of
" the Senate which put me within the reach of their power: ſo that baſe-
" neſs and iniquity are become univerſal in the Republic. What a ſhame-
" ful life ſhould I be forced to drag on in *Rome?* Flatter the inſolent mul-
" titude? not dare to ſpeak my opinion with freedom? And who will
" promiſe me, that I ſhall not meet with a *Sicinnius* or a *Decius* to arm
" the Populace once more againſt me? How can I be aſſured that the
" devaſtations made on your lands, the conqueſt of your cities, and
" the ſlavery of your allies will not be laid as freſh crimes to his charge,
" who was deemed worthy of death for bare words? You accuſe me of
" impiety. Have I been guilty of any towards *Rome*, that cruel mother
" whom no ſervices could oblige, and who has caſt out of her boſom a ſon
" that was uſeful to her, and zealous for her glory? I owe her no longer
" any duty. The Nation of the *Volſci* is now my mother. She forgot
" the miſchiefs I did her; ſhe received me when a fugitive, a wanderer
" and poor. She has been profuſe in beſtowing upon me her honours,
" her magiſtracy, and the command of her armies. You think it im-
" pious to abandon profeſſed enemies, and you would have me betray the
" moſt affectionate friends, when they place all their confidence in me.
" No, *Romans*, I am not like you. I know how to acknowledge obli-
" gations, and to adhere to thoſe who have done me honour. The re-
" morſe you ſpeak of is for *Rome* herſelf to feel; let her dread the rage of
" thoſe avenging furies which torment the guilty. As for me, the Gods
" have ſufficiently ſhewn that they approve of my reſentments, and vic-
" tory proclaims aloud whoſe cauſe it is that they eſpouſe."

Coriolanus having ſpoke in this haughty ſtrain as to what concerned the intereſts of the *Volſci*, and the injuries he had ſuffered from the *Romans*, came to a more gentle behaviour towards the Deputies. He aſſured them that he had not forgot the good will they had formerly expreſſed for him; nor could ever loſe the ſenſe of his obligations to them for their generous protection of his mother, wife and children ſince his baniſhment. That he was ready to do them any perſonal good office in his power, and for their ſakes would even grant the *Romans* a truce for thirty days with regard to the proper territory of *Rome*; but that after the expiration of that term, he ſhould expect from them a deciſive anſwer. He then diſmiſſed the Deputies.

Coriolanus employ'd the time granted to the *Romans*, in taking other towns of *Latium*, and then appeared once more with his whole army at the gates of *Rome*. The Senate had ſpent the thirty days in deliberations,

A. of *R.* 265. Bef. *J. C.* 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

and had come to a reſolution never to receive law from their enemies, nor even to treat of an alliance with the *Volſci*, till they had withdrawn their troops from the territory of *Rome*, and from thoſe of her allies. Ten other Senators who had all been Conſuls, were diſpatched to *Coriolanus* to ſignify to him this determination of *the Fathers*. Theſe Deputies conjured him to moderate his diſpleaſure, and demand nothing that was unbecoming the dignity of the *Roman* name. They bid him remember that the *Romans* were not men to be wrought upon by menaces, or who would yield any thing out of fear; but they added, that, if in his opinion the *Volſci* deſerved favour, they might upon laying down their arms, obtain by treaty whatever they could reaſonably deſire.

To this *Coriolanus* gave but a ſhort anſwer, That the *Romans* had no choice but reſtitution or war, and that he allowed them but three days more to come to a final determination. The Deputies would have replied, but he refuſed to hear them, commanded them inſtantly to leave his camp, and threatened to treat them as ſpies if they did not obey.

The return of theſe Envoys augmented the public conſternation. Every body ran to arms; ſome poſted themſelves upon the ramparts; others ſtood to the guard of the gates, for fear of being betray'd by the private adherents of *Coriolanus*; while ſome fortified themſelves in their very houſes, as if the enemy had already been maſter of the City. In this univerſal terror, there was neither diſcipline nor command. The Conſuls, wholly poſſeſſed by their fear, ſeemed to have renounced the duties of their office; the Tribunes were not now ſo much as heard of; the common People might be ſaid to receive orders only from their apprehenſions: They were no longer the ſame haughty and intrepid *Romans* they uſed to be; the courage of the Nation ſeemed to be gone over with *Coriolanus* into the camp of the *Volſci*. The Senate aſſembled; expedient upon expedient was propoſed; but no deſign was formed becoming the *Roman* honour: all determined in ſending new Deputies to the enemy; and to work upon him the more, they reſolved to employ the miniſters of their religion.

The Prieſts, the Sacrificers, the Augurs, and the Guardians of the ſacred things, veſted in their ceremonial habits, march out of *Rome* in a kind of proceſſion. They entered the enemy's camp with countenances grave and modeſt, and ſuch as were likely to ſtrike an awe upon the multitude. They conjured *Coriolanus* by the reſpect he owed to the Gods, and by all that was moſt ſacred in religion, to grant peace to his Country; but they found him no leſs inexorable to them than he had been to the former Deputies. He told them that what they aſked lay wholly in the power of the *Romans*, who might have peace, whenever they thought fit to reſtore the Countries which they had uſurped from their neighbours. Having then ſhewn ſome outward tokens of reſpect and veneration which he thought due to the ſanctity of their character, he ſent them back without abating any thing of his former demands.

§. III. WHEN the People ſaw them return to *Rome* without having obtained any conceſſion, they looked upon the Republic to be juſt upon

the brink of deſtruction. The temples were crowded with old men, women and children, who all with tears in their eyes, and proſtrate before the altars, implored of the Gods the preſervation of their Country. Y. of *R.* 265. Bef. *J. C.* 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

Such was the melancholy face of things in the City, when a *Roman* Lady named *Valeria*, ſiſter of *Valerius Publicola*, as if ſhe had been moved by a kind of divine inſpiration, came out of the capitol, accompanied by a great number of women of her own rank, to whom ſhe had communicated her deſign, and went ſtrait to the houſe of *Veturia* the mother of *Coriolanus*. They found her with *Volumnia*, the wife of that *Roman*, deploring their own misfortunes and thoſe of *Rome*.

Valeria, with a look of ſorrow ſuitable to the preſent condition of the Republic, accoſted them in this manner, "We are *Roman* Ladies, who have "recourſe to *Roman* Ladies for the preſervation of our common Country. "O illuſtrious women, do not ſuffer *Rome* to become a prey to the *Volſci*, "and our enemies to triumph over our liberty. Go along with us to the "camp of *Coriolanus*, to beg of him peace for his fellow-citizens: all "our hope is in the remarkable veneration, and the tender love he always "had for ſo good a mother, and ſo virtuous a wife. Implore, conjure, "demand. So good a man can never withſtand your tears. We will "all follow you with our children: we will throw ourſelves at his feet, "and who knows but the Gods, moved by our honeſt ſorrow, may "preſerve a City whoſe defence ſeems wholly abandoned by men?"

The tears which *Valeria* ſhed in abundance interrupted this affecting diſcourſe, which *Veturia* anſwered with equal ſadneſs: "You have recourſe "*Valeria* to a very weak expedient, when you addreſs yourſelves to two "women buried beneath a load of affliction. Since that unfortunate "day when the People, in their fury, ſo unjuſtly baniſhed *Coriolanus*, "we have never ſeen any thing of that filial reſpect, and that tender af"fection which till then he had always ſhewn for his mother, and for a "wife ever dear to him. When he returned from the Aſſembly where he "had been condemned, he looked upon us with a fierce air, and having "continued for ſome time in a gloomy ſilence, 'Tis done, *he cried*, *Coriola*"nus is condemned; our ungrateful Citizens have baniſhed me for ever "from the boſom of my Country. Support this blow of fortune with a cou"rage worthy of two *Roman* women. I recommend my children to your "care; farewel; I go this inſtant, and I leave without regret a City "where all men of virtue are hated and perſecuted." He ſaid no more, and left us. We began to follow him; I held his eldeſt ſon by the hand, and *Volumnia* all drowned in tears, carried the youngeſt in her arms. Then turning to us; "Come no further, ſaid he, and give over your vain com"plaints. Mother, you have now no ſon, and thou, *Volumnia*, the beſt "of wives, thy huſband is loſt to thee for ever. May the Gods grant "that thou may'ſt quickly find another, worthy of thy virtue, and more "fortunate than *Coriolanus!* With theſe words he broke away from us, "without ſo much as receiving our laſt embraces, and without giving us, "in ſo intolerable an affliction, the ſlighteſt proof of compaſſion for our

Y. of *R.* 265. Bef. *J.C.* 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

" miſery. He departed from *Rome* without ſervants, without money, " and even without telling us to what part of the world he would direct " his ſteps. Since he left us he has never enquired after his family, nor " given us any account of his welfare; ſo that it ſeems as if his mo- " ther and his wife were the chief objects of that general hatred which he " ſhews to his Country.

" What ſucceſs then can you expect from our intreaties to a man ſo im- " placable? Can two women bend that ſtubborn heart, which the mini- " ſters of religion themſelves could not ſoften? And indeed what ſhall I " ſay to him? What can I reaſonably deſire of him? That he would " pardon ungrateful Citizens, who have treated him like a man black " with the fouleſt crimes? That he would take compaſſion upon a vio- " lent Populace which had none for his innocence? And that he would " betray a Nation, which has not only opened him an *Aſylum*, but has " even preferred him to her moſt illuſtrious Citizens in the command of " her armies? With what face can I preſume to aſk him to abandon ſuch " generous protectors, and deliver himſelf again into the hands of his " moſt bitter enemies? Can a *Roman* mother, and a *Roman* wife, with " decency exact from a ſon and a huſband things which muſt diſhonour " him before both Gods and men? Mournful circumſtance, in which we " have not power to hate the moſt formidable enemy of our Country! " Leave us therefore to our unhappy deſtiny; and do not deſire us to " make it more unhappy by any action that may caſt a blemiſh upon our " virtue."

Valeria and the other Ladies who accompanied her, made her no anſwer but by their tears and intreaties. Some embraced her knees; others beſeeched *Volumnia* to join her prayers to theirs; all conjured *Veturia* not to refuſe her Country this laſt aſſiſtance. The mother of *Coriolanus*, overcome at length by their urgent ſolicitations, promiſed to do as they deſired, if the Senate agreed to it. *Valeria* gave advice of this deſign to the Conſuls, who made the propoſal in full Senate. The affair was long debated: ſome oppoſed it, fearing leſt *Coriolanus* ſhould detain all thoſe Ladies, who were of the chief families in *Rome*, and by that means make the gates be opened to him, without ſo much as drawing his ſword. Some were even for ſecuring his mother, his wife and his children, as ſo many hoſtages that might bring him to a better temper: but the majority approved of the new deputation, ſaying, that the Gods, who had inſpired *Valeria* with this pious deſign, would give it ſucceſs; and that no treachery was to be apprehended from a man of *Coriolanus*'s character, proud indeed, ſevere and inflexible, but not capable of violating the law of Nations.

This opinion having prevailed, the very next day all the moſt illuſtrious of the *Roman* Ladies repaired to *Veturia*'s houſe. There they preſently mounted a number of chariots which the Conſuls had ordered to be made ready for them, and without any guard took the way to the enemy's camp.

§. IV.

§. IV. *CORIOLANUS* perceiving from afar that long train of chariots, Y. of *R.* 265.
ſent out perſons to ſee what it ſhould mean: word was quickly brought him Bef. *J.C.* 487.
that it was his mother, his wife, and a great number of other women 22 Conſulſhip.
coming to the camp. He was at firſt ſurprized that *Roman* Ladies, bred up in retirement and in that auſtere reſerve which was ſuch an honour to them, ſhould prevail upon themſelves to come unguarded among ſoldiers, who are commonly ſo licentious, and among the ſoldiers of an enemy. He eaſily divined what views the *Romans* had in ſo unheard-of a deputation: that this was the laſt expedient the Senate could think of to work upon him. He determined to receive the Ladies with the ſame reſpect that he had paid to the miniſters of religion; that is, to give thoſe venerable women all the obſervance which was due to them, but in the main to grant them nothing. But he reckoned upon a ſavage reſoluteneſs which was not in his nature; and he no ſooner beheld his mother and wife at the head of this troop of women, than, moved with the ſight of perſons ſo dear to him, he ran haſtily to embrace them. They expreſſed their joy upon ſeeing each other again chiefly by their tears; and when they had given ſome time to theſe firſt workings of nature, *Veturia* began to enter upon the ſubject for which ſhe came: *Coriolanus*, that he might not make himſelf ſuſpected by the *Volſci*, called the principal officers of his army to be witneſſes of what paſſed in this interview. They were no ſooner come, but *Veturia*, to engage her ſon to have the more regard to the requeſt ſhe came to make, told him, That all thoſe *Roman* Ladies, whom he knew, and who were of the beſt families in *Rome*, had omitted nothing, during his abſence, that might give comfort to her and *Volumnia* his wife. That touched with the calamities of the war, and apprehending the fatal conſequences of the ſiege of *Rome*, they were come to beg peace at his hands once more: ſhe conjured him in the name of the Gods to grant it to his Country, and to turn the power of his arms on other enemies.

Coriolanus reply'd, that he ſhould offend thoſe very Gods, whom he had called to be witneſſes of the faith he had given the *Volſci*, if he granted her ſo unjuſt a demand. That he could not think of betraying the intereſts of thoſe who had not only honoured him with a place in their Senate, but had alſo truſted him with the command of their army. That he had found at *Antium* more honours and wealth than he had loſt at *Rome* by the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens; and that nothing would be wanting to his happineſs, if ſhe would pleaſe to be partner in his fortune, and come and enjoy among the *Volſci* the honours which they would pay to the mother of their General.

The *Volſcian* officers that were preſent at this conference, ſhewed by their applauſes how much they were pleaſed with this anſwer; but *Veturia*, without entering into a compariſon between *Rome* and *Antium*, which would probably have offended them, contented herſelf with telling her ſon, ſhe would never exact any thing of him that might be a blemiſh upon his honour; but that without being any ways deficient in what he owed to the *Volſci*, he might mediate a peace, that ſhould be equally advantageous to both

Y. of *R.* 265. Bef. *J. C.* 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

both Nations. "Then raiſing her voice, ſhe added, And can you, my "ſon, refuſe a propoſal ſo equitable, unleſs you prefer a cruel and obſtinate "revenge to your mother's tears and intreaties? Conſider that your anſwer "is to decide the fate of my glory, nay and of my life too. If I carry "back with me to *Rome* the hopes of an approaching peace; if I return "thither with the aſſurances of your reconciliation; with what tranſports "of joy ſhall I be received by our fellow-citizens? Thoſe few days which "the Gods ordain me yet to paſs on earth, ſhall be ſurrounded with glo-"ry and with honours; and if it be true, that there are different places "for our ſouls after death, I ſhall not need to have the leaſt fear of thoſe "obſcure and gloomy caverns where the wicked are confined: nay, the "*Elyſian* fields, that delicious abode ſet apart for the virtuous, will not "ſuffice for my reward. Having ſaved *Rome*, the City ſo dear to *Jupiter*, "I may preſume to hope for a place in that pure and ſublime region of "the air, which is ſuppoſed to be inhabited by the children of the Gods. "But I give my ſelf up too much to theſe pleaſing views. What will be-"come of me, if thou perſiſteſt in that implacable hatred, whoſe fatal "effects we have already felt too much? Our colonies, expelled by thy "arms from moſt of the Cities which acknowledged the empire of *Rome*, "thy unbridled ſoldiers, ſpread over the land, and carrying fire and "ſword with them where-ever they go, ought not theſe things to "aſſwage thy thirſt of vengeance? And haſt thou had the heart to lay "waſte the Country which gave thee birth, and nouriſhed thee ſo long? "The moment thou ſaweſt the towers of *Rome* from afar, did it not come "into thy mind, that thy Gods, thy houſe, thy mother, thy wife, and "thy children were incloſed within her walls? Doſt thou believe, that "covered with the ſhame of a contemptuous denial, I can patiently wait "till thy arms have decided our doom? A *Roman* woman knows how to "die, when her honour calls upon her ſo to do; and if I cannot move "thee, know I have reſolved to give myſelf death in thy preſence. "Thou ſhalt not march to *Rome* without treading over the body of her "to whom thou oweſt thy being; and if this has not power to ſtop "thy fury, remember at leaſt, that, by thy bringing ſlavery upon *Rome*, "thy wife, and thy children muſt inevitably fall under the ſame calami-"ty, or avoid it by a ſpeedy death."

Coriolanus, toſt with the violence of contending paſſions, ſtood unable to make reply: hatred and deſire of revenge balanced in his heart the impreſſion which ſo moving a diſcourſe made there, in ſpite of all his reſolution. *Veturia* perceived it, and fearing leſt his anger ſhould get the better of his pity, continued her diſcourſe in this manner: "Why doſt "thou not anſwer me, my ſon? Wilt thou not know thy mother? Haſt "thou forgot the care I took of thy infancy? And canſt thou, who mak-"eſt war only to revenge thy ſelf of the ingratitude of thy fellow-citizens, "deny me the firſt favour I ever aſked thee, without blackening thy ſelf "with the very ſame crime? If I required thee to betray the *Volſci*, who "have given thee ſo generous a reception, thou wouldſt have juſt cauſe to

"reject

" reject ſuch a propoſal. But *Veturia* is incapable of putting her ſon up- Y. of *R.* 265.
" on any thing baſe: Thy glory is more dear to me, than my own life. Bef. *J.C.* 487.
" I only deſire thee to withdraw thy troops from before *Rome:* Allow 22 Conſulſhip.
" us a truce for a year, that in this interval meaſures may be taken to pro-
" cure a ſolid peace. Grant this, my ſon, I conjure thee by *Jupiter*, all-
" good and all-powerful, who preſides in the Capitol; by the *Manes* of
" thy father and of thy anceſtors. If my prayers and tears are not able
" to move thee, behold thy mother at thy feet, imploring of thee the pre-
" ſervation of her country." And with theſe words, melting in tears, ſhe embraced his knees; his wife and children did the ſame, and all the *Roman* Ladies who were with her begged for mercy by their cries and tears.

Coriolanus tranſported, and as it were beſide himſelf, to ſee *Veturia* at his feet, cried out: " Ah! my mother, what is it you do? And tenderly preſſing her hand in lifting her up, he added in a low voice, " *Rome* is " ſaved, but your ſon is loſt;" well foreſeeing that the *Volſci* would never forgive him the regard he was going to pay to her intreaties. He then took her and *Volumnia* in private, and it was agreed between them, that he ſhould immediately retire with his army out of the *Roman* territory; that nothing ſhould be done by the Senate or People in favour of his return to *Rome* till a peace was concluded; that he ſhould employ all his credit to bring the *Volſci* to reaſonable terms of accommodation; and that in caſe their paſt ſucceſs made them obſtinate, he ſhould then lay down the command of their armies, which would probably be a means to bring them to a better temper. After this his mother and wife took their leave of him, and he turned his thoughts wholly to obtain an honourable peace for his country.

Fame carried to *Rome* the news of the Ladies ſucceſs, before they could arrive there themſelves; ſo that crowds of people came out and met them with grateful acclamations. Never was greater or more unaffected joy in the city than on this occaſion. A decree was preſently paſſed with univerſal conſent of both orders, allowing the Ladies to chuſe their own reward. Theſe when they had conſulted together agreed to deſire nothing more but leave to build a Temple at their own expence to *Women's Fortune*. The Senate highly applauded their diſintereſted nobleneſs of ſpirit, but would not allow them to pay either for the temple or the ſtatue that was to be worſhiped in it. Theſe were erected at the publick charge in the place where *Veturia* had overcome the obſtinacy of her ſon; and *Valeria* who had counſelled ſo fortunate a deputation was the firſt Prieſteſs of this ſanctuary.

Early the next morning after *Coriolanus*'s conference with his mother, he broke up his camp, and peaceably marched his army homewards. Nobody had the boldneſs to contradict his orders, though many were exceedingly diſſatisfied with his conduct, while others excuſed it, being more affected with his filial reſpect to his mother than with their own intereſts. As ſoon as he was arrived in the territory of the *Volſci*, he made a preſent to

the

Y. of *R.* 265. Bef. *J. C.* 487. 22 Conſulſhip.

the ſoldiers of all the ſpoil which had fallen to his ſhare during the whole campaign, and then diſmiſſed them. This liberality increaſed their affection to him, ſo that they made his apology where-ever they went.

But now *Tullus*, jealous of the eſteem and credit which his rival had gained with the ſoldiers, no ſooner ſaw him return to *Antium*, but he laid hold of this opportunity to deſtroy him, publickly giving out, that he had betray'd the intereſt of the *Volſci*. *Coriolanus*, in order to clear himſelf, deſired he might anſwer for his conduct before the general Council of the Nation. An Aſſembly was accordingly held; but when the *Roman*, after certain Orators, appointed for that purpoſe, had laid their charge againſt him, was beginning his defence, *Tullus*, who no leſs feared his eloquence than his valour, raiſed a tumult, by advantage of which his Agents threw themſelves upon him and ſtabbed him; the miſerable and almoſt unavoidable fate of all thoſe who are ſo unhappy as to take arms againſt their country.

Such was the end of this great man, too haughty indeed for a Republican, but who by his great qualities and ſervices deſerved a better treatment both from the *Volſci* and the *Romans*. When his death was known at *Rome*, the People ſhewed neither joy nor grief; and perhaps they were not ſorry that the *Volſci* had freed them from the perplexity of recalling a *Patrician* whom they no longer feared, and ſtill hated. The Senate however permitted the *Roman* Ladies, at their requeſt, to wear mourning for him ten months.

As for the *Volſci*, the ſoldiers who had ſerved under this great Captain exceedingly lamented his death, and the people of *Antium* performed magnificent obſequies for him, erecting a ſtately tomb to his memory.

Not many days after the news of *Coriolanus*'s death, the Conſuls marched a numerous army from *Rome* to the frontiers of the *Volſci*, yet without attempting any thing. The *Volſci* and *Æqui* in conjunction had again taken the field, and quarrelling about the choice of a General, had fought a bloody battle with each other. But notwithſtanding that the Conſuls had notice of this, their cowardice was ſuch, that they made no advantage of the accident, but returned to *Rome*, where they were received by the people with hootings and reproaches.

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *Two brave and able Captains,* Aquilius Tuſcus *and* Sicinnius Sabinus, *being promoted to the Conſulate, they recover the reputation of the* Roman *arms by the victories they obtain over the* Volſci *and* Hernici. §. II. *They are ſucceeded by* Sp. Caſſius (*now a third time Conſul*) *and* Proculus Virginius. Caſſius *concludes an alliance with the* Hernici *upon terms which diſpleaſe the Senate.* §. III. *He aſpires to make himſelf King of* Rome; *and to gain the People, propoſes for the firſt time the* AGRARIAN LAW (*or the law for dividing the conquered lands among the citizens of*

Rome) *and that the* Latines *and the* Hernici (*newly become allies of* Rome, *and admitted to the rights of citizenſhip*) *may ſhare with the* Romans *in that diſtribution.* §. IV. *The oppoſition of the Nobles to the paſſing of this law, with the reaſons of that oppoſition.* §. V. *The Conſul* Virginius *and even the Tribunes oppoſe it.* §. VI. *The artful conduct of the Tribune* Rabuleius *to draw an advantage to the People from the diſpute between the Conſuls.* §. VII. Caſſius *to get his law paſſed brings great numbers of* Latines *and* Hernici *to* Rome *to vote for it. His Collegue orders them to leave the City.* §. VIII. *The Senate to quiet the contention decree a* Partition *of the conquered lands, but poſtpone the execution of their decree ill the Conſuls elect* (Q. Fabius *and* Serv. Cornelius) *ſhall have entered upon their office.* §. IX. Caſſius *is arraigned before the People for treaſon, condemned and executed.*

§. I. THE People of *Rome* having now experienced the inconveniency of being governed by men of no other merit but a pliableneſs to their will, choſe two Conſuls for the next year who had ſignalized their bravery and ability in war. Theſe were *Aquilius Tuſcus* and *Sicinnius Sabinus*. The former marched againſt the *Hernici*, the latter againſt the *Volſci*. *Aquilius* gained a compleat victory, and took the enemies camp. Nor could the *Volſci*, who had been ſo formidable under the conduct of *Coriolanus*, withſtand the troops commanded by the Conſul *Sicinnius*. They were entirely defeated, and their General *Attius Tullus* ſlain in the battle. Y. of *R.* 266. Bef. *J. C* 486. 23 Conſulſhip.

§. II. THESE ſucceſſes confirmed the *Romans* in their new reſolution of beſtowing the Conſulate on none but brave warriors; ſo that *Sp. Caſſius* (who had been twice Conſul before, and had obtained a triumph) was with *Proculus Virginius*, a *Patrician* of known courage, appointed to that dignity for the year following. It fell to *Virginius*'s lot to make war with the *Æqui*; but theſe, upon the rumour of the *Roman* army's approach, retiring with all their effects into their Cities, and the Conſul not being in a condition to undertake a ſiege, he returned to *Rome* without having performed any exploit. All the glory of the campaign was reſerved for his Collegue *Caſſius*. He marched againſt the *Hernici*, and by the meer terror of his arms reduced them to ſubmit and to ſue for peace and an alliance with the Republic. The Conſul however would conclude no alliance with them till the Senate had paſſed a decree for it, a deference which ſo obliged the *Fathers*, that in return they left it wholly to him to fix the conditions of the treaty, promiſing to ratify whatever he ſhould determine. Y. of *R.* 267. Bef. *J. C.* 485. 24 Conſulſhip.

Caſſius's behaviour upon this occaſion was not anſwerable to the Senate's complaiſance. He was a man naturally vain and oſtentatious, always extolling his own ſervices, deſpiſing thoſe of others, and aſcribing to himſelf alone all the glory of any good ſucceſs. Blinded by his inordinate ambition he had for a long time ſecretly aſpired even to the royalty, ſo ſolemnly proſcribed by the laws. He imagined that by driving the

Y. of *R.* 267. Bef. *J. C.* 485. 24 Conſulſhip.

contention between the two factions in the State ſomewhat farther than it yet had gone, he ſhould be able to deſtroy them both, and upon their ruins to lay the foundation of his own advancement. In the purſuit of this ſcheme he had not heſitated about which party he ſhould join with; he had reſolved at any rate to gain the affections of the People, who are always cheated by thoſe who know how to employ the ſpecious bait of pretending to promote their intereſts. His partiality had openly appeared during his ſecond Conſulate, when the eſtabliſhment of the Tribuneſhip was in diſpute. Indeed his condeſcenſions to the People at that time might be imputed to an earneſt deſire of ſeeing them reunited with the *Patricians*; a zeal not peculiar to him, but common to many of the beſt men in the Republic. But *Caſſius* on the preſent occaſion entirely convinced the Senate that his views and intereſts were very different from thoſe of the Commonwealth.

The firſt proof he gave of his exceſſive preſumption after he had got power from the Senate to make the treaty with the *Hernici*, was his demanding a triumph, an honour due to ſuch Generals only as had fought ſome important battle with ſucceſs, and had left at leaſt 5000 of the enemy dead upon the ſpot. *Caſſius* in this campaign had fought no battle; nevertheleſs by his great credit he obtained his demand.

This favour granted, he immediately with a haughty confident air produced to the Senate the treaty which, without having previouſly communicated the articles of it to them, he had actually concluded with the *Hernici*; and it appeared to be only a copy of that which in his ſecond Conſulate he had made with the *Latines*. He had not deprived the *Hernici* of any part of their lands, and he had granted them the ſo much deſired title of *Allies and Citizens of* Rome; ſo that he had ſhewed the ſame indulgence to a conquered People, who were utter ſtrangers to the *Romans*, as had been ſhewn to a Nation allied to them by blood, and from whom they had received important ſervices. So extraordinary a proceeding in relation both to the matter of the treaty and the manner of imparting it to the *Conſcript Fathers*, extreamly alarmed the greateſt part of them, and left them no room to doubt of his having ſome private views prejudicial to the State. And it was not long before he gave them more ſolid grounds of diſquiet.

D. Hal. B. 8.

The very next day after his triumph he, according to cuſtom, convened an Aſſembly of the People, to give them an account of what he had done for the ſervice of the Republic during the campaign. But as he had done nothing this year that was ſufficiently ſhining for the panegyrick he would make upon himſelf, he went back to his former ſervices. He ſet forth, that in his firſt Conſulate he had ſubdued the *Sabines*; that he had given a luſtre to his ſecond by the ſhare he had in the erection of the Tribuneſhip, and the reconcilement of the People with the Senate, and by bringing the *Latines* [a] to a firm and ſincere union with *Rome*; and that now in his third he

[a] *Livy* (B. 2) ſays, that for three years after the battle of *Regillus* (which happened in 257 of *Rome*) there was neither peace nor war between the *Latines* and the *Romans*. And by

he had already incorporated the *Hernici* into the Commonwealth, and propoſed before the end of his Magiſtracy to render the condition of the *Plebeians* ſo happy, that they ſhould no longer envy that of the *Patricians*. With this fine promiſe he diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, leaving every body full of an impatient deſire to have it explained. Y. of *R.* 267 Bef. *J.C.* 485. 24 Conſulſhip.

The day following *Caſſius* convened the Senate, and there made a long ſpeech in praiſe of the *Plebeians*, obſerving particularly that *Rome* owed to them not only her liberty, but alſo the Empire ſhe had acquired over one part of her neighbours. He then added, that to him it ſeemed very unjuſt, that ſo brave a People, who daily expoſed their lives to enlarge the bounds of the Republic ſhould languiſh in a ſhameful poverty, and all the fruit of their conqueſts be enjoyed by the Senate and the body of the Nobility. That the condition of the poor ought to bear ſome ſort of equality with that of the rich; and that in order thereto, he thought the beſt way would be to have an exact account taken of all the lands which belonged to the Public, and which the *Patricians* had ſeized for their private uſe, and a new diviſion made in favour of the poor *Plebeians*. It was then, ſays *Livy*, that the AGRARIAN LAW was propoſed for the firſt time.

Caſſius added further, that he likewiſe thought it but equitable, that the poor Citizens of *Rome* ſhould be re-imburſed whatever money they had paid for the corn which *Gelo* the *Sicilian* King had made a preſent of to the Republic, and which ought to have been diſtributed *gratis* among the People.

§. IV. IT would be difficult to expreſs the ſurpriſe, indignation, and rage of the Senate, at the Conſul's propoſal about the publick lands. But in order to give a true notion to what a degree it was ruinous to the Great, and deſirable by the People, it may be proper to repeat ſome part of what has been already ſaid with relation to theſe publick lands. When the *Romans* had gained any conſiderable advantage over their neighbours, they ſeldom granted them peace without taking from them part of their territory, which was immediately incorporated with that of *Rome*. This was indeed the moſt uſual deſign of their wars, and the chief fruit which they looked for from their victories. One part of theſe conquered lands was ſold to reimburſe the State for the expence of the war, another portion was diſtributed *gratis* among poor *Plebeians* newly ſettled at *Rome*, who had no inheritance of their own. Parcels of theſe lands were ſometimes let out to farm, and the occupiers paid the rent in money, or elſe in fruits or in corn, which were ſold, and the produce brought into the public treaſury. And laſtly, as the chief wealth of the *Romans* in thoſe days conſiſted in cattle and flocks, what remained of theſe conquered lands was left in commons, and to ſerve for paſtures.

by what *Dionyſius* here puts into the mouth of *Caſſius*, it would ſeem, that though the *Latines*, upon their ſubmiſſion after that battle, were made to hope a renewal of the ancient alliance with them, it was not executed till three years after, in the ſecond Conſulate of *Caſſius*, which was in the year of *Rome* 260.

Y. of *R.* 267. Bef. *J. C.* 485. 24 Conſulſhip.

Such a diſpoſition would have baniſhed poverty out of the Republic, and bound the Citizens to its defence, if the greedy *Patricians* had not deprived the common People of their ſubſiſtence: tracts of land of prodigious extent, ſet apart for the ſupport of the whole State, became inſenſibly the patrimony of a few private perſons. If any parcel were ſold to defray the charges of a war, the Senators who were the only rich men in thoſe times, being the directors of the ſale, cauſed it to be adjudged to themſelves at a very inconſiderable price; ſo that the public treaſury hardly received any advantage from it. By means of the ſame authority they took either under borrowed names, or elſe in their own, the lands that ought to have been let out to farm to poor *Plebeians*, to help them to maintain their children. Oftentimes by ill-deſigned loans and accumulated uſuries, they got poſſeſſion of the ſmall inheritances which the people had received from their anceſtors. Laſtly, the rich, by ſetting the land-marks of their eſtates further and further, by degrees had ſwallowed up and confounded moſt of the commons; ſo that neither the State in general, nor the *Plebeians* in particular, received any benefit worth mentioning from theſe common lands. The poſſeſſors of them had incloſed them with walls; houſes were built upon them; troops of ſlaves taken priſoners in war manured them for the account of the great men of *Rome*; and now a long preſcription had covered theſe uſurpations. The Senators and *Patricians* had hardly any other income beſides theſe public lands, which had paſſed ſucceſſively through different families by deaths, partition, or ſale.

Whatever ſhew of equity there was in *Caſſius*'s propoſal, it was impoſſible to bring it into a law without ruining at once the Senate and chief Nobles, and raiſing an infinite number of law-ſuits in relation to bonds for performance of covenants, and making conveyances good; and accordingly moſt of the Senators ſtood up againſt him with great animoſity. Without any reſpect to his dignity, they publickly reproached him with his pride, his ambition, and the deſire he had of creating new troubles in the Commonwealth. They loudly declared that *Caſſius* did not act ſo much like a Conſul as like a ſeditious Tribune.

Caſſius always expected to find in the great men of *Rome* a general averſion to his propoſal. But as he flattered himſelf that the People, ever fond of novelties, and enticed by the hopes of mending their fortunes, would declare in his favour, he convened a new Aſſembly; and to a great many things which he ſaid in contempt of the Nobility and in favour of the People, he added, that it would be wholly the fault of the latter, if they did not free themſelves at one ſtroke from the indigence to which the avarice of the *Patricians* had reduced them: that all they had to do for this purpoſe, was to make a ſolemn law for the partition of the conquer'd lands in their own favour.

Had *Caſſius* ſtopt here, ſays *Dionyſius*, he might perhaps have ſucceeded in his deſign; but being reſolved to ſecure to himſelf adherents and creatures abroad as well as at home, he adviſed alſo, that by the ſame law, the People ſhould admit the *Latines* and *Hernici* to ſhare with them

in

in the diſtribution. To make the People reliſh this part of his propoſal, he inſinuated to them, that it would be a means more effectually to ſecure them in the poſſeſſion of their portion of the lands; for that thoſe two Nations being united with them in one common intereſt, would be a ſupport to them in caſe of any after attempt to diſpoſſeſs them; and he added, that tho' their eſtates would not be ſo conſiderable in this caſe, yet it was better to have ſmaller eſtates with ſecure poſſeſſion, than to have greater with uncertainty of holding them [a]. Y. of *R.* 267. Bef. *J. C.* 485. 24 Conſulſhip.

§. V. THE People at firſt received this propoſal with great applauſes; but moſt of the Tribunes, who could not without jealouſy ſee a *Patrician* and a Conſul endeavouring to get the confidence of the multitude, kept a profound ſilence, which hindered their adherents and the heads of the tribes from declaring openly for the law. Not but that both the one and the other were ſenſible of what advantage it would be to the People, as we ſhall find hereafter; but they were unwilling that the People ſhould be obliged for it to a *Patrician*.

Virginius, *Caſſius*'s College in the Conſulate, did not attack it directly: he pretended on the contrary to be ſenſible of the juſtice of it in general; but to elude the publication of it, he highly blamed *Caſſius* for his ſhameful deſign of putting the conquerors and the conquered upon an equality. At the ſame time he let fall ſome ſuſpicions againſt his Collegue, as if by that extraordinary diſtribution propoſed in favour of the old enemies of *Rome*, he had ſought to make them his creatures to the prejudice of the

[a] This account of *Caſſius*'s affair, is according to *Dion. Hal.* and not according to *Livy*, whom Mr. *Vertot* has choſen to follow in ſome circumſtances of this event; tho' what he has taken from *Livy* does not ſeem to be very conſiſtent with what, to compleat his relation, he has borrowed from *Dionyſius*.

Livy ſays, that the *Hernici* were deprived by the *Romans* of two thirds of their lands. That *Caſſius* was for aſſigning one of theſe thirds to the *Latines*, the other to the *Roman* People, among which latter he was alſo for dividing ſome other publick lands before conquered, and now in the poſſeſſion of the *Patricians*. And the ſame Author makes the complaint brought againſt *Caſſius* by his Collegue *Virginius* to be, that he had not taken from the *Hernici all* their lands, but had left them one third, and that of the two thirds taken he was for giving one to the *Latines*.

This account Mr. *Vertot* follows, but I do not ſee how it can well accord with what he adds to it, namely, that the *Hernici*, by the league which *Caſſius* concluded with them, were admitted to the rights of *Roman* Citizenſhip, and that *Caſſius* treated the vanquiſhed as favourably as if they had been victorious. According to what *Dionyſius* relates, *Caſſius* not only left the *Hernici* in poſſeſſion of all their own lands, but was for giving them, as Allies and Citizens of *Rome*, a ſhare in lands formerly conquered by the *Romans*. And indeed, had the queſtion, as far as it concerned the *Latines*, been as Mr. *Vertot* (after *Livy*) repreſents it, only this, whether the *Latines* ſhould ſhare in lands lately taken from the *Hernici*, the advice which (according to *Dionyſius*) *Sempronius Atratinus* gave the Senate, and which Mr. *Vertot* has inſerted in his relation, could never have been thought pertinent by the Aſſembly. *Caſſius* had brought great numbers both of the *Latines* and *Hernici* to *Rome*, to ſupport him in his project about the diviſion of the conquered lands. In order to quiet theſe ſtrangers, *Sempronius* adviſed the Senate to give them this anſwer, That it was very unreaſonable for them to expect any ſhare in lands which *Rome* had conquered before her alliance with them. What ſort of anſwer would this have been to give the *Latines*, who had been allies of *Rome* for ſeven years paſt, ſeeing the lands in queſtion were but juſt conquered?

Com-

Y. of *R.* 267. Bef. *J.C.* 485. 24 Conſulſhip.

Commonweal: "What can be his intent, *ſaid he*, in deſiring that the "*Latines* and the *Hernici* ſhould ſhare with the *Romans* in the public "lands, unleſs to plane himſelf a way to the tyranny? *Rome* has cauſe to "fear that thoſe Nations, ſtill jealous of her greatneſs notwithſtanding "their new alliance, may one day come to ſet *Caſſius* at their head like a "ſecond *Coriolanus*, and under his conduct attempt to render themſelves "maſters of the Government."

This compariſon with *Coriolanus*, a *Patrician* whoſe memory was ſo odious to the People, cooled the firſt heat of many of them for the reception of *Caſſius*'s law. Nay the Tribunes themſelves oppoſed it now with warmth, and even gave intimations that they ſuſpected the Author of it. Nevertheleſs great numbers of the poorer ſort adhered to *Caſſius*, believing that what was ſaid of his ambition was only a pretext to hinder them from the benefit of that liberality he had propoſed in their favour.

§. VI. ONE day when *Caſſius* and *Virginius* were diſputing before the People, *Rabuleius* an artful Tribune, ſtepping forth, told the Aſſembly he had ſomething to offer which he believed would put an end to the conteſt. Silence being preſently made, he thus addreſſed himſelf to the two Conſuls, "The law in queſtion, does it not conſiſt of theſe two articles, "A diſtribution of the public lands in favour of the *Roman* Citizens, "and the admiſſion of the *Latines* and *Hernici* to ſhare with them in that "diſtribution?" The Conſuls anſwered that it did. And you *Caſſius*, *purſued the Tribune*, are for having the People confirm both theſe articles, is not this your deſire? *Caſſius* anſwered that it was. *Rabuleius* then aſked *Virginius* whether he had any objection to the firſt article. *Virginius* anſwered that he had not, and that he only oppoſed the ſecond. Hereupon the Tribune turning to the People, "You ſee, *ſaid he*, that our Con"ſuls are agreed as to the main point, which concerns your intereſts; "let us be content with this, and leave the other article to be conſidered "of hereafter."

§. VII. THE Aſſembly highly applauded this motion, ſo that *Caſſius* not knowing what to ſay, and being quite aſhamed of his ill ſucceſs diſmiſſed the Aſſembly. He went home, and pretending ſickneſs, ſtirred no more abroad for ſome days. He ſpent this time in contriving new expedients to get his law paſſed. Finding that his party grew daily weaker, he ſent privately for a great number of *Latines* and *Hernici* to come to *Rome*, ſignifying to them, that in quality of *Roman* Citizens they ought to be preſent at the next Aſſembly, and aſſiſt in getting a ratification of the partition which he had propoſed in their favour.

Upon this ſummons, great crowds of thoſe new Citizens immediately flocked to *Rome*. *Caſſius* was indifferent whether the law was received or not; he had propoſed it only with a view of raiſing a ſedition, and of putting himſelf at the head of one of the parties, to make himſelf maſter of the Government. The oppoſition of the Tribunes diſconcerted all his meaſures. To engage the People to join him, he never went thro' the City without a numerous guard of *Latines* and *Hernici*. *Virginius*, in order

der to diſperſe this faction, publiſhed an edict, requiring all perſons of thoſe Nations, who were not ſettled inhabitants of *Rome*, to depart the City forthwith. *Caſſius* oppoſed this edict, and a Herald by his order publiſhed another to the direct contrary effect, permitting all ſuch as were inrolled Citizens to remain there. The two Magiſtrates being equally reſolved to be obey'd, their lictors were quarrelling and fighting every moment; and this competition between the two parties, ſeemed to threaten a Civil War. Y. of *R.* 267. Bef. *J. C.* 485. 24 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 8.

§. VIII. THE Senate apprehenſive of this fatal evil, and perceiving alſo that the oppoſition of the Tribunes to *Caſſius*'s propoſal, was only to get the management of the affair out of his hands, aſſembled extraordinarily, to conſult meaſures, both to quiet the tumult, and to prevent any future attempts of the Tribunes in favour of the Law in queſtion. Several opinions were offered: the advice of *Appius*, that intrepid defender of the laws, was, that in order to appeaſe the People's juſt complaints, the Senate ſhould name ten Commiſſioners to take an exact account of ſuch lands as belonged originally to the Public. That they ſhould ſell one part of thoſe lands for the uſe of the treaſury, diſtribute another part among the poorer Citizens, who had no land of their own, reſtore the commons, and place ſufficient land-marks where-ever they were neceſſary, the want of which had cauſed the abuſes that were then complained of. That as to the remainder of thoſe lands, they ſhould never be leaſed out for a longer time than five years, and always at the full rent, and that the produce ſhould be employ'd in providing corn and pay for thoſe *Plebeians* who went to the war. He added, that this regulation would hinder the People from thinking any more of the partition propoſed by *Caſſius*; and that they would undoubtedly prefer corn, money, and a certain ſubſiſtence during the whole campaign, to a ſlip of land which they muſt cultivate with the ſweat of their brows; and that he knew no ſurer way of reforming the ancient abuſes, than to reſtore things to the ſpirit of their primitive inſtitution.

A. Sempronius Atratinus, a man much reſpected by the Senate, highly approved of *Appius*'s advice: he only added to it, that they ought to give the Allies who had been lately made Citizens of *Rome*, to underſtand, that they had no reaſonable pretence to a ſhare of thoſe lands which the *Romans* had conquered before the alliance; that each Nation might diſpoſe as it thought fit of its own territory and conqueſts; and that as for ſuch lands as ſhould be won by their joint forces, the Republic, in the diviſion of them, would have regard to the aſſiſtance ſhe received from her allies.

The advice of theſe two Senators formed the *Senatus-conſultum*. But as the eſtates of the principal men in *Rome* lay wholly in thoſe conquered lands, moſt of the Senators, who would have been ruined by ſuch a regulation, got it added to the *Senatus-conſultum*, in order to ſtave off the execution of it, that whereas the Conſulate of *Caſſius* and *Virginius* was upon the point of expiring, nothing ſhould be done in it till *Q. Fabius* and *Ser. Cornelius*, the Conſuls elect, entered upon their office, and that

Y. of *R.* 267. Bef. *J. C.* 485. 24 Conſulſhip. they ſhould be impowered to name the Decemvirs, who were to regulate the affair of the partition of the lands. Nay, and the chief of the Senate reſolved among themſelves to impeach *Caſſius*, and to proſecute him to the utmoſt, in order to intimidate all ſuch as might be tempted for the future to ſtir in this affair.

Y. of *R.* 268. Bef. *J. C.* 484. 25 Conſulſhip. §. IX. SOME authors tells, that as ſoon as the two new Conſuls had taken poſſeſſion of their dignity, *Caſſius*'s own father was the man who accuſed him to the Senate of having endeavoured to make himſelf the Tyrant of his Country; and that like another *Brutus*, having laid the proofs of his ſon's crime before a full Aſſembly, he took him home to his own houſe, and there cauſed him to be put to death in the preſence of his whole family. But *Dionyſius* informs us, that *Cæſo Fabius*, brother to the firſt Conſul, and *Valerius*, nephew of *Poplicola*, both *Quæſtors*, made themſelves parties in this affair, and that they having convened an Aſſembly of the People, according to the power appertaining to their office, accuſed *Caſſius* of having introduced foreign troops into the City, with deſign to oppreſs the liberty of his countrymen.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 8.

D. Hal. B. 8.

Caſſius appeared in the Aſſembly dreſſed in a mourning habit, conformable to his preſent circumſtances. To engage the People to conſider his cauſe as their own, he repreſented to them, that the Senate, whatever they might pretend, did in truth attack them in his perſon, and that the only thing which had drawn upon him the hatred of the *Patricians* was his propoſal to have the public lands, which they had unjuſtly ſeized for their own uſe, divided among the poor *Plebeians*. This plea made no impreſſion upon the audience. The very meaneſt, the moſt indigent of theſe generous *Romans* thought ſlavery to be far more inſupportable than poverty; and every thing which came from a man ſo juſtly ſuſpected of a dangerous ambition was heard with univerſal indignation. He was condemned by the unanimous voice of all his fellow-citizens; and becauſe of the late example of *Coriolanus*, whoſe baniſhment had proved of ſuch dangerous conſequence, *Caſſius* was ſentenced to die. This eminent Senator, who had been thrice Conſul, and honoured with two triumphs, was thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* Rock; and the *Patricians* had the ſatisfaction of deſtroying by the hands of the *Plebeians* a declared advocate for the intereſts of the People.

CHAP. XV.

§. I. *The People regret the death of* Caſſius. *The Senate find means to divert them a while from the affair of the* AGRARIAN LAW. §. II. L. Æmilius *with* Cæſo Fabius, *and* M. Fabius *with* L. Valerius *are ſucceſſively choſen Conſuls. In the Conſulſhip of the latter the war with the* Volſci *breaking out afreſh, the Tribune* Mænius *proteſts againſt any levies for the ſervice, till ſomething effectual be done in relation to the* Agrarian Law. *The Conſuls by a ſtratagem get the better of his oppoſition*

on. §. III. *The Senate at the next aſſembly for chuſing Conſuls endeavour to obtain that dignity for* Appius Claudius (the ſon of the firſt *Appius* ſo often mentioned.) *The Tribunes to hinder it excite ſuch a tumult, that there is no poſſibility of proceeding in the election. The Republic falls into an* Interregnum. Sp. Lartius *being* Interrex *quiets the contention between the two parties. They agree to give the Faſces to* C. Julius *and* Q. Fabius, *the firſt a creature of the Tribunes, the ſecond a man zealous for the Senate. Theſe Conſuls take the field againſt the* Veientes; *and for a while all is quiet at* Rome. §. IV. *The next election raiſes new diſputes.* Sp. Furius *and* Cæſo Fabius (*a ſecond time*) *are choſen, each party having a Conſul to its liking. The Tribune* Icilius, *in imitation of* Mænius, *oppoſes the neceſſary levies for a war with the* Æqui *and* Veientes. Appius Claudius *ſuggeſts a ſtratagem to the Senate by which they carry their point againſt* Icilius. *The Conſuls take the field.*

§. I. THE reſolute proceeding, and the bold ſtroke that was given in the affair of *Caſſius*, quite ſtunned the multitude. It was ſome time before a word was heard of any farther enquiries about the public lands, the execution of the *Senatus-conſultum*, or the nomination of the *Decemvirs*. This great affair became one of thoſe ſtate-myſteries which no-body dares to touch upon. Nevertheleſs the neceſſities of the common People at length revived their complaints. They began to regret their loſs in *Caſſius:* They blamed themſelves for his death; and with a late acknowledgment, which was little better than meer ingratitude, gave uſeleſs praiſes to the memory of a man whom they themſelves had deſtroyed. Y. of *R.* 268. Bef. *J. C.* 484. 25 Conſulſhip.

To divert the People from the affair of the *Agrarian Law*, the Conſuls had recourſe to the old expedient of a war; and as they knew that the Tribunes would oppoſe the neceſſary levies for the ſervice, they cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that they were going to create a Dictator, and that *Appius Claudius* would be the man. This dreadful report made ſuch an impreſſion upon the People, that they liſted themſelves without delay. *Cornelius* entered the Country of the *Veientes*, and *Q. Fabius* marched againſt the *Volſci*. Both Conſuls had fortunate expeditions. *Fabius* ſold all the ſpoils taken from the *Volſci*, and put the money into the hands of the *Quæſtors*, not giving the leaſt part of it to his ſoldiers.

§. II. THE Senate, fearing another *Caſſius* might get into the Conſulſhip, uſed all imaginable precautions to keep that ſupreme dignity from falling to any but ſuch *Patricians* as they might ſafely rely upon. Thus *Lucius Æmilius* with *Cæſo Fabius*, and *M. Fabius* with *Lucius Valerius*, attained ſucceſſively to the Conſulſhip. In the reſolution which the Senate had taken of letting the *Senatus-conſultum* drop, they thought they could not truſt this their ſecret deſign to any perſons more ſafely than to *Cæſo Fabius* and *Lucius Valerius*, the accuſers of *Caſſius*, and who had been ſo inſtrumental in his deſtruction. The People ſaw the artfulneſs of this management; they perceived that none were brought into the Conſulſhip Y. of *R.* 269. Bef. *J. C.* 483. 26 Conſulſhip.

but ſuch as would be ſure never to nominate the Decemvirs who were to proceed in the diviſion of the lands. In theſe circumſtances, the war, which was indeed almoſt continual, againſt the *Volſci*, being broke out afreſh, and the Conſuls, *M. Fabius* and *L. Valerius*, having deſired ſome recruits to compleat their legions, a Tribune named *C. Mænius* oppoſed it, and publickly proteſted that he would never ſuffer any *Plebeian* to give his name to be inrolled till the Conſuls had firſt brought the *Senatus-conſultum* into a full Aſſembly of the People, and named thoſe Commiſſioners who were to put it in execution. The Conſuls, to extricate themſelves from this perplexity, and to get over the Tribune's oppoſition, carried their Tribunal out of *Rome*, beyond the Juriſdiction of the Tribunes, whoſe power and functions were confined within the City walls. The Conſuls then ſent a ſummons to the *Plebeians* that were to march into the field. Theſe, relying upon the Tribunes oppoſition, did not appear, and were under no apprehenſions, that while that ſubſiſted, the Conſuls would offer to ſeize them. But theſe Magiſtrates took another method to make themſelves obeyed, they did not return to *Rome*, being unwilling to have any conteſt with the Tribunes, but they gave orders for demoliſhing the country ſeats and cutting down the trees belonging to the principal *Plebeians* who had refuſed to attend their ſummons.

Y. of *R.* 270. Bef. *J. C.* 482. 27 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 8. *Livy*, B. 2.

This military execution brought the People to their duty; they immediately ran and preſented themſelves before the Conſuls to receive their commands. Two armies were preſently formed, one to march againſt the *Veientes*, the other againſt the *Volſci*. The Conſuls being diffident of the good will of their troops, agreed to act only upon the defenſive; and *M. Fabius* who had to do with the *Veientes*, obſerved the agreement: but *Valerius* had a deſperate and bloody battle with the *Volſci*, without much advantage to either ſide. The friends of *Valerius* at *Rome* gave out that it was through want of affection in the ſoldiers to their General that he had not gained a compleat victory; but the ſoldiers in all their letters laid the fault upon the incapacity of their Leader.

In the mean time *Rome* was alarmed with ſpectres and prodigies of all ſorts, and theſe together with the little ſucceſs of the *Roman* arms, were found by the *Pontifices* to be owing to the anger of the Gods, who had been ſerved by impure hands. *Opimia*, an unfortunate Veſtal, was buried alive for incontinence, and the Gods made propitious by expiatory ſacrifices.

§. III. THE Conſuls detained their ſoldiers in the field as long as poſſible to avoid new ſeditions; but the time for the election of new Magiſtrates drawing near, they were obliged to return to *Rome*; and then diſcord raged again with more fury than ever. The principal men of the Senate, who were the moſt nearly touched by the inquiſition concerning the public lands, deſigned that poſt for *Appius Claudius*, the ſon of that *Appius* who has been ſo often mentioned. He had inherited from his father a conſiderable eſtate, a great number of clients, and particularly that haughtineſs and firmneſs of mind which had made him ſo odious to the multitude. Accordingly the

the People would not hear of him, but demanded ſome of thoſe ancient Senators who had ſhewn themſelves moſt their friends. Each party remained obſtinate in the reſolution they had taken. The Senate flattered themſelves that they ſhould carry this affair with a high hand in an Aſſembly by centuries. The Conſuls called it as uſual, and according to the power annexed to their dignity; but the People, at the inſtigation of their Tribunes, made ſo much noiſe, and there were ſuch violent and bitter conteſts and diſputes, that it was impoſſible to proceed to the election that day. This was the private aim of the Tribunes, who, with a preſumptuouſneſs never before heard of, convened a ſecond Aſſembly the next day. The Conſuls and the Senate in a Body did not fail to be at it; and they demanded of the Tribunes by what authority they durſt take upon them to preſide at the election of Conſuls. They reply'd, that their concern for the People's welfare obliged them to prevent their having Tyrants impoſed upon them for Magiſtrates; and that if the Senate did not chuſe men of unqueſtionable characters, they ſhould find ways to prevent any election that might be prejudicial to the People. Some Senators, provoked at this audaciouſneſs, were immediately for having the firſt Conſul name a Dictator; who by the ſovereign and abſolute power of his office might ſeverely puniſh the Authors of theſe innovations. But as there was room to fear that the People would openly revolt, the wiſer and more moderate part of the Senate thought it would be imprudent in ſuch a conjuncture to expoſe the Dictatorial Authority to the danger of a conteſt with a whole People worked up to fury. A more gentle courſe was taken. The Senate contented themſelves with creating an *Inter-Rex*, as was practiſed during the regal State, upon any vacancy of the throne. This ſhort-lived Magiſtracy was given to *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, who delivered it over to *Sp. Lartius*, a man of a pacific ſpirit, and who had a talent for reconciling differences. As he probably feared, that, if the Senate continued obſtinate to promote *Appius* to the Conſulate, the oppoſition of the Tribunes and People would at length raiſe a fatal ſedition, he thought it was for the intereſt of the Commonwealth to defer the advancement of *Appius* to more peaceful and favourable times; and he managed both parties ſo artfully, that he prevailed on each to abate ſomewhat of its demands. It was concluded that the election ſhould be made as uſual, and by the votes of the centuries; and the two parties agreed upon the perſons who ſhould be the new Conſuls.

Y. of *R.* 270. Bef. *J. C.* 482. 27 Conſulſhip.

D. Hal. B. 8.

Union being re-eſtabliſhed upon theſe conditions, they proceeded only for form ſake to the election. The Tribunes got the Conſular dignity beſtowed upon *C. Julius Iulus*, whom every body knew to be of the People's party, and a ſlave to the Tribunes. The *Patricians* named for his Colleague, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, deſcended of a family made illuſtrious by almoſt continual conſulates, and who without having ever offended the People, had nevertheleſs upon all occaſions ſtood up for the rights and prerogatives of the Senate.

Y. of *R.* 271. Bef. *J. C.* 481. 28 Conſulſhip.

The People flattered themſelves with hopes that having a Conſul at their devotion, they ſhould get the Commiſſioners to be named, and at length

Y. of *R.* 271. Bef. *J.C.* 481. 28 Conſulſhip.

obtain the partition of the lands. But a plain inſtance was then ſeen of the difference there is between thoſe who by baſe and abject compliances raiſe themſelves to high ſtations, and thoſe who are naturally raiſed to them by their perſonal merits, as well as birth. *C. Julius* did indeed make ſome ſlight attempt to publiſh the *Senatus-conſultum*, but ſcarce durſt he ſo much as maintain his opinion againſt that of *Fabius*. The Senate's Conſul, if we may uſe ſuch an expreſſion, had aſſumed ſo great a ſuperiority over the People's, tho' their dignities were equal, that there ſeemed to be but one Conſul in the Republic all this year. *Fabius* obliged his Collegue to go out of *Rome* with him, and to march againſt the *Veientes*, who had pillaged the territories of the *Romans:* theſe latter made repriſals, and this expedition terminated in the ravaging of the enemy's Country.

Theſe petty wars were the ordinary expedients uſed by the Conſuls, to divert the People from their complaints, and to give them, at the enemy's coſt, a ſubſiſtence that might make them forget their old claims. But this ſame People, by thus living almoſt continually in arms, became ſtill more fierce and untractable, and the firſt interval of peace abroad was ſure to revive the diſcord at home.

§. IV. THE civil feuds broke out afreſh upon the next election of Conſuls. The People, being tied up to chuſe none but Nobles, could at leaſt have wiſhed they might have had only ſuch of that order as were favourers of the *Plebeians*. Nay it was loudly ſaid in the Aſſemblies, that 'twas enough the People would ſuffer the Conſuls to be always taken out of the body of *Patricians*, that to be forced likewiſe to receive ſuch as were moſt averſe to the partition of the lands was intolerable. The Senate on the other hand was for beſtowing that dignity only on thoſe in whom they found moſt courage and reſolution; each party ſtood to its pretenſions with equal warmth; but at length the affair was accommodated. They agreed to go by the ſame rule as in the laſt election. The People again named their Conſul, tho' ſtill one of the *Patricians:* this was *Sp. Furius*; and the Senate choſe *Cæſo Fabius*, the man who in his Quæſtorſhip had deſtroy'd *Caſſius*. The *Æqui* and *Veientes* having renewed their incurſions, the Conſuls ordered the People to take arms, but a Tribune named *Sp. Icilius* vigorouſly oppoſed it. He declared he would make the ſame oppoſition againſt all the decrees that ſhould iſſue from the Senate, let the matter of them be what it would, till the *Senatus-conſultum* was brought into the Aſſembly of the People, and the Commiſſioners named in purſuance thereof: that it was juſt the ſame thing to him whether the Country was ravaged by enemies, or unjuſtly poſſeſſed by uſurpers. In the mean while the *Æqui* and *Veientes* with fire and ſword laid waſte the territory of *Rome*, and the Senate could do nothing to revenge it, thro' the obſtinacy of the Tribune who hindered their making any levies. In this perplexity, *Appius*, that Senator juſt before ſpoken of, thought of an expedient which proved very ſucceſsful. He repreſented that the power of the Tribuneſhip was formidable only by the union of the Tribunes;

Y. of *R.* 272. Bef. *J.C.* 480. 29 Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 2. *D. Hal.* B. 9. *Zonaras*, B. 2. *Val. Max.* B. 9. c. 3.

bunes; and that if the oppoſition of a ſingle Tribune could ſuſpend the execution of a decree of the Senate, it had the ſame force as to the reſolutions of his Collegues: That there might poſſibly be a jealouſy among them, in which caſe endeavours ſhould be uſed to improve it to a diviſion, and privately to engage ſome one of them to enter into the Senate's intereſts. This advice was approved and followed; the Senators applied themſelves to gain the friendſhip of the Tribunes, and they ſucceeded: four of that college declared in a public Aſſembly, that they could not bear that the enemy, by favour of the diviſions in the City, ſhould thus lay waſte the Country with impunity. *Icilius* had the ſhame and mortification of ſeeing his oppoſition over-ruled; the People took arms, and followed the Conſuls to the war.

Y. of *R.* 272. Bef *J.C.* 480. 29 Conſulſhip.

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. *The Troops commanded by* Cæſo Fabius, *not liking their General, will not ſuffer him to gain any honour in the campaign.* §. II. M. Fabius (*a ſecond time*) *and* Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus *are elected to the Conſulate. They obtain a ſignal victory over the* Hetrurians, *chiefly by the bravery of the* Fabii, *who from this time become popular.* §. III. Cæſo Fabius (*a third time*) *and* T. Virginius *are choſen Conſuls.* Cæſo *defeats the* Æqui *and* Veientes. §. IV. *The* Fabian *family undertake alone to guard the frontiers againſt the* Veientes. Cæſo *as ſoon as he has reſigned the Faſces* (*to* L. Æmilius *and* C. Servilius) *joins the reſt of his family in quality of* PROCONSUL, *a new invented dignity.* §. V. *The* Romans *carry on the war againſt the* Æqui, Volſci *and* Veientes. Æmilius *after a ſucceſsful campaign againſt the laſt is refuſed a triumph. He ſeeks to revenge himſelf on the Senate.* §. VI. *In the ſucceeding Conſulſhip* (*of* C. Horatius *and* T. Menenius) *all* Hetruria *declares war againſt* Rome. *The miſerable fate of the* Fabii. *The* Hetrurian *Arms prevail. But the next year's Conſuls* (A. Virginius *and* P. Servilius) *give the enemy an entire overthrow.*

§. I. THE Conſul *Furius*, who conducted the war againſt the *Æqui*, being beloved by his ſoldiers, made a ſucceſsful Campaign: But the troops of *Fabius*, who were to act againſt the *Veientes*, choſe rather to loſe their own honour, than gain him any glory. After a battle in which they behaved themſelves bravely (ſo long as their lives were in danger) and even routed the enemy, they refuſed to purſue them and take their camp, leſt by making the victory compleat they ſhould procure *Fabius* a triumph at his return to *Rome*; and not content with this they ſtruck their tents the following night, and began their march towards the City. The Conſul finding it impoſſible to govern them, put the beſt face he could upon the matter, ſounded a retreat, and returned with them.

D. Hal. B. 9.

§. II. IT

V. of *R.* 273. Bef *J. C.* 479. 3o Conſulſhip. * A 2d time.

§. II. IT was now growing a cuſtom in the Republic to have one of the Conſuls choſen according to the inclinations of the People, and the other according to thoſe of the Senate. The *Patricians* caſt their eyes again upon the *Fabian* family, and gave their voices to *Marcus* * *Fabius*, notwithſtanding his brother *Cæſo* had been ſo diſagreeable to the army the laſt year; and the People promoted *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus* to be his Collegue. Much depended on the wiſdom and unanimity of theſe two Magiſtrates, for the Republic was now threatened by a prodigious army of *Hetrurians*, who were encouraged to the war by the diviſions in *Rome*, and the ſpirit of mutiny that had appeared among the *Roman* ſoldiers in the camp.

Pontificius, one of the Tribunes, would on this occaſion have renew'd the old complaint, and hindered the neceſſary levies: but the Senators ſucceſsfully repeated the artifice of *Claudius*, and forces were raiſed to the number of 20000, which were equally divided between the two Conſuls. They both paſs'd the *Tiber*, and encamped near *Veii*, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, but they had ſo little dependence on the affection of their troops, that they kept quiet within their entrenchments. This was very unuſual with the *Romans*, and the enemy triumphed upon it, as believing it to proceed from fear of them.

D. Hal. B. 9. *Livy*, B. 2.

At this time happened an accident which employ'd the divination of the Augurs who attended the Conſul *Manlius*. Lightning fell upon the Conſul's tent, threw down a pan of coals, damaged his arms, killed his war horſe, and even ſome of his ſervants. Thoſe Diviners declared that his camp would be taken by the enemy, upon which prediction he quitted it the ſame night, and joined his army to that of *Fabius*. The *Hetrurians* ſeized the deſerted camp, and concluding that *Manlius* had carried his own ill fate along with him, did not doubt but they ſhould ſoon be maſters alſo of the other. They came confidently therefore and inſulted the united armies in their intrenchments, calling them women and cowards, and daring them to come out and fight. Hereupon, thoſe very ſoldiers who but a little before had plotted together not to fight upon any account, now murmured and mutiny'd, becauſe they were not inſtantly led to battle. Many of them were ſo eager for an ingagement, that the Conſuls, to prevent their falling upon the enemy without orders, were obliged to take away their arms. But then the ſoldiers came in crowds about the Generals tents, making great clamours; and *Fabius* ſeized that opportunity to reproach them with their former behaviour, and to increaſe their ardour, by expreſſing a diffidence of their courage and honour. They inſtantly cry'd out, *Lead us on, and lay aſide your ſuſpicions.* One *Flavoleius* a centurion, in great eſteem among the troops, hearing this, got upon an eminence, and addreſſing himſelf to them, ſaid, *Fellow ſoldiers, do you take the ſame oath that I am now going to take.* He then drew his ſword, and lifting it up towards Heaven, cried out, " O great *Jupiter!* O *Mars!* and " thou God, whoſoever thou art, who puniſheſt breach of faith, I " call you to witneſs that I promiſe never to return to *Rome* till I have

" conquered." The Conſuls, inferior officers, and all the ſoldiers made the ſame vow, and confirmed it by ſacrifices. After this the Generals reſtored the ſoldiers their arms, marched them out of the camp in ſilence and good order to an advantageous ground, and there drew them up. Y. of *R.* 273. Bef. *J.C.* 479. 30 Conſulſhip.

The enemy did not decline a battle: it was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides. The Conſul *Manlius* who led the right wing of the *Romans*, and *Quintus Fabius* (brother to the other Conſul) who commanded the left, were both killed; nevertheleſs the victory fell to the *Romans*, and chiefly by the bravery of the Conſul *Marcus Fabius*, and his other brother *Cæſo*.

The Conſul was ſo affected with the death of his brother *Quintus*, that at his return to *Rome* he declined the honours of a triumph which had been decreed him while yet in the camp. He entered the City in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of his Collegue and brother, and mounting the *Roſtra*, made a panegyrick upon thoſe two heroes, without ſaying any thing of his own exploits. He then abdicated the Conſulſhip, that he might not countenance the leaſt appearance of Monarchy, and leaving the Government in an *Interregnum*, he retired to take care of the wounds he had received in the action. From this time the *Fabii* became popular. *Val. Max.* B. 5. Ch. 5.

§. III. *CÆSO FABIUS*, that General, whoſe ſoldiers had but a year before ſo groſly affronted him, was now choſen Conſul *, tho' the faſces for ſix years paſt had never been out of the hands of one or other of the three brothers. The Collegue whom the Centuries gave him was *T. Virginius*. Y. of *R.* 274. Bef. *J.C.* 478. 31 Conſulſhip. * A 3d time.

Theſe Magiſtrates were no ſooner in office, but *Fabius* actuated by his new affection for the people, laboured to reconcile them with the Senate. Before the Tribunes preſented their petition concerning the *conquered lands* (which they did every year) he exhorted the Senators to prevent the complaints of the People, make the diſtribution themſelves of thoſe lands, and thereby put an end to the mutinies of the Commons for ever. But *Fabius* was not liſtened to; ſome rallied him on his new zeal for the intereſts of the People, others murmurred at it, and others even accuſed him of ambition.

He had better ſucceſs in his military expeditions. He marched an army againſt the *Æqui*, and by the ſole terror of his preſence diſperſed them without fighting. After this he haſtened to the relief of the Conſul *Virginius*, who, with the troops under his command, was ſurrounded by the *Veientes*, and without timely aſſiſtance muſt have ſurrendered at diſcretion. He delivered his Collegue out of danger, and made the enemy retire.

§. IV. NOR was this the only remarkable ſervice that *Cæſo Fabius* did the Republic in this his third Conſulate. The *Romans* being infeſted by the *Veientes* and other *Hetrurians*, who made frequent and miſchievous incurſions into the territory of *Rome*; and the Senate being greatly at a loſs how to put a ſtop to them, *Fabius* to remedy this evil formed a project worthy of his affection for his Country. He aſſembled all the men of his own name and family and propoſed to them, that the *Fabii* ſhould alone,

alone, at their proper expence and hazard, take upon them to ſecure the frontiers againſt the *Veientes*. Theſe generous *Patricians* gladly conſented to the motion, and the affair being communicated to the Senate, was there approved and applauded. Early the next morning all the *Fabii* appeared under arms before *Cæſo Fabius*'s door. They were 306 in number, of different branches, but all originally ſprung from the ſame ſtock. The whole City, men, women and children, ran in crowds to ſee them, and made vows to Heaven for their preſervation. *Marcus Fabius*, who had laſt year gained the battle of *Veii*, put himſelf at the head of the band, which was followed by about 4000 clients and vaſſals of the family; and he led them all to the banks of the *Cremera*, a little river which runs into the *Tiber*. There they built a fort in a ſteep place, ſurrounded it with a double ditch, and erected towers at certain diſtances. Their manner of making war was this. They divided their forces into four ſmall parties, of which one ſtaid to guard the fort, while the other three marched into three ſeveral parts of the enemy's Country and pillaged it; and nothing could be more ſucceſsful than their firſt expeditions.

Y. of *R.* 275. Bef. *J. C.* 477. 32 Conſulſhip. * A 2d time.

In the mean time *L. Æmilius* * and *C. Servilius* were choſen Conſuls at *Rome*. *Cæſo Fabius* had no ſooner reſigned the Faſces to them, but he deſired permiſſion of the Senate to join his family. The *Conſcript Fathers* readily conſented; and to gain him the more reſpect created for him a new office. He was made PRO-CONSUL, a title which gave the perſon honoured with it a power over the troops he commanded, equal to that of a Conſul; but no other authority.

§. V. THE Republic being threatened with a war on the ſide of *Hetruria*, and the *Æqui* and *Volſci* beginning to ravage the Country of the *Latines*, the Conſuls raiſed three armies. *Æmilius* led one againſt the *Veientes*, who were ſtrengthened by other *Hetrurians*; *Servilius* another againſt the *Volſci*; and *S. Furius* (with the title of Pro-conſul) the third, againſt the *Æqui*. The *Æqui* fled at the approach of *Furius*. The *Volſci* repulſed *Servilius*, and forced him to keep within his camp. The *Veientes* were defeated by *Æmilius*, and ſent a deputation to him to beg peace. *Æmilius* referred the Deputies to the Senate, and the Senate in return left it to him to ſettle the conditions of the treaty. Hereupon the Conſul ſhewed the *Veientes* great indulgence. He granted them peace, without demanding hoſtages, or requiring any thing more of them than two months proviſions for his ſoldiers, and money to defray the expence of the war for ſix months. This proceeding highly offended the Senate, inſomuch that they rejected his requeſt for a triumph. Nevertheleſs as he was a man of merit, he was invited to employ his troops and ſkill in ſuccouring his Collegue, who was embarraſſed with the *Volſcian* war; and upon this condition the *Fathers* promiſed to receive him again into favour. But *Æmilius* being exceedingly piqued at the refuſal he had met with, inſtead of marching to aſſiſt *Servilius*, returned to *Rome*, diſbanded his own army, and recalled that which *Furius* conducted againſt the *Æqui*. He then complained to the People of the proceedings of the Senate, who, he ſaid, were diſſatisfied at his having

expedited the peace, for no other reaſon, but their deſire to ſtave off the execution of the *Caſſian* law. Thus the angry Conſul convey'd his own reſentments into the minds of the People; and from that time the Tribunes renewed their invectives againſt the Senate, and their demand of the partition of the *conquered lands.*

§. VI. SUCH was the ſituation of affairs at *Rome*, when *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* entered upon the Conſulſhip. The *Fabii* ſtill kept their poſt upon the *Cremera*, tho' after the peace with the *Veientes* they had for ſome time but little opportunity of exerciſing their courage. But at length it was put to a fatal trial. It has been already obſerved, that *Veii* was one of the 12 Lucumonies or petty States of *Hetruria*. All the other Lucumonies being much diſſatisfied with that treaty which the *Veientes* had made with *Rome*, gave them to underſtand, that they muſt either break with the Republic, or ſuſtain a war againſt the reſt of the *Hetrurian* powers united. The *Veientes* in this dilemma choſe the former, and in purſuance of that reſolution, ſent to the *Fabii* to require them to demoliſh their fort and quit the frontiers. Hereupon hoſtilities were immediately renewed, and all *Hetruria* took arms againſt the *Romans*. *Y. of R.* 276. *Bef. J. C.* 476. 33 Conſulſhip.

The *Fabii* had their uſual ſucceſs in every expedition and in every engagement, till one day they were unfortunately ſurprized in an ambuſh out of which the moſt intrepid courage could not ſecure them a ſafe retreat. The *Veientes* lodged a whole army of *Hetrurians* in a wood, and poſted centinels on all the eminencies, to give notice to the men lying in ambuſh, when they ſhould ſally out. Then they brought out all their cattle, and all their horſes, into a valley, as it were to feed them: and the guard that attended them appeared not to be great. This was enough to tempt the *Fabii*; who marched out of their fort in a great body, and left no more men in it, than were neceſſary to defend it from a ſurprize. They advanced in good order; and upon their approach, the herdſmen and their guard fled. Whilſt ſome of the *Fabii* purſued the runaways, to take them priſoners, others ſeized the booty; and a ſmall number of them continued drawn up in order of battle. Immediately the *Hetrurians* came out of their ambuſh, ſurrounded and cut in pieces all thoſe who were buſied in driving together the cattle, that were diſperſed about the plain. As for thoſe of the *Romans* who kept their ranks, and formed a regular body, they uſed all their efforts to gain ſome eminence, where having the advantage of the ground they might at leaſt ſell their lives dear. But in this attempt they fell into another ambuſh, and were quite encompaſſed with enemies. Nevertheleſs they did not loſe their courage. Drawing themſelves up into a cloſe compact body which faced every way, they renewed the fight with more vigour than ever, ſtill bearing forward towards a hill which they had in view. They ſlew many of the *Hetrurians*, diſengaged themſelves from the reſt, and gained the top of the hill. There they paſſed the night without any proviſions, and ſtill beſet by an army of enemies. The next morning, thoſe of the *Fabii* who had been left to guard the fort, being informed of the danger their relations were in, *D. Hal.* B. 9. *Livy*, B. 2.

Y. of *R.* 276. Bef. *J. C.* 476. 33 Conſulſhip.

inſtantly flew to their relief, leaving but a very ſmall number behind them. As ſoon as the *Hetrurians* perceived them advancing in the plain, they ſent out detachments to cut them off, and tho' the latter made a brave reſiſtance, it was all in vain; not a man of them eſcaped. Not long after, thoſe who were on the top of the hill, being more preſſed by hunger and thirſt, than by any thing elſe, came down with the rapidity of a torrent, to break their way through the enemy, of whom they made a dreadful ſlaughter. The *Hetrurians*, aſtoniſhed at their loſſes, ſuſpended the heat of the action for ſome hours, and offered theſe brave men to let them paſs, if they would throw down their arms, and give their words, that they would abandon the fort. But theſe conditions were deemed ſhameful by men thirſty of blood, and warmed with ſtrong deſires of victory; and they choſe rather to run the hazard of dying all together with glory, than to ſave their lives by an action which they thought would reflect diſhonour on their family. They renewed the attack; upon which the *Hetrurians* immediately changed their way of fighting, and avoided a cloſe engagement; they kept at a diſtance, and ſhowered darts and ſtones upon the *Fabii*. The latter held out ſome time againſt the unexpected ſtorm, and puſhed forwards, like lions, on the enemy, who durſt not come near them. But at length the *Hetrurians* perceiving that the ſwords of the *Romans* were moſt of them broken, and their bucklers ſplit in pieces, they then, and not till then, ventured to attack them, man to man. What cannot men in deſpair do! The *Fabii* threw themſelves with fury into the midſt of the *Hetrurian* battalions, and to arm themſelves anew ſnatched away the weapons of their enemies. Some of thoſe who lay upon the ground half dead, roſe up, and came to yield their laſt breath in the midſt of the battel. In ſhort, deſpair made the *Romans* ſo formidable, that the *Hetrurians* were forced to have recourſe again to javelins and ſtones; and then thoſe brave relations were quite overwhelmed, and were all ſlain. The *Hetrurians* cut off their heads, and carrying them in triumph upon the tops of their lances, ſhewed them to thoſe few of the *Fabii* who had ſtaid in the fort. The latter at this ſad ſight gave themſelves up to deſpair. They did not ſtay to fight from the ramparts; but aiming only to ſell their lives dear, ſallied out upon the enemy, without obſerving any order. Theſe likewiſe were all cut to pieces; ſo that of the 306 *Fabii*, not one eſcaped. *Livy*, following ſome more ancient Hiſtorians, ſays, that only one of the name was left at *Rome*, a youth not fourteen years of age, who afterwards repaired the family, and perpetuated it. But according to *Dionyſius*, this is a mere fable, invented to give ſomething of a miraculous air to ſo tragical an event. It is true, that for a long time after the defeat of the *Fabii* at the *Cremera*, there appeared in the Republic only one *Fabius*, *whoſe merit equalled the reputation of his anceſtors*; and perhaps this was the meaning of that expreſſion of the moſt ancient *Roman* Writers, *That there was but one* Fabius *left*; for we ſhall find ten years after this time, that is in 286 of *Rome*, a *Fabius* in the Conſulſhip. But be that as it will, *Rome* ſuffered a conſiderable loſs, and ſhewed all the concern that gratitude could

could expreſs. She gave the name of *Porta Scelerata*, or, the *Accurſed Gate*, to the *Gate Carmentalis*, through which the *Fabii* had paſſed when they went out of the city. The day of their defeat was reckoned among the unlucky days, and it was forbidden to begin any thing of conſequence upon it. *A.* Y. of *R.* 276. Bef. *J. C.* 476. 33 Conſulſhip.

The Conſul *Menenius*, who had received orders to march againſt the *Hetrurians*, might if he had uſed diſpatch have delivered the *Fabii* in their diſtreſs. He was but thirty furlongs from the field of battle when they were cut in pieces. But perhaps, (as it was believed by many at *Rome*) he deſignedly, and out of jealouſy, gave them up to deſtruction. He afterwards encamped very diſadvantageouſly on the ſide of a hill without ſecuring the top of it; ſo that the *Hetrurians* getting above him, attacked him from the higher ground, gave him an entire defeat, and took his camp. Thence they advanced as far as the *Janiculum*, and pitched their camp on the top of it. They even paſſed the *Tyber*, and in a manner blocked up *Rome*. But then the Conſul *Horatius* who had been commiſſioned to act againſt the *Volſci*, being called home, came to a battle with the *Hetrurians* near the gate *Collina*. The ſucceſs of this action was pretty equal on both ſides; but in a ſecond near the Temple of *Hope*, about a mile from *Rome*, the Conſul gained a victory, which revived the *Roman* courage. Nevertheleſs the enemy did not decamp from the *Janiculum*, and the lands having been left unſown the laſt year on account of the enemies irruptions, a famine began to be felt in the City. The meaner ſort got together in companies, threatening to plunder the granaries of the rich; and the Tribunes encouraged their clamours and mutinies, by laying the preſent ſcarcity to the chief of the Senate. The *Conſcript Fathers* did every thing poſſible for the relief of the poor; but the caſe was ſuch, that the People muſt either ſtarve, or drive the enemy farther off. *D. Hal.* B. 9.

They marched out therefore under the conduct of their new Conſuls, *Virginius* and *P. Servilius*, and gave the *Hetrurians* an entire overthrow; but when by the dead bodies which were brought to *Rome* to be burnt, the Senate ſaw what numbers of *Romans* had periſhed in the action, they refuſed the Conſuls the honour of a triumph. *A.* Y. of *R.* 277. Bef. *J. C.* 475. 34 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 9.

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. *The Tribunes not being able to carry their point in relation to the* AGRARIAN LAW, *turn their rage againſt ſome Conſulars, who when in power had oppoſed them.* Menenius, *the laſt year's Conſul, is accuſed before the People, and condemned in a fine.* §. II. *His ſucceſſor* Servilius *is maliciouſly proſecuted as ſoon as he has reſigned the faſces to* P. Valerius *and* C. Nautius, *but he is honourably acquitted. In this and in the following Conſulſhip (of* Aulus Manlius *and* L. Furius) *war is carried on with ſucceſs againſt ſeveral of the neighbouring States.* §. III. *The ſucceeding Conſuls,* L. Æmilius (*a 3d time choſen*) *and* Vopiſcus Julius, *are publickly called upon by the Tribune* Genucius, *to name the Commiſſioners for the* Partition of the Lands. *Finding that the Conſuls ſhun meddling*

in that affair, he begins a criminal proceſs againſt their predeceſſors Manlius *and* Furius, *for having neglected the naming of thoſe Commiſſioners. The trial is prevented by the ſudden death of* Genucius.

THUS for ſeveral years there was a kind of alternation of troubles at home and wars abroad, nor could the People all this while bring about the publication of the law. They laid the whole blame upon the Conſuls; and to be revenged of them, even ſome ſoldiers were not aſhamed, at their return from the campaign, to become accuſers of their Generals, or witneſſes againſt them, as if they had failed in duty, or had ſhewn a want of capacity in the command of the army.

Scarce was a Conſul out of his office, but he was immediately cited before the Aſſembly of the People, that is, before a Tribunal where his moſt inveterate enemies were his Judges. Thus *Menenius*, the ſon of *Agrippa*, was accuſed, that during his Conſulate he had connived at the deſtruction of the *Fabii*. The Tribunes, *Q. Conſidius* and *T. Genucius*, loudly demanded his death; but the Senate and all his friends ſolicited ſo earneſtly in his behalf, that he was only condemned to pay a fine of two thouſand *Aſſes*, that is, about five pounds of our money, a very inconſiderable ſum with regard to the time we live in, but of great conſequence in that age, and in a Republic where men of the firſt rank lived by the labour of their hands. Nay we may reckon this fine exceſſive, with reſpect to *Menenius*, whoſe father had left him no other patrimony but his glory and his poverty. His friends offered generouſly to pay it for him, but he would not ſuffer it; pierced to the heart with the injuſtice and ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, he ſhut himſelf up in his houſe, where grief and hunger ſoon diſpatched him.

§. II. THE People fell next upon *Spurius Servilius*, who had ſucceeded *Menenius* in the Conſulſhip, and had gained the late victory over the *Hetrurians*. Scarce had he reſigned the faſces to *P. Valerius* and *C. Nautius*, when a criminal proceſs was commenced againſt him for having loſt a great number of men in that action, by purſuing the enemy too far. But this was only the pretext for the proſecution. The real crime both of him and of *Menenius*, was the having omitted, during their Conſulates, to name the Commiſſioners that were to make the partition of the lands.

Y. of *R.* 278. Bef. *J.C.* 474. 35 Conſulſhip.

Servilius, tho' not unacquinted with the People's bitterneſs againſt him, had recourſe neither to intreaties, nor the intereſt of his friends to eſcape their rage. He faced the danger boldly, and without changing either his habit or his countenance, appeared before the Aſſembly of the People according to his ſummons. A Tribune, named *Cædicius*, made himſelf the accuſer, and produced both Officers and common ſoldiers to witneſs the truth of his accuſation, the raſhneſs of *Servilius*, and the fatal conſequences of that raſhneſs. *Servilius* having heard the charge, addreſſed himſelf to the multitude in this manner. "If I am ſent for hither, to "give an account of what paſſed in the laſt battle where I commanded, "I am ready to do it. But if this is only a pretence to deſtroy me, as

I ſuſ-

" I ſuſpect, I deſire you would ſave me a needleſs trouble. Here is " my body and my life, which you may diſpoſe of juſt as you pleaſe." This ſaid he remained in ſilence. Y. of *R.* 278. Bef. *J. C.* 474. 35 Conſulſhip.

But ſome of the more moderate among the People having cried out that he ſhould take courage, and go on with his defence, he thus proceeded: *D. Hal.* B. 9. *Liv.* B. 2.

" Well then, *Romans*, ſince I find I have to do with Judges and not with " Enemies, I ſhall put you in mind, that I was made Conſul with *Virgi-* " *nius* at a time when the *Hetrurians* were Maſters of the Country, and " famine and diſſention raged in the City. It was in this perplexing con- " juncture that I was called to the government of the State. I marched " againſt the enemy, whom I defeated and forced to ſhut themſelves up " in their towns. And while they were in a manner blocked up there by " the terror of your arms, I in my turn ravaged their territory; I got a " prodigious quantity of corn which I brought to *Rome*, where I reſtored " plenty. What fault have I committed thus far? Am I guilty of any " crime in having won a victory? But it ſeems I loſt a great many men in " the engagement: Are battles then to be fought againſt Nations long " hardened to war, and that defend themſelves valiantly, without blood " being ſhed on both ſides? What Deity has undertaken for the *Roman* " People, that they ſhall gain victories without loſs? Is any man here to " learn that glory is not acquired but by great dangers? I engaged with " troops more numerous than thoſe you truſted to my conduct; however, " after an obſtinate fight I broke them. I put their Legions in diſorder, " and at length they fled. Could I refuſe to follow victory, when ſhe " went before me? Was it indeed in my power to reſtrain your ſoldiers, " who were carried away by their courage, and who warmly purſued an " enemy put to the rout? If I had ſounded a retreat, if I had led your " ſoldiers back to their camp, would not your Tribunes this day have ac- " cuſed me of having an underſtanding with the enemy? If the *Hetruri-* " *ans* rallied again, if they were ſupported by a body of troops that ad- " vanced to their aid; in a word, if we were obliged to begin the battle " quite afreſh; and if in this action I loſt ſome men, is it not the uſual " chance of war? Can you find Generals who will undertake the com- " mand of your armies, if you make it a condition that they ſhall bring " home again to *Rome* every ſoldier that goes out with them into the " field? Do not then enquire whether towards the end of a battle I loſt " ſome men, but judge of my conduct by my victory, and by the effects " of that victory. If it be true that I drove your enemies out of your " territory, that I killed great numbers of them, that I forced the ſhat- " tered remains of their armies to ſhut themſelves up in their ſtrong " towns, and that I enriched *Rome* and your ſoldiers with the booty they " got in the enemy's country; let your Tribunes ſtand up and tell me to " my face wherein I have failed in the duties of a good General. But " that is not what I fear; theſe accuſations are only a pretext for them to " exert with impunity the hatred they bear to the Senate and the whole " Order of *Patricians*. My true crime, as well as that of the illuſtrious

" *Men-*

Y. of *R.* 278. Bef *J. C.* 474. 35 Conſulſhip.

"*Menenius*, is our not having named, during our Conſulates, thoſe Decemvirs whom you have ſo long ſighed for. But will you never aſk any thing of the Conſuls and Senate but what is prejudicial to the common good of our Country, and never aſk but by ſeditions? If a Senator dares but repreſent to you the injuſtice of your pretenſions; if a Conſul does not ſpeak the ſeditious language of your Tribunes; if he defends courageouſly the ſovereign power with which he is inveſted, you immediately cry out, a Tyrant! Scarce is he out of his poſt, but he is overwhelmed with accuſations. Thus by your unjuſt *Plebiſcitum* you took away the life of *Menenius*, that great Captain, that good Citizen. Ought you not to die with ſhame at the thoughts of having cruelly perſecuted the ſon of that *Menenius Agrippa* to whom you are obliged for your Tribunes, and for that very power which now makes you ſo furious? You may perhaps think I ſpeak with too much freedom in the preſent ſtate of my fortune; but I fear not death; condemn me if you dare; life cannot but be inſupportable to a General, who is reduced to anſwer for his very victories: and at worſt, to undergo the ſame fate with *Menenius* can never be a diſhonour to me."

The courage of this generous *Patrician*, together with the teſtimony of his Collegue *Virginius*, who highly extolled his conduct in the battle, and aſcribed to him all the glory of the ſucceſs, diſperſed the danger with which he was threatened; and this the more eaſily, as the People were now heartily aſhamed of the ſentence they had paſſed againſt *Menenius*. *Servilius* was unanimouſly acquitted, and he ſoon after not only cleared his character from all blemiſh, but added a new luſtre to it. A notable victory which the Conſul *Valerius* in this ſame year obtained over the *Hetrurians*, was imputed wholly to the bravery and conduct of *Servilius*, who had ſerved in quality of the Conſul's Lieutenant.

Livy, B. 2. *D. Hal.* B. 9.

Y. of *R.* 279. Bef. *J. C.* 473. 36 Conſulſhip.

A. Manlius, who with *L. Furius* was raiſed to the Conſulate for the new year, led the victorious army againſt the *Veientes*. But theſe enemies of *Rome* durſt no longer appear in the field. They ſhut themſelves up in *Veii*, where being ſoon ſtraitened for proviſions, they ſued for peace. The Senate to whom the Conſuls referred their Deputies, granted them a truce of forty years, and in reward of *Manlius*'s ſucceſsful, but unbloody expedition, they decreed him the honour of an ovation.

The acquittal of *Servilius* by the People, had not leſſened the furious zeal of the Tribunes for the partition of the lands. They continued to infect the multitude with the poiſon of their ſeditious harangues. Both the Conſuls nevertheleſs kept ſteady to the intereſts of the *Patricians*, and without being in the leaſt ſhaken by the clamours or menaces of the Tribunes, finiſhed their year, and reſigned the faſces to *L. Æmilius**, and *Vopiſcus Julius*.

Y. of *R.* 280. Bef. *J. C.* 472. 37 Conſulſhip. *A 3d time Conſ.

§. III. *C N. GENUCIUS*, one of the Tribunes, a daring enterpriſing Man, and not uneloquent, publickly cited the new Conſuls to nominate immediately the Commiſſioners, who according to the *Senatusconſultum*, were to proceed upon the partition of the lands, and upon

D. Hal. B. 9. *Livy*, B. 2.

ſetting up land-marks, that might put a ſtop to all uſurpations for the future. Y. of *R.* 280. Bef. *J. C.* 473.

The Conſuls, to elude his demand, at firſt excuſed themſelves from taking cognizance of an affair that paſt ſo long before their Conſulate: And to give an appearance of juſtice to a refuſal, that indeed proceeded only from their concern for the intereſt of their Order, they added that the *Senatus-conſultum* in queſtion was become void by non-execution; and that every body muſt know there was this difference between laws, and the mere decrees of the Senate, that the firſt were perpetual and inviolable, whereas the *Senatus-conſulta* were of no longer duration, than the magiſtracy of him to whom their execution was committed. 37 Conſulſhip.

The Tribune, without any regard to that diſtinction, would gladly have attacked thoſe Magiſtrates directly; but as he foreſaw it would be no eaſy matter to ruin two Conſuls, while they were actually inveſted with the Sovereign Power, he turned his reſentment upon *Manlius* and *Furius*, whoſe offices were but juſt expired. He cited them before the Aſſembly of the People; and accuſed them of having neglected to name the Commiſſioners, with intent to debar the poor Citizens and brave Soldiers of the ſhare which they had ſo well deſerved in the conquered lands. This furious Tribune exhorted the People to do juſtice to themſelves, and he added, that there was no way but the puniſhment of thoſe great criminals, and the terror of ſuch an example, to reduce their ſucceſſors to execute at length the *Senatus-conſultum*; and having with horrible oaths proteſted that he would proſecute this affair to his laſt breath, he appointed the day when the People ſhould take cognizance of it. This accuſation and theſe violent menaces alarmed the *Patricians*. They ſaw, with no leſs indignation than ſorrow, that the Tribunes aimed equally at their lives and their fortunes, and that there ſeemed to be a formed deſign of making away with all the Senators one after another. Every one blamed himſelf for his patience and moderation: Several private councils were held, the reſult of which remained buried in a profound ſecrecy. In the mean while, the People, who triumphed beforehand, inſolently boaſted, that in ſpight of all the Senate's artifices, the law for the diviſion of the lands ſhould certainly paſs; nay, that it ſhould be ſealed too with the blood of thoſe who had oppoſed it, and that the death of *Caſſius* ſhould not go unrevenged. The Senate equally concealed their fear and their reſentment. But the very day before this great matter was to be decided, *Genucius* was found dead in his bed, without the leaſt marks of poiſon or any other violence. His body was laid out in the *Forum*; and the common People, whoſe minds eaſily run into ſuperſtition, imagined that the Gods diſapproved his enterprize, tho' the wiſer ſort were inclined to ſuſpect that ſome *Patricians* had been the Miniſters of the Deity. Nevertheleſs that religious notion having got poſſeſſion of the ſpirits of the multitude, inſpired them with a great veneration for the Senate, in whoſe favour Heaven ſeemed to have declared in ſo viſible a manner. The partition of the lands was not ſo much as mentioned for ſome time after. *Zonaras.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The haughty and imprudent behaviour of the Conſuls after the Death of* Genucius, *in relation to* P. VOLERO; *whom, though he had been an Officer, they would oblige to liſt himſelf for a common Soldier. The People riſe and the Conſuls hide themſelves.* §. II. L. Pinarius *and* P. Furius *ſucceed to the Conſulate, and* VOLERO *is choſen a Tribune of the People.* VOLERO *propoſes a Law for electing the Tribunes in the Comitia by Tribes. The Diſputes on this Head are interrupted by a Plague.* §. III. *The Patricians get the Conſulſhip for* Appius Claudius *and* T. Quinctius. *The two Collegues differ about the means to defeat* VOLERO's *project.* §. IV. VOLERO *renews the propoſal of his Law in an Aſſembly of the People.* Quinctius *by ſoft words diſpoſes the People to reject it: But* Appius *by a Speech full of pride and heat, ruins the effect of what his College had ſaid. The Tribune* Lætorius *commands* Appius *to leave the Aſſembly, and even orders him to be led to priſon. A ſcuffle enſues. Night puts an end to the Diſorder.* §. V. *The Tumult is renewed the next morning.* Quinctius *by prudent management quiets it, and prevails with the Senate to let* VOLERO's *Law paſs.*

Y. of R. 280. *Bef. J. C.* 472. 37 Conſulſhip.

§. I. THE Tribunes being confounded and ſtruck mute by what had happened to *Genucius*, and by its effect upon the People, the Conſuls and Senate might have reſumed all their Authority, if upon this Revolution they had not gone about to ſtrain it too high.

There was occaſion for raiſing troops to march againſt the enemy. The Conſuls, guarded by their Lictors, held their Tribunal as uſual in the *Forum*, and to make the People feel their Power, either fined or cauſed to be whipt, and often without regard to juſtice, thoſe Citizens who did not appear as ſoon as they were called to give their names. A proceeding ſo ſevere cauſed great murmurings among the People; and the unjuſt and violent manner, in which the Conſuls attempted to liſt for a common Soldier a *Plebeian* who had been a Centurion, made their diſcontent break out into action.

This *Plebeian*, named *P. Volero*, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars by his valour, and was eſteemed a good Officer. Nevertheleſs, without regard to his paſt ſervices, or the poſts he had filled, he was ſummoned to *Livy, B. 2.* liſt himſelf for a common ſoldier. He refuſed to obey, and complained publickly that the Conſuls wanted to diſgrace him becauſe he was a *Plebeian*. Theſe Magiſtrates, upon his refuſal, ſent a Lictor to ſeize him; and upon his making reſiſtance, ordered that he ſhould be beaten with Rods, a puniſhment which the Generals uſed to inflict upon their mutinous Soldiers. The Lictor went to take hold of him, but *Volero* full of courage and indignation puſhed him back, and ſtriking him a blow on the

face implored at the ſame time the protection of the Tribunes. Finding that theſe made no advance to reſcue him, he inſtantly addreſſed his ſpeech to the Conſuls, and ſaid, "I appeal to the People. Our Tribunes, I ſee, "intimidated by your power, had rather ſee a Citizen abuſed even in their "preſence, than expoſe themſelves to be ſtrangled in their beds like *Ge-* "*nucius.*" Then turning to the multitude, who ſeemed provoked at the violence that was offered him: "Aſſiſt me, Comrades, *he cried*, we have "no remedy left us againſt ſo great tyranny, but force. The People at theſe words fell upon the Lictors, broke their faſces, drove them out of the *Forum*, and even forced the Conſuls themſelves to fly for refuge to the Senate-houſe. Y. of *R.* 280. Bef. *J. C.* 472. 37 Conſulſhip.

As ſoon as the Riot was appeaſed, thoſe Magiſtrates aſſembled the Senators, and complained of the audaciouſneſs of *Volero*, and the rebellion of the People. The Tribunes, on the other hand, who had hitherto been quiet, began now to make a mighty noiſe; they demanded juſtice upon the Conſuls, for that, in contempt of the *Lex Valeria* and of an appeal to the People, they had offered to ſcourge a Citizen, a *Roman* of free condition, as if he had been the vileſt ſlave: A new ſubject of fierce and obſtinate diſpute between the two orders in the Republic.

Volero fearing the Power of the Conſuls, and knowing that the Tribuneſhip, if he could get it, would be his beſt Security againſt their fury, ſtood for the Office of Tribune, vacant by the death of *Genucius*. To engage the voices of the People in his favour, he boaſted publickly, that if ever he were inveſted with that dignity, he would take ſuch methods, that the *Plebeians* ſhould never more be oppreſſed by the Senate. The multitude, charmed with this hope, readily granted him their Votes; and he entered upon the exerciſe of his new office in the Conſulate of *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius*. It was univerſally expected, that, to revenge himſelf on the laſt year's Conſuls, who had treated him ſo hardly, he would immediately commence a proſecution againſt them before the People; but he ſoon diſcovered, that though a man of mean birth and education, he was capable of views far more extenſive and important to the intereſt of his Party, than a mere perſonal revenge. Without letting fall ſo much as one diſreſpectful word againſt the late Magiſtrates, he turned his Reſentment againſt the whole body of the *Patricians*, and undertook to deprive them of the influence they had in the election of the Tribunes of the People. Y. of *R.* 281. Bef. *J. C.* 471. 38 Conſulſhip.

The Tribunes had hitherto been choſen in the *Comitia* by [a] *Curiæ*, where though the *Patrician* faction had not ſo great a ſway as in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*,

[a] What Mr. *Vertot* ſays on this occaſion and on ſome others, of the difference between the ſeveral ſorts of *Comitia*, has not been ſtrictly followed. Indeed whenever he touches upon that ſubject, he ſeems to be in ſome meaſure defective in the manner of expreſſing himſelf. He commonly tells us, that in the *Comitia* by *Tribes* and by *Curiæ*, *every man's vote was taken ſingly (qu'on recueilloit les voix par tête)* but that in the *Centuriate Comitia* the voices were counted by Centuries. From which way of ſpeaking one would be apt to imagine, that in the two firſt named ſorts of *Comitia* all affairs were decided by the majority

Y. of *R.* 281. Bef *J.C.* 471. 38 Conſulſhip.

Centuries, yet they had a much greater than *Volero* thought to be conſiſtent with the People's entire liberty of chuſing their own Protectors. As theſe Aſſemblies conſiſted only of ſuch Citizens as reſided in *Rome*, the Senators by the great number of their friends, clients, and immediate dependents, who had a right of voting, frequently carried all before them. It was alſo the prerogative of the Senate to give a previous conſent before thoſe Aſſemblies could be held, and none but *Patricians* could preſide in them. Nor was this all; for the Augurs too, before any thing could be validly done, were to declare that the Auſpices were favourable. Now it often happened, that theſe miniſters of religion, *Patricians* by birth, did, to ſerve the intereſt of their order, either put off the holding of the *Comitia*, or annul the election of ſuch Tribunes as were moſt obnoxious to the Nobility, under pretence that the omens were inauſpicious.

Volero in a general Aſſembly repreſented all this to the People, and that the *Patricians* by the ſeveral privileges and advantages of which they had got poſſeſſion were in effect abſolute Maſters of the Government. He moved therefore that for the future the election of the Tribunes ſhould be always made in the *Comitia* by *Tribes*, an Aſſembly where the People's own Magiſtrates might preſide; where all the Citizens of the country Tribes, as well as the Inhabitants of *Rome*, would have a right of voting, and which would not be ſubject to any decrees of the Senate, or the influence of the Augurs.

The *Plebeian* faction in general were highly pleaſed with this propoſal, and warmly declared for paſſing it into a Law. The Conſuls on the other hand, the Senate, and the whole order of *Patricians*, oppoſed it with all their might. It became the common, and the only ſubject of diſpute between the two parties; ſo that the affair of the *Agrarian Law* was for a while intirely dropt.

A dreadful peſtilence which infected both the city and country interrupted the courſe of this furious conteſt. Each man being taken up with his particular loſſes and his own preſervation, leſs attention was given to the buſineſs of the publick. But this calamity proving as ſhort as it was violent, the Tribunes quickly reſumed the proſecution of the law propoſed by *Volero*; and the People believing they could not ſucceed without his aſſiſtance,

rity of the Citizens aſſembled. But this was not the caſe. No queſtion whatſoever was decided in any of the three ſorts of Aſſembly by the plurality of ſingle votes. The opinion of the plurality of the Citizens in each *Curia*, *Tribe* and *Century*, determined the ſenſe of that *Curia*, *Tribe* and *Century*. But it was the majority of the *Centuries*, of the *Tribes*, or of the *Curiæ*, that decided the queſtion in debate. And though perhaps it never happened, it was very poſſible to happen, that in the *Comitia* by *Tribes* and by *Curiæ*, as well as in thoſe by *Centuries*, a great majority of ſingle voices ſhould loſe their point. For example; in the affair of *Coriolanus*, nine Tribes only voted for him, and twelve againſt him; he was therefore caſt. Nevertheleſs it does not hence follow, that the majority of the *Roman* Citizens were againſt him. For if in each of thoſe nine Tribes which voted for him, the Citizens were unanimous, and if in each of thoſe twelve which voted againſt him, the Citizens were divided, and only a bare majority againſt him, it will hence follow, that he muſt have had a very great majority of ſingle voices in his favour, notwithſtanding that he was condemned.

continued

continued him in the Tribuneſhip for the following year, in ſpight of the oppoſition of the Senate and of the whole *Patrician* party. Y. of *R.* 281. Bef. *J. C.* 471. 38 Conſulſhip.

§. III. THE Senate finding how ſtrongly bent the *Plebeians* were upon carrying their point, and how neceſſary it would be to ſet up againſt *Volero*, ſome man of intrepid reſolution, and who was not to be terrified by the clamours and menaces of the multitude, pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, and raiſed him to the Conſulate without his participation. He had been ſo far from making intereſt for that high poſt, that he had not ſo much as appeared in the Aſſembly on the day of election; he was naturally proud, but without ambition, not leſs zealous than his father had been for the intereſt of the Senate, and more obſtinate and inflexible. He was always for carrying things with a high hand, and without owing any thing to perſuaſion or that artful management ſo neceſſary in the government of a free People. To ſoften and qualify what might be too harſh and haughty in the manners of this Magiſtrate, the Senate gave him for a Collegue *T. Quinctius*, who was of a character directly oppoſite, naturally mild and inſinuating, and who had found means to get the love of the People, though he was looked upon to be one of the principal Leaders of the other party. *D. H.* B. 9.

The new Conſuls being entered upon their office, immediately convened the Senate to deliberate on the moſt proper methods for hindering the publication of *Volero*'s law. *Appius* repreſented to the *Conſcript Fathers*, that being to govern a People naturally unquiet, greedy of novelties, and continually incited by ſeditious Tribunes, they muſt never hope for peace within the State, but by making war abroad, and by leading the *Romans* out of the City, where idleneſs nouriſhed a ſpirit of mutiny and rebellion: And he adviſed therefore that upon ſome pretence, which between neighbours can never be wanting, a new war ſhould be immediately undertaken. Y. of *R.* 282. Bef. *J. C.* 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

Quinctius was of a contrary opinion; he ſaid he thought it unjuſt to make war upon nations againſt whom the Republic had not then any cauſe of complaint; that the people themſelves would quickly perceive the Senate's intent in ſo doing, and that, in caſe they ſhould refuſe to take arms, the force that muſt be employed to compel them to it, could not fail of raiſing a ſedition, wherein it was to be feared the Majeſty of the Senate might be expoſed to inſults. As *Quinctius* was this month in poſſeſſion of the Lictors, and of the chief authority, his Collegue was obliged to yield to his ſentiments, not being able to do any thing without him.

In the mean time *Volero* propoſed his Law anew, and in concert with his Collegues, added theſe articles to it: *That the* Ædiles *as well as the* Tribunes *ſhould be choſe in the* Comitia *by* Tribes, *and that theſe Aſſemblies ſhould have cognizance of all affairs which the People had a right to determine*, an addition which tended directly to deſtroy the authority of the Senate, and to eſtabliſh that of the People upon its ruins. The Senate was convened again upon theſe extraordinary propoſals. *Quinctius* naturally complying, and a thorough Republican, was for conceding ſomething in favour of a brave People, from whom, he ſaid, the Commonwealth daily received important ſervices. But *Appius* haughty and ſevere, maintained

Y. of R. 282. Bef. J.C. 470. 39 Conſulſhip. with great warmth, that ſuch indulgence would ſhew not ſo much the benignity as the weakneſs of the Government, and that it would be a manifeſt betraying of the Senate's intereſt. That the Tribunes, when they had thus ſtripped the Patricians of their power, would think they did them great favour if they left them ſo much as the enſigns of their dignities. He concluded, that after ſo many uſeleſs harangues as had been made upon this ſubject, nothing but a bold ſtroke of authority was capable of putting a ſtop to the ſeditious enterpriſes of the Tribunes. That the *Patricians*, with their clients, ought to take arms, drive the People out of the *Forum*, and fall upon all without diſtinction, who dared to be the protectors of ſo pernicious a Law. This advice was rejected as too violent, and even dangerous. The Senate came to a reſolution of more gentleneſs and moderation: It was agreed to deſire of the Tribunes, that they would baniſh out of the public Aſſemblies thoſe tumultuous conteſts and diſputes, in the confuſion of which it was difficult to diſtinguiſh what was juſtice and reaſon; and that they would ſuffer the Conſuls peaceably, and without interruption, to repreſent to the People the true intereſts of the Commonwealth; after which they might in concert agree upon ſuch meaſures as ſhould be moſt for the common good of the People and Senate.

So equitable a propoſal was not to be rejected with any appearance of reaſon, and the Tribunes acquieſced. *Quinctius* mounted the *Roſtra*, he ſpoke in ſo lively and ſo affecting a manner of the advantages of peace, and the calamities that attend diviſions and innovations in the laws, that if *Appius* had not ſpoken immediately after him, the People ſeemed inclined to have rejected *Volero*'s propoſal.

But that Conſul, who underſtood no way of treating men but with a high hand, inſtead of taking advantage of the impreſſion which his Collegue's diſcourſe had made in the minds of his audience, fell into invectives, which had the very ſame effect as the ſeditious harangues of the Tribunes. He upbraided the People in the moſt harſh and offenſive terms with their deſertion upon the *Mons Sacer*, and the erection of the Tribuneſhip, which he ſaid was extorted from the Senate by an open revolt, and by threatning a civil war: He added, that it was no wonder a Tribunal ſet up by rebels ſhould produce nothing but tumults and diſcords, which would never end but with the entire ſubverſion of the Republic; that already few or no traces were left of the antient form of the Government: That the moſt ſacred Laws were aboliſhed, the Conſular power deſpiſed, and the dignity of the Senate debaſed, by the daring practices of an inſolent rabble. And he concluded with telling them, that as to the preſent affair, it was his firm determination, for ever to withſtand the promulgation of ſo iniquitous a Law as was then propoſed, and of any Law whatſoever which had not firſt paſſed the examination and the approbation of the Senate, and that he hoped to make them know during his magiſtracy, if they were yet ignorant of it, what was the extent of the power of a Conſul.

D. Hal. B. 9. *Livy*, B. 2. *Appius* having thus ſpoken, *Caius Lectorius*, the oldeſt and moſt conſiderable of the Tribunes, and who was accounted one of the braveſt ſol-

diers in the Republic, anſwered him, that no body was then to learn that the *Claudii* were a family wherein pride and inhumanity were hereditary; that his father was the moſt bitter enemy the People ever had, and that he himſelf was leſs their Conſul than their Tyrant: But that in ſpite of his dignity, and his power of a Conſul, the election of the *Tribunes* and that of the *Ædiles*, ſhould for the future be made in the *Comitia* by Tribes. He ſwore by all that was moſt ſacred, that he would get the Law paſſed or loſe his life upon the ſpot. At the ſame time he commanded the Conſul to depart the Aſſembly, that he might make no diſturbance in the collecting of the Suffrages. Y. of *R.* 282. Bef. *J. C.* 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

Appius deſpiſed his order, and cried out to him that he would have him to know, that tho' a Tribune, he was no more than a private man, without any real magiſtracy, and whoſe whole power conſiſted in forming an oppoſition to ſuch decrees of the Senate as might be prejudicial to the *Plebeians*. Then calling about him his relations, his friends and his clients, who were very numerous, he prepared to oppoſe force with force. *Lectorius* having conferred haſtily with his Collegues, cauſed proclamation to be made by a Herald, that the College of Tribunes decreed that the Conſul ſhould be led to priſon: And immediately an Officer belonging to that Tribune, had the preſumption to offer to ſeize upon the chief Magiſtrate of the Republic. But the Senators, the *Patricians*, and that multitude of Clients which attended *Appius*, placed him in the midſt of them, and repulſed the Officer. *Lectorius*, tranſported with anger, advanced in perſon to aſſiſt him, and called upon the People for their aid. The moſt mutinous among the multitude preſently joined the Tribune; nothing was heard but confuſed cries proceeding from mutual animoſity. From reproaches they quickly came to blows; and as in thoſe days it was unlawful to wear ſwords in the City, each party made arms of benches, or ſtones, or any thing they could lay hands on. This commotion in all probability would not have ended without the ſpilling of much blood, had not *Quinctius* got ſome Conſulars and ancient Senators to convey *Appius* from the tumult, while he himſelf laboured to appeaſe the Tribunes. But what, more than any thing elſe, obliged the two parties to ſeparate, was the coming on of the night.

§. V. THE tumult began again next morning. The People ſpirited up by their Tribunes, and eſpecially by *Lectorius* who had been wounded the night before, got poſſeſſion of the Capitol, fortified themſelves there, and ſeemed reſolved to begin an open war. The Senate on their part aſſembled, as well to deliberate upon ways to quiet the ſedition, as to reconcile the two Conſuls; *Quinctius* was for yielding ſomething in favour of the People, whereas *Appius* proteſted, that he would ſooner die than make the leaſt conceſſion. This diſorder laſted ſeveral days. *Quinctius*, who was not diſagreeable to the multitude, accoſted the Tribunes, ſoothed them, and intreated them to ſacrifice their private reſentments to the public good, and to reſtore the City to peace and concord. By his ſoft and inſinuating manner he at length gained their conſent to refer both their private and public complaints

Y. of *R.* 282. Bef. *J. C.* 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

complaints to the Senate. They promiſed to abide by whatever the *Conſcript Fathers* ſhould determine.

Quinctius hereupon immediately convened the Senators, gave them an account of the good diſpoſition of the Tribunes, and conjured his Collegue *Appius* not to oppoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity. He then aſked the opinion of the Conſulars, beginning with *P. Valerius Poplicola*. *Valerius* ſaid, that as neither *Lectorius*'s wound, nor any of the inſults or injuries on either ſide done or ſuffered were the effect of premeditated malice, or perſonal quarrels, but of an over ardent zeal, in both parties, for the public good, they ought all to be buried in an eternal oblivion. That as to the Law in queſtion, ſince *Appius* would by no means ſuffer it to be propoſed to the Aſſembly of the People without a previous Decree of the Senate, he thought it ſhould be referred to the Senate, and a Decree made thereupon.

This advice was received with applauſe. The affair however was diſputed with much heat: But *Quinctius*, naturally perſuaſive, managed the ſeveral ſpirits he had to deal with ſo artfully, that he at length brought the Senate to yield to the People. *Appius* oppoſed it with all his might; he called both Gods and men to witneſs, that the Republic was betrayed, and that the Senate were ſubmitting to a Law more detrimental to their rightful authority, than thoſe which had been formed upon the *Mons Sacer*. But he could not ſhake the reſolution of the ancient Senators: They very well knew, that, though the Conſuls depended only upon the Senate, each particular Senator was in the power of the People, who, ſince the buſineſs of *Coriolanus*, had created themſelves a right of trying the *Patricians*. Thus either love of peace, or fear of the Tribunes reſentment, united inſenſibly moſt of the voices in favour of *Quinctius*'s Opinion. The Law was publiſhed with the conſent of both orders, and they now for the firſt time elected Tribunes in an Aſſembly convened by Tribes. *Piſo* the Hiſtorian, as *Livy* informs us, ſays that five Tribunes were elected upon this occaſion, and that no more than two had been created upon the *Mons Sacer*. Be that as it will, *Appius*, who was yet more provoked with the Senate than with the People, ſaid it was ſcandalous in the former to abandon him in an enterprize which they themſelves had engaged him in, by raiſing him to a dignity which he never courted. And he afterwards employed his Conſular power to make the *Plebeians* feel that the victory which their Tribunes had gained over the Senate had not in the leaſt quell'd his courage.

D. Hal. B. 9. *Livy*, B. 2.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *The Conſuls lead two armies into the field againſt the* Æqui *and* Volſci. Appius's *Troops, that he may have no claim to a* TRIUMPH, *refuſe to fight the enemy. He puniſhes them with the utmoſt ſeverity, and returns to* Rome. §. II. *The affair of the* Agrarian Law *being revived in the Conſulſhip*

*Conſulſhip of his ſucceſſors (*L. Valerius *(a ſecond time Conſul) and* T. Æmilius) *he oppoſes the Tribunes with more heat than ever. They cite him before the People, as an enemy to the public liberty. He kills himſelf.* §. III. *The Tribunes reſume the affair of the* Conquered Lands, *but drop it again till the cloſe of the next Conſulſhip (of* A. Virginius *and* T. Numicius) *when no* Plebeian *appears in the Comitia, where* T. Quinctius *(a ſecond time) and* Q. Servilius *are choſen to that dignity. Theſe Conſuls, to keep things quiet at home, buſy the People in various wars.* §. IV. *The domeſtick diſſentions begin afreſh in the Conſulſhip of* T. Æmilius *(a ſecond time Conſul) and* Q. Fabius. Æmilius *favours the People in relation to the* Agrarian Law. Fabius *without promoting that affair falls upon an expedient to ſtop their complaints.* §. V. *He then takes the field, and reduces the* Æqui *to aſk peace; who nevertheleſs in the next Conſulate of* Sp. Poſthumius *and* Q. Servilius *(now a ſecond time Conſul) begin to ſtir again; and in the following year, when* T. Quinctius *(a third time) and* Q. Fabius *(a ſecond time) are Conſuls, the war breaks out anew; it is continued by their ſucceſſors,* A. Poſthumius *and* Sp. Furius, *to the advantage of the* Romans. §. VI. *In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* P. Servilius Priſcus *and* L. Æbulius Elva, *a moſt dreadful Plague rages in the City. The* Æqui *and* Volſci *appear before* Rome, *but ſoon retire; and the* Romans *the next Year, under the command of the new Conſuls (*L. Lucretius *and* T. Veturius) *give them an entire overthrow.*

§. I. THE *Æqui* and *Volſci*, during theſe diviſions, had, according to their old cuſtom, made inroads upon the territories of the Republic. The Legions raiſed to take revenge upon thoſe enemies were divided between the two Conſuls. *Quinctius* marched againſt the *Æqui*, and *Appius* againſt the *Volſci*. The former was ſo much eſteemed and loved by his ſoldiers, and they expreſſed ſuch a warm zeal to gain him honour, that the *Æqui* did not care to appear againſt an Army ſo diſpoſed. They ſhut themſelves up in their Cities, and the Conſul returned to *Rome*. But while *Quinctius* was by his men called the *Father of the Soldiers*, the troops of *Appius* ſtiled their General the *Tyrant of the Army*. Seeing himſelf now out of *Rome*, and poſſeſſed of the abſolute authority of a military command, he cauſed diſcipline to be obſerved with a ſeverity, which ſeemed leſs a neceſſary regularity, than a revenge for things paſt. Centurions and Soldiers, all murmured at the General's orders. A ſort of conſpiracy was formed, not againſt his life, but his glory: The Soldiers, to hinder him from conquering, and of conſequence from receiving the honours of the Triumph, reſolved by agreement not to oppoſe the enemy. The *Volſci* having offered battle, and *Appius* having drawn his army out of the camp to fight them, the *Romans* at the approach of the enemy threw away their arms, and fled ſhamefully, thinking they did not pay too dear for the affront they put upon their General, if it coſt them only the loſs of their own honour.

Y. of *R.* 282. Bef. *J. C.* 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

D. Hal. B. 9. *Livy*, B. 2. *Zonaras. Flor.* B. 1. *Val. Max.* B. 9.

Y. of *R.* 282. Bef. *J.C.* 470. 39 Conſulſhip.

Appius in deſpair ran every way to rally them and lead them on to the fight. He intreated and threatened in vain; ſome got out of the way to avoid receiving his commands; others without being in the leaſt wounded, ſhewed him bandages, which they had put about the ſound parts of their body, crying out that they muſt be led back to the camp to be dreſſed: All ruſhed into it without waiting for orders ſo to do. The *Volſci* took advantage of this confuſion, and having cut to pieces thoſe that fled in the rear, they attacked the intrenchments. But then the ſoldiers, fearing the enemy might break into their camp, faced about, made a brave reſiſtance, and drove back the *Volſci*, tho' without purſuing them, being ſatisfied with having ſhewn their General that they could have conquered had they pleaſed.

The Conſul, yet more enraged at this freſh inſult, than at their flight, was reſolved next day to aſſemble his army, and place himſelf in his Tribunal, to make an example of the mutinous. But the ſoldiers gave no heed to the ſignal that called them to the Aſſembly. They loudly demanded of their Officers to be led out of the enemy's territories, where they muſt inevitably be defeated. The Officers finding there was neither diſcipline nor obedience left in the Army, adviſed the General not to hazard his authority in a conteſt with ſuch mutinous ſpirits. *Appius*, incenſed beyond all patience at this revolt, broke up his camp: But as he was in march, the *Volſci* having received intelligence of his motions by ſome deſerter, with dreadful cries fell upon his rear. Terror flew through the whole army, and reached the moſt advanced bodies; every one flung away his arms; thoſe that bore the enſigns quitted them: It was not now as before, a pretended rout. All diſbanded, and made ſeveral ways; and they did not rally again till they were arrived upon the lands of the Republic.

Appius having pitched his camp in a place where he could not be conſtrained to fight againſt his will, ſummoned the ſoldiers a ſecond time to aſſemble. Being ſeated in his Tribunal, he upbraided them with their cowardice, and their treachery yet more criminal than want of courage. He aſked ſome what they had done with their arms; and thoſe who had born the enſigns, whether they had delivered them up to the enemy. Giving full ſcope to his natural ſeverity, which was augmented by a juſt reſentment of their deſertion, he decimated the ſoldiers, that is, put every *tenth* man of them to death, and cut off the heads of Centurions and other Officers who had left their poſts. As the time of the *Comitia* for the election of Conſuls for the next year drew nigh, he led back to *Rome* the wreck of his army. The ſoldiers entered the City with the ſhame of puniſhment in their faces, and a violent thirſt of vengeance in their hearts.

Y. of *R.* 283. Bef. *J.C.* 469. 40 Conſulſhip. *A 2d time Conſ.

§. II. THE Conſuls choſen to ſucceed *Quintius* and *Appius*, were *L. Valerius* *, and *Tib. Æmilius*. They had ſcarce entered upon their Office, when *C. Sicinius*, Tribune of the People, and grandſon of that *Sicinius Bellutus* who was the chief Leader of the ſedition upon the *Mons Sacer*, revived, in conjunction with his Collegues, the old diſpute concerning the partition of thoſe public lands, of which the *Patricians* and richeſt inhabitants of *Rome* had got poſſeſſion. The

The buſineſs in a manner depended upon the Conſuls, who by the *Senatus-conſultum* paſſed in the Conſulate of *Caſſius* and *Virginius* were empowered to nominate Commiſſioners to make the inquiſition concerning thoſe lands in order to a new diſtribution of them. The Tribunes were ſo fortunate as to find the preſent Conſuls diſpoſed to favour them. *Æmilius* promiſed to ſupport their pretenſions, and he took ſo extraordinary a ſtep out of revenge againſt the Senate, for having refuſed his father the honours of a Triumph when he returned victorious from a war againſt the *Æqui*. And as for *Valerius*, he was not diſpleaſed to have found an opportunity of ſoothing the People, who could not forgive him the Death of *Caſſius*, whoſe accuſer he had made himſelf during his Quæſtorſhip. Y. of *R.* 283. Bef. *J.* C. 469. 40 Conſulſhip. *D. Ital.* B. 9.

The Tribunes being ſecure of the two Conſuls, brought the affair before the Senate. They ſpoke with great moderation, beſeeching the *Conſcript Fathers* in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, that they would at length condeſcend to do the People juſtice, and ſuffer the Decemvirs to be named, who were to regulate the partition of the lands. The Conſuls gave to underſtand by their ſilence that they did not oppoſe the requeſt. *Valerius* then aſked the opinion of the reſt of the Senate, beginning with *Æmilius* the father of his Collegue. This ancient Senator declared in favour of the People: He ſaid he thought nothing could be more unjuſt than that a few private men ſhould be the only gainers by the ſpoils of the enemy, while the reſt of the Citizens were in indigence and miſery. That the poor *Plebeians* dreaded the thoughts of having children, to whom they could leave nothing but their own wretchedneſs for an inheritance; that inſtead of cultivating each the portion of land that belonged to him, they were obliged to work for ſubſiſtence like ſlaves on the eſtates of the *Patricians*; and that this ſervile way of life was not very proper to form the courage of a *Roman*. He added, "My opinion therefore is, that our Conſuls name "the Decemvirs, to proceed to the diviſion of the conquered lands, which "being public and common, ought to be for the equal benefit of all." *D. Hal. ibid.*

Appius oppoſed this advice with as much haughtineſs as if he had been a third Conſul, or indeed as if he had been inveſted with a perpetual Dictatorſhip. He anſwered *Æmilius*, that the People could lay the blame of their miſery upon nothing but their own intemperance; that more than once the Conſuls had generouſly divided among them the booty got in the territories of their enemies, and that upon a thorough enquiry it would appear, that thoſe who had received the greateſt ſhare of it were the pooreſt. That ſo long as thoſe *Plebeians* ſpent their time in debauchery and idleneſs, it was not in the power of the Republic to enrich them. That above fifteen Conſulates were now paſt ſince the *Senatus-conſultum* had been granted for the partition of the lands, and in all that time not any one of the Conſuls ever had a thought of putting it in execution, well knowing that the Senate's only deſign in ſuch a Decree was to appeaſe the ſedition, in order to give the People more time to conſider the injuſtice, and indeed impoſſibility of their demands; that thoſe Conſuls knew alſo that the *Senatus-conſultum* in queſtion was aboliſhed by the neglect of it; and

Y. of *R.* 283. Bef. *J. C.* 469. 40 Conſulſhip. they had more prudence than to charge themſelves with ſo important a commiſſion, in vertue of an authority that was expired. That neither could he believe there was the leaſt occaſion to apprehend that the preſent Conſuls would undertake ſuch an affair without the concurrence and authority of the Senate: "But to let you ſee (added *Appius*) that in rejecting an obſolete Decree, I do not mean to defend Uſurpers, I declare it my advice, that without making any farther mention of the diviſion of the lands, we re-unite to the public domain the lands of ſuch poſſeſſors as cannot juſtify their acquiſition and boundaries by legal titles."

Notwithſtanding the equitableneſs of this propoſal, neither the Nobles nor the People could reliſh an expedient that would impoveriſh the rich, without any benefit to the poor. However, as it utterly rejected the partition of the lands, and as the propoſed enquiry after the unjuſt poſſeſſors ſeemed a diſtant affair, moſt of the Senators beſtowed great praiſes on *Appius*. The Tribunes, on the other hand, enraged at their diſappointment, turned their thoughts wholly to revenge themſelves on the author of it. Fully reſolved upon his deſtruction, they cited him before the People as a declared enemy of the public liberty.

This was the ordinary crime alledged againſt thoſe who were indeed guilty of none, but were nevertheleſs to be deſtroyed. The Senate intereſted themſelves in this affair as their own, looking upon *Appius* as the intrepid defender of their prerogatives. Moſt of them were for ſoliciting the multitude in his behalf, but he oppoſed it with his uſual firmneſs and courage. He changed neither his habit nor his ſtile; and on the day of the Aſſembly he appeared in the midſt of his accuſers with the ſame dignity as if he had been their Judge. The Tribunes reproached him with the ſeverity of his Conſulate, and the inhumanity with which he had put to death a greater number of his ſoldiers by the hand of the executioner, than had been ſlain by the enemy in the heat of the battle. To make him ſtill more odious, the ſevere Government of his father was called to mind, as a crime in the ſon: But he anſwered theſe ſeveral articles with ſo much ſtrength, that the People, aſtoniſhed and confounded, durſt not condemn him. The Tribunes, fearing he would be acquitted, put off the giving ſentence to another Aſſembly, pretending the day was ſo far ſpent that they ſhould not have time to collect the ſuffrages. *Appius*, during this interval, plainly foreſeeing he ſhould be ſacrificed to the implacable hatred of thoſe Magiſtrates, voluntarily put an end to his own life. His ſon cauſed his body to be brought into the *Forum*, and according to cuſtom preſented himſelf to make his funeral oration; the Tribunes, to whom his very memory was odious, oppoſed the ſon's deſign, alledging that the deceaſed was to be reckoned among criminals, not having been acquitted of his accuſation before his death. But the People, more generous, obliged them to deſiſt from their Oppoſition, and heard with pleaſure the praiſes of an enemy whom they could never help eſteeming, and no longer hated.

D. Hal. B. 9.

§. III. THE

§. III. THE Tribunes afterwards reſumed the buſineſs of the *Agrarian* Law, which *Appius*'s proſecution had only ſuſpended. The death of that great man, one would think, ſhould have deterred all others from oppoſing the publication of this Law; but as not only the fortunes of moſt of the Senators depended upon it, but ſeveral rich *Plebeians* had alſo acquired parcels of thoſe public lands, the party of the *Patricians* gathered ſtrength; the Tribunes perceiving this were diſcouraged, and purſued the affair with leſs heat; and the proprietors continued in poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, notwithſtanding the pretenſions and complaints of the common People. The *Romans* during the remainder of this year, and under the following Conſulate of *Aulus Virginius* and *T. Numicius*, were employ'd in wars, or rather inroads and incurſions upon the *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, and the *Sabines*; but after theſe expeditions abroad, the old diviſions were renewed at home. Y. of *R.* 284. Bef. *J.C.* 468. 41 Conſulſhip.

The multitude, who looked upon themſelves as oppreſſed by the credit of the great, to ſhew their reſentment, abſented themſelves from all the Aſſemblies that were held by Centuries, and where the Conſuls preſided. It ſeemed as if the *Plebeians* intended to ſeparate themſelves once more from the body of the Republic: None of them appeared at the election of Conſuls for the next year; *T. Quinctius* * and *Q. Servilius* were raiſed to that dignity by the ſole voices of the *Patricians* and their clients, who notwithſtanding all theſe diviſions, conſtantly adhered to the party of their Patrons. Y. of *R.* 285. Bef. *J.C.* 467. 42 Conſulſhip. *A 2d time Conſ.

Theſe two Conſuls, to prevent the breach from growing wider, buſied the People all that year in various wars. *Servilius* had great ſucceſs againſt the *Sabines*; yet his glory was not equal to what *Quinctius* gained by his victories over the united forces of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. In the heat of a battle, and when he was like to be worſted through the enemies ſuperiority of numbers, to encourage his left wing to exert themſelves, he told them that his right wing was victorious, and by that means he made his left really ſo. He then haſted to the right wing, and informed them of the advantages which his left had gained, and by this able conduct, he put the enemy entirely to the rout. He defeated them a ſecond time, and then took from the *Volſci* the City of *Antium*, with its whole Territory. The rich booty that was got in this campaign ſomewhat appeaſed the minds of the multitude, and the ſoldiers at their return to *Rome* knew not how to complain of Generals, under whom they had acquired both wealth and glory.

§. IV. BUT their complaints and the diſſentions began afreſh in the Conſulate of *Tib.* **Æmilius* and *Q. Fabius*. The latter was ſon of one of the three famous brothers who periſhed in the battle of the *Cremera*. We have already heard that *Æmilius* in his firſt Conſulate had declared for the Partition of the Lands; the Tribunes and Promoters of the *Agrarian* Law aſſumed new hopes under his ſecond Conſulate: The affair was debated in the Senate: *Æmilius* had not changed his mind. This Conſul, ever favourable to the People, averred, that it was impoſſible to maintain peace Y. of *R.* 286. Bef. *J.C.* 466. 43 Conſulſhip. *A 2d time Conſ.

Y. of *R.* 286. Bef. *J. C.* 466. 43 Conſulſhip. and union among the Citizens of a free State, unleſs the condition of the poor was brought nearer to an equality with that of the rich, by an equitable diſtribution among them of the lands conquered from the enemy. But this Partition, ſo advantageous to the *Plebeians*, laboured under great difficulties. It was neceſſary, in order to it, to diſtinguiſh between the original patrimony of every private man, and what he had added to it from the public lands: And not only ſo, but to diſtinguiſh likewiſe between ſuch parcels as the *Patricians* had really purchaſed of the public domain, and ſuch as they had at firſt only taken as farms in their own or borrowed names, and afterwards mingled and confounded with their rightful patrimony. A long preſcription concealed from the moſt ſtrict enquiry the knowledge of theſe ſeveral uſurpations. The *Patricians* had afterwards ſhared out theſe lands among their children, and theſe eſtates now grown hereditary, were paſſed through various families by ſucceſſion or purchaſe. Nay, ſome rich *Plebeians* poſſeſſed part of them, which they had honeſtly bought; ſo that there ſeemed to be no way to touch upon this affair, without occaſioning a general confuſion in the Republic.

Æmilius, without any regard to inconveniencies ſo well worth conſideration, ſtill obſtinately inſiſted upon the publication of the Law. He was very deſirous of making it a merit with the People, that it was paſs'd during his Conſulate; and he was ſeconded by ſome antient Senators, who looked upon the mediocrity of the fortunes of private perſons and equality of wealth to be the ſtrongeſt ſupports of the public liberty. But the majority, and eſpecially thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the public lands, complained much of this liberality of *Æmilius*, who would make his court to the People at the expence of others. What was very extraordinary, even Senators on this occaſion were ſeen to be wanting of reſpect to one of the heads of the Senate and chief Magiſtrates of the Republic; for they came at length to invectives and abuſes; and many of the Aſſembly reproached him that he acted not ſo much like a Conſul as a ſeditious Tribune. *Fabius*, his Collegue, to prevent the conſequences of theſe diviſions, thought of an expedient which diſpleaſed neither party.

Moſt of the inhabitants of the City of *Antium* had periſhed in the laſt war. *Fabius*, to pacify the *Roman* People, whom extreme want and the ſeditious ſpeeches of their Tribunes had now made furious, propoſed to ſend part of the pooreſt Citizens of *Rome* by way of colony to *Antium*, and to divide among them ſome adjoining lands which had been taken from the *Volſci*. This advice was at firſt received with great applauſe by the meaner ſort of People, who are always greedy of novelties. *T. Quinctius*, *A. Virginius*, and *P. Furius*, were immediately appointed, to make the eſtabliſhment of this colony. But when the *Plebeians* were to give in their names to thoſe Triumvirs, few of them appeared: *Rome* had too many charms to detain its inhabitants; no body cared for leaving it. The games, the ſpectacles, the public aſſemblies, the hurry of buſineſs, the ſhare the People had in the Government, every thing contributed to tie the Citizens to their old abode, let their poverty be never ſo great. A

colony

colony was looked upon to be no better than an honourable baniſhment; and the moſt wretched *Plebeians* choſe rather to live at *Rome* in indigence, and in the expectation of one day ſharing in the public lands, which they had been ſo long flattered with hopes of, than to be actually in poſſeſſion of land in a rich colony; ſo that the Triumvirs, to make up the number appointed for the colony, were forced to admit of ſtrangers and ſtragglers that offered themſelves, in order to get a habitation. The only advantage drawn from this ſettlement, was, that thoſe among the People who had refuſed to go, could not for ſhame meddle any more in the affair of the Partition of the Lands. Y. of *R.* 286. Bef *J.C.* 466. 43 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.* B. 9.

And now *Fabius* marched an army againſt the *Æqui*, and *Æmilius* another againſt the *Sabines*. The expedition of the latter had nothing remarkable in it; but the *Æqui* ſubmitted to *Fabius*, firſt bought a truce very dear, and then obtained a peace, on the condition of being ſubject to the Republic.

Nevertheleſs in the following Conſulſhip of *Sp. Poſthumius*, and *Q. Servilius* *, ſome of the *Æqui* joined the old inhabitants of *Antium* (who being deprived of their lands had taken refuge among them) and ravaged the Territory of the *Latines*. Theſe faithful Allies of *Rome* were not allowed to arm in their own defence, nor would the *Romans* ſend their troops to defend them. The Senate choſe rather to appoint a deputation to the Council of the *Æqui*; and *Fabius*, who had made the peace with them, was at the head of the embaſſy. He perceived by the indirect anſwers they made to his demands, that they had no intention to give the Republic ſatisfaction, but only to amuſe him. Under pretence therefore of viſiting their temples and public buildings, he examined their magazines of arms and proviſions, ſome of which he found full, and others filling. The report he made at his return of the preparations for war, which the *Æqui* in conjunction with the fugitive *Antiates* were carrying on, induced the Republic to chuſe two Conſuls for the next year, whoſe names were formidable to thoſe two Nations, *T. Quinctius*, who had conquered *Antium* in his ſecond Conſulate, and *Q. Fabius*, who had forced the *Æqui* to ſue for peace, in his firſt. *Fabius* who was ordered to march againſt the *Æqui*, tried firſt in vain to reduce them by negotiation. The two Conſuls then joined their forces, and came to a bloody battle with the enemy, near *Algidum*, fifteen miles from *Rome*, but with little advantage to either ſide. Y. of *R.* 287. Bef. *J.C.* 465. 44 Conſulſhip. *A 2d time Conſ. Y. of *R.* 288. Bef. *J.C.* 464. 45 Conſulſhip.

In the following Conſulſhip of *A. Poſthumius* and *Sp. Furius*, men little ſkilled in the buſineſs of war, the latter commanded the army againſt the *Æqui*, while the former ſtay'd behind to cover the Country. *Furius* encamped imprudently, engaged raſhly with the enemy, and was defeated; after which he was ſo cloſely beſieged by them in his camp, that not a man could go out to give notice at *Rome* of his danger. However the Senate had advice of it, and in ſo great a diſtreſs, reſolved upon an expedient, never uſed but in great extremity. They gave up the *Roman* Government abſolutely into the other Conſul's hands, by theſe words: *Videret Conſul ne quid Reſpublica detrimenti caperet*; i. e. *Let the Conſul take care that the Republic* Y. of *R.* 289. Bef. *J.C.* 463. 46 Conſulſhip.

Y. of *R.* 289. Bef. *J. C.* 463. 46 Conſulſhip.

Republic ſuffer no detriment. *Poſthumius*, who received this commiſſion, made all take arms, who were able, and gave *T. Quinctius* the command of the army, with the title of Pro-conſul. As ſoon as *Quinctius* came within ſight of the inveſted camp, the *Æqui* left the attack, and retired in haſte; but *Furius* had before made a ſally, in which his brother *L. Furius* and two Cohorts, conſiſting of a thouſand men, had been ſurrounded by the enemy and all ſlain, having choſen rather to die fighting, than ſurrender their arms. The Conſul being now equal in numbers to the enemy, acted upon the offenſive, and obliged them to retire into their own Country. *Poſthumius* likewiſe attacked a numerous body of their pillagers loaded with ſpoil, and made a great ſlaughter of them: And by theſe ſucceſſes *Rome* was again in tranquillity.

Y. of *R.* 290. Bef. *J. C.* 462. 47 Conſulſhip.

But the next year, when [a] *P. Servilius Priſcus* and *L. Æbutius Elva* were raiſed to the Conſulſhip, a dreadful Plague ſwept away almoſt all the flower of the *Roman* youth, and a fourth part of the Senators. The dead were ſo numerous, that they were thrown into the *Tyber*, without burial. Upon the news of this mortality, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* entered into a league againſt *Rome*, which they propoſed to beſiege. They began the war with committing hoſtilities in the territories of the *Latines* and *Hernici*. Theſe Allies applied to the *Roman* Senate for ſuccour; but their deputies found *Æbutius* breathing his laſt, and *Servilius* not far from death. However the latter made himſelf be carried to the Senate-Houſe, whither ſome of the Senators likewiſe crawled; but all they could do, was to give leave to the Allies to arm and defend themſelves, and to promiſe them aſſiſtance in better times. The *Latines* and *Hernici* were forced therefore to ſhut themſelves up in their towns, and leave their country open to the ravages of the enemy, who at length appeared before *Rome*. The two Conſuls were dead, together with the greateſt part of the Tribunes of the People, and the reſt unable to give any help, either with their hands or advice; ſo that the *Ædiles* were the only Magiſtrates in a condition to aſſiſt the Republic. But notwithſtanding ſo many calamities, the *Romans* ſeemed to have loſt nothing of their ancient ſteadineſs. They crept to the ramparts, and put a good face upon their affairs. The very Senators mounted the guard and ſtood Centinels, and the City was ſtrong on every ſide. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* at length laid aſide their project of a ſiege, and marched their forces towards *Tuſculum*. In the mean time the Plague ſtill raged, the People turned their thoughts wholly to divine aſſiſtance, all made their vows upon the altars, the Ladies ſwept the Temples with their hair, and continued proſtrate in the preſence of the Gods; 'till at length a more wholeſome ſeaſon put an end to the diſtemper, and *Rome* into a

[a] It is not abſolutely certain in what month of the year the Conſuls entered upon their Office, from *Brutus* to this time. *Livy* tells us that *Servilius* and *Æbutius* entered upon the Conſulſhip the firſt of *Auguſt*. It will appear in the ſequel of this Hiſtory, that down to the 600th year of *Rome*, the Conſular years began in different months, ſometimes in *July*, ſometimes in *December*, and ſometimes in *March*. Afterwards they began the firſt of *January*, and continued ſo to do as long as the Republic laſted.

condition

condition to apply herſelf to affairs. Several *Patricians* had preſided in the *Interregnum*, ſince the death of the Conſuls; and now *Valerius Poplicola*, being *Interrex*, aſſembled the People by *Centuries*, for the election of new ones, and the *Comitia* choſe *Lucretius Tricipitinus* and *T. Veturius Geminus*. Y. of *R.* 291.

Paſt afflictions had neither corrected the factious ſpirit of the *Romans*, nor diminiſhed their ardour againſt the enemy abroad. The Tribunes of the Commons were for immediately reviving the diſputes about the diviſion of the lands, but the People were more eager upon revenging the inſults they had ſuffered from the *Æqui* and *Volſci* the laſt year. Even thoſe Citizens, whom the Laws exempted from going to war, neglected their privileges, and voluntarily inliſted themſelves for the ſervice: So that the two Conſular Armies were preſently formed, and it was *Lucretius*'s fortune to engage with the confederates, and give them a dreadful overthrow; they loſt 13460 men in the battle and in their flight after it; and they were ſoon after defeated again by the forces of the two Conſuls united. So that the campaign, which followed the moſt unfortunate year, that the Republic had known, raiſed her to a more flouriſhing condition than ever. Bef. *J.C.* 461. 48 Conſulſhip.

CHAP. XX.

§. I. *During the abſence of the Conſuls from* Rome, Terentius Arſa, *one of the Tribunes, propoſes to the People, that there ſhould be an eſtabliſhment of* FIXED LAWS to be the RULE to the Magiſtrates in deciding cauſes between man and man. §. II. Q. Fabius, *Governour of the City, warmly oppoſes it, and ſends to the Conſuls to return to* Rome. Terentius *on their arrival ſuſpends the purſuit of his deſign.* §. III. *But the affair is revived in the ſucceeding Conſulate of* P. Volumnius *and* S. Sulpitius. *Great conteſts about it. A ſtop put to it by prodigies and ill omens.* §. IV. *The Law is again propoſed. The contending parties come to blows.* Quinctius Cæſo, *the ſon of* Quinctius Cincinnatus, *is cited before the Commons for the violent part he had acted in thoſe ſcuffles.* §. V. *He has not courage to appear on the day appointed for his trial. His uncle* T. Quinctius *appears for him.* Cæſo *is falſely accuſed of murder. The deciſion of the cauſe is deferred to another day; before the coming of which,* Cæſo *baniſhes himſelf.*

§. I. WHILE the two Conſuls *Veturius* and *Lucretius* were in the field, purſuing the advantages they had gained over the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, a certain Tribune of the People named *C. Terentius*[a] *Arſa*, took the opportunity of their abſence to ſignalize his acceſſion to the Tribunate by advancing new propo-

[a] *Livy* calls him *Terentillus*.

Y. of *R.* 291. Bef. *J.C.* 461. 48 Conſulſhip.

ſals. This man having obſerved that the Conſuls obſtructed from time to time, by their authority, the publication of moſt of the Laws propoſed in favour of the People, buſied his thoughts how to weaken and reduce a power that was a perpetual object of envy and emulation to the Tribunes. He demanded in full Aſſembly, that bounds ſhould be ſet to the Conſular authority, with regard to public affairs; and that there ſhould alſo be an eſtabliſhment of Laws fixed and invariable, for the Conſuls to be governed by in deciding the conteſts that aroſe between man and man.

In order to judge of the importance of this ſecond propoſal, it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that during the Regal State of *Rome* the ſole will of the King had been inſtead of Law in all private cauſes. As the Conſuls ſucceeded to the regal power, they likewiſe ſucceeded to the ſame ſupreme right of diſtributing juſtice, and regulated their ſentences either by the principles of natural equity, or by ancient uſages; or elſe by the Laws of *Romulus* and his ſucceſſors, ſome footſteps whereof were ſtill to be found in the ſacred Books that were lodged with the *Pontifices*, which none but *Patricians* were admitted to ſee. The People knew but little of the matter; moſt of them being employ'd abroad in the wars, or in cultivating the lands, rarely came to town but on market days about their domeſtic concerns, or to be preſent at the *Comitia* and other public Aſſemblies, which were holden only on thoſe days. They referred all their differences to the judgment of the Conſuls, who always made a myſtery to the People of thoſe firſt elements of their ſcience of Law.

The death of a great number of *Patricians*, who had been ſwept away by the Plague, and the abſence of the two Conſuls who were actually at the head of the armies, ſeemed to be a favourable conjuncture for *Terentius* to make an innovation in the Government. He repreſented to the People, that the *Patrician* Magiſtrates were abſolute Maſters of each man's fortune; that whenever any conteſt aroſe between a *Patrician* and a *Plebeian*, the latter was ſure to come by the worſt; that he not only loſt his cauſe, but was debarred the conſolation of knowing whether he had right or wrong done him; and he concluded with moving for an immediate eſtabliſhment of Laws, known by every body, to ſerve for a rule to the Magiſtrates in their ſentences, and to the Litigants for proofs of the juſtice or injuſtice of their cauſe.

Livy, B. 3.

He urged with great vehemence, that the authority exerciſed by the Conſuls was inſupportable in a free City; that at the ſame time that they thought themſelves above the Laws, they avenged the infringement of them in their inferiors and the common People with the moſt cruel puniſhments. That abroad and at the head of the armies they always made war with an abſolute authority, and ſometimes even peace, without ſo much as conſulting the Senate, to whom merely for form ſake they afterwards gave an account of their adminiſtration. That thus they had all the deſpotic power of Kings, and only wanted the name. But that to prevent their domination from degenerating at length into a perpetual Tyranny, he demanded that

a choice ſhould be made of five of the beſt men in the Republic, who ſhould be authorized to reſtrain within due bounds a power ſo exceſſive; ſo that the Conſuls, for the future, might have no other authority over their fellow Citizens, but what thoſe very Citizens ſhould think fit to entruſt them with. Y. of *R.* 291. Bef. *J. C.* 461. 48 Conſulſhip.

§. II. THE Senators were all ſurpriz'd and ſtunn'd at ſuch bold propoſals: They then found, tho' too late, the truth of what the two *Appius's* had ſo often foretold them, that the People, after experiencing the weakneſs of the Senate by ſo many Laws extorted from it in their favour, would at length openly attack its authority by ſtriking at that of the Conſuls, who were the chief ſupport of it. Happily for the Senate, Q. *Fabius*, who had been twice in the ſupreme Magiſtracy, was at this time, in the abſence of the Conſuls, Governour of *Rome*; a man of an intrepid ſpirit, and firmly attach'd to the Laws and Conſtitution of the Republic. Finding the Conſular Dignity in danger of being ruined by that enterpriſing Tribune, he diſpatched away meſſengers privately to give the Conſuls notice of what had happened, and to conjure them to haſten back to *Rome* with all expedition. He then convened the Senate, and inveighed againſt the innovation propoſed by *Terentius*, urging that there was no better rule to go by in judicial matters, than what had hitherto been obſerved, natural reaſon, the principles of equity, and good ſenſe; and that multiplicity of Laws would ſerve only to obſcure the truth of things, and be attended with fatal conſequences to the Republic. He afterwards inſinuated with much ſmoothneſs, that even tho' ſuch changes ſhould be thought neceſſary, it was neither honourable nor juſt in the Citizens at home, to proceed to a deciſion in the abſence of the two Conſuls, and of that part of the People which compoſed their armies. That when theſe returned home, they might juſtly reſent the hurrying on of an affair of ſuch conſequence, which as it affected each particular man, ought not to be determined but in a general Aſſembly of the whole *Roman* People. That the Conſuls, as the Heads of the Republic, would undoubtedly proteſt againſt whatever ſhould be decreed without their participation. But, that ſo ſoon as thoſe two ſupreme Magiſtrates appeared in the Senate, and the whole People were got together, ſuch meaſures might be concerted as ſhould be moſt conducive to the preſervation and welfare of the Republic. *Fabius* then ſpoke with great vehemence againſt the Author of theſe new Propoſals. He ſaid, that *Terentius* took advantage of the abſence of the Conſuls to attack the Republic; and that if the year before, while the plague and a war laid waſte the City of *Rome* and its Territory, the Gods in their wrath had permitted that ſeditious Tribune to be in Office, the Commonwealth would never have been able to bear up under ſuch heavy calamities; that doubtleſs *Terentius* would have come at the head of the *Æqui* and *Volſci* and deſtroyed *Rome*, or at leaſt have changed the form of its Government, tho' founded under ſuch happy auſpices. Then ſoftning his ſtyle a little, he addreſſed his ſpeech to the other Tribunes, and *T. Liv.* B. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 10.

Y. of *R.* 291. Bef. *J.C.* 461. 48 Conſulſhip. conjured them by the ſafety of their Country, to attempt no Innovation till the return of the Conſuls.

The greater part of the Tribunes, overcome by his intreaties and the ſolidity of his reaſons, inſiſted no longer on the firſt demand of *Terentius* concerning the limitation of the Conſuls power. Or perhaps the true cauſe why they waved the deſign of leſſening the Conſular Authority, was their hopes of riſing ſome time or other to that poſt themſelves. But they perſiſted in demanding a choice to be made from among the Senators and *Plebeians* of proper perſons, to compoſe and form a body of Laws, for determining ſuits among the Citizens. However, upon the inſtances of *Fabius* they conſented to ſuſpend the proſecution of this affair alſo, and the Conſuls at their return found the City quiet.

Y. of *R.* 292. Bef. *J.C.* 460. 49 Conſulſhip. §. III. THIS tranquillity continued not long. No ſooner were the next year's Conſuls, *P. Volumnius* and *S. Sulpicius*, entered upon their office, than all the five Tribunes, of whom *Virginius* was the moſt zealous, (*Terentius* being out) uſed their utmoſt efforts to get the new Law paſſed. At the ſame time the *Hernici*, who were in alliance with the *Roman* People, gave intelligence that their Neighbours the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were ſecretly arming, and that the new Colony of *Antium* was entered into that confederacy. It has been already related, that for want of a ſufficient number of *Roman* Citizens willing to ſettle in that Colony, it was filled with People picked up from different parts, *Latines*, *Hernici*, and *Tuſcans*; ſome *Volſcians* too had ſtolen in among them. As theſe adventurers outnumbered the *Romans*, they had a majority in the Council. They carried on a private correſpondence with the enemies of *Rome*; and though they had not as yet declared openly againſt the Republic, their fidelity began to be ſuſpected.

The Senate, to be provided againſt any ſurprize, ordered the two Conſuls forthwith to raiſe forces: This raiſing of forces was called among the *Romans*, *making a Choice*, becauſe the Citizens being all Soldiers, the Conſuls in caſe of a war had a power to chuſe ſuch as they thought proper for the ſervice. Theſe two Magiſtrates having cauſed their Tribunal to be erected in the *Forum*, cited ſuch as they had pitched upon for the War. But the Tribunes withſtood their proceeding, and revived the propoſal of *Terentius* for the compiling a body of Laws; and *Virginius*, the moſt cholerick of the Tribunes, bawled out in the *Forum*, that this pretended war was nothing but a trick of the Senate to get the People out of *Rome*, and ſo hinder them from giving their votes in an affair that ſo nearly concerned every individual.

The conteſt ran high, and gave birth to freſh commotions. There was no longer ſeen either obedience in the People, or authority in the Conſuls. Every thing was carried by meer violence: And thoſe ſupreme Magiſtrates having cauſed to be arreſted a certain *Plebeian* who refuſed to go to the war, the Tribunes reſcued him out of the Lictor's hands, and ſet him at liberty. The Conſuls fearing to expoſe the dignity of their office

office to greater inſults, quitted the *Forum*; and as the intelligence from the *Hernici* proved not to be true, they abſented themſelves for ſome time from thoſe tumultuous Aſſemblies, where the moſt violent, and ſuch as could make moſt noiſe, had the greateſt authority. The People's ears were now dinned with the abſolute neceſſity of obliging the Conſuls to regulate their judgments by a body of Laws to be publiſhed and made notorious to every man. But the Senate, under pretence of adhering to ancient uſages, would by no means part with the cuſtom of giving judgment in an arbitrary manner. Y. of *R.* 292. Bef. *J.C.* 460. 49 Conſulſhip.

The courſe of this important affair was for ſome time interrupted by violent earthquakes which were felt this year, and by fiery exhalations ſeen in the air. Theſe *Phenomena*, purely natural, were by the vulgar looked upon as forerunners of new and great Calamities. Every one was full of ſiniſter preſages, which ſuperſtition and fear helped to multiply. Some had ſeen apparitions ſhifting each moment into a thouſand forms; others had heard ſupernatural voices in the night time. There are eminent Hiſtorians, who have not ſcrupled to report upon the veracity of theſe Viſionaries, that it rained raw fleſh, and that while it was falling down piecemeal like ſnow, birds of prey caught it in the air with their Talons. Recourſe was preſently had to the Oracles; the books of the *Sybils* were conſulted. The depoſitaries of thoſe ſacred books, all *Patricians*, gave out that *Rome* was threatened with a ſiege, by ſome formidable Power, that would take advantage of its inteſtine diviſions. This prediction ſeemed to be copied after what had lately happened in *Coriolanus*'s enterpriſe; and the Tribunes probably ſuſpected the Prieſts had modelled their anſwer by the views and intereſts of the Senate. But the Populace, who thought that what had been might be, and who dreaded to ſee a ſecond *Coriolanus* at the gates of *Rome*, obliged their Tribunes to have a Conference with the Senate, in order to contrive ſome way or other to put an end to their contentions. Several Meetings were had, but all to no purpoſe. Neither of the parties would bate any thing of its pretenſions. *Liv.* B. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 10.

§. IV. AT length, time having diſpelled that terror which the Prieſts had infuſed into the People, the Tribunes aſſembled anew, and without conſulting the Senate, preſented to the multitude a more explicit draught of the *Terentian* Law, importing, that the People ſhould inſtantly nominate ten Commiſſioners, perſons of mature age, conſummate wiſdom, and unſpotted reputation. That the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhould be empowered to collect, and put into form, a body of Civil Laws, relating as well to public affairs, as to private differences that might ariſe between man and man. That theſe Laws ſhould be propoſed in an Aſſembly of the People, and fixed up in the *Forum Romanum*, to the end that each individual Citizen might be apprized of the ſame, and enabled to give his opinion of them. The Tribunes having opened this project, poſtponed all proceeding upon it to the third market day, that all perſons who had any thing to object to it might have time to make their remonſtrances. *D. Hal.* B. 10.

Y. of *R.* 292. Bef. *J. C.* 460. 40 Conſulſhip.

Many of the Senators, both old and young, made ſtudied harangues againſt this propoſal. It occaſioned warm Diſputes, which laſted ſeveral days. At length the Tribunes reſolved to carry their point by force. They accordingly convened another Aſſembly by Tribes, wherein the whole Senate appeared. The Heads of that body urged to the People, that it was a thing unheard of, that without a *Senatus-conſultum*, without taking the Auſpices, and without conſulting either the Gods or the prime men of the Republic, a part of the Citizens, even the moſt inconſiderable part, ſhould pretend to make Laws for all the Orders in the State. Some of the moſt moderate and moſt reaſonable of the *Plebeians* liſtened to their reaſons, and were gained over: On the other hand, the dregs of the Populace, prejudiced by their Tribunes, with great noiſe demanded the ballot; the younger Senators, and the *Patricians*, quaſhed the whole project. *Quinctius Cæſo*, ſon of *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, was at the head of them; they ruſhed into the crowd, knocked down all that ſtood in their way, and diſperſed the Aſſembly, in ſpite of all that the Tribunes could do to keep them together.

The Senators and *Patricians* beſtowed on *Cæſo* large encomiums, which only ſerved to heighten his preſumption and his rancour towards the Populace. He was a young man, tall, well ſhaped, and of an extraordinary ſtrength of body; he knew not what it was to fear, and had already ſignalized himſelf by actions of uncommon bravery in battle. As he was no leſs an Orator than a Soldier, and was always the forwardeſt to anſwer the ſeditious harangues of the Tribunes, theſe Magiſtrates, enraged to meet with ſo much oppoſition from one ſingle man, conſpired his ruin. After they had agreed among themſelves upon articles of impeachment, *A. Virginius* cauſed him to be ſummoned before the Aſſembly of the People.

So long as *Cæſo* was in the warmth of a debate, ſupported by the Senate, who flattered his vanity with their applauſes, he made ſhew of great reſolution and firmneſs. But his courage failed him at the approach of his trial; and the example of *Coriolanus* made a ſtrong impreſſion in his mind. He put on mourning, and with a countenance full of ſorrow and humiliation, he went about, begging [a] the favour of the meaneſt *Plebeian*.

§. V. THE day that his affair was to come on, he had not the reſolution to ſhew his face to the People. His father, accompanied by his relations and friends, was fain to appear for him. *A. Virginius* opened his accuſation with reflections upon *Cæſo*'s imperious temper, his want of reſpect for the Aſſemblies of the People, and the outrages he had committed upon private perſons. "And what will become of our liberty (cry'd the "Tribune) when the *Patricians* ſhall have advanced to the Conſulate this "young ambitious man, who now in his private capacity already cauſes "juſt alarms to his Country, by his violent and audacious deeds?" He

[a] This is *Livy*'s account.

Dionyſius ſays nothing of the timorous behaviour of *Cæſo*; but on the contrary, that when he was called upon to plead, he refuſed to own the juriſdiction of the Aſſembly, offering at the ſame time to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of the Conſuls, his only lawful Judges.

then produced all the *Plebeians* who had been injured by *Cæſo*, and who demanded juſtice. His relations and friends, inſtead of going about to clear him of thoſe pretended violences, anſwered the Tribunes invectives by praiſing the accuſed. Some recounted all the battles wherein he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf; others named the ſeveral Citizens whoſe lives he had preſerved in thoſe battles; *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice Conſul, ſaid, he had carried him to the war with him; that he had often ſeen him in ſingle combat vanquiſh the braveſt of the Enemy; and that he always looked on him as the prime Soldier of the Army. *Lucretius*, who had been Conſul the preceding year, added, that it was for the intereſt of the Republic to preſerve ſo accompliſhed a Citizen; that age and experience would make him more prudent, and would by degrees correct that impetuoſity of ſpirit, which rendered him odious to the People. His father *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, a man highly eſteemed and reſpected in the Republic, begged of the Aſſembly to grant a ſon to a father whom no Citizen could ever accuſe of having done him wrong; and his intreaties did not fail to make a ſenſible impreſſion upon the multitude: But *Virginius*, who was bent upon *Cæſo*'s deſtruction, anſwered *Cincinnatus*, that his ſon was the more guilty, inaſmuch as he neglected to improve by the example of ſuch a father. He added, "You, *Quinctius*, are without doubt in a great meaſure ignorant of the crimes and miſdemeanours "of this unworthy ſon, who is no leſs a reproach to you, than a plague "to his Country: but that both you and this Aſſembly may be better "acquainted with his cruel and bloody deeds, I beg that my Collegue, "*M. Volſcius*, be heard in what he has to offer by way of private com-"plaint againſt him; and I hope the People will not leave unavenged "one of their own Magiſtrates, who has been ſo great a ſufferer by him."

Y. of *R.* 292. Bef. *J. C* 460. 49 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 10.

Then *Volſcius* aſcending the *Roſtra*, to act the part that had been before concerted between them, and directing his ſpeech to the People, ſaid, "I could have wiſhed it had been in my power ſooner to have brought "my complaints for the death of a moſt dear brother whom *Cæſo* killed "in my arms. But the cuſtomary violences of this young man, together "with the intereſt and credit of his family, made me but too ſenſible of "what I had myſelf to fear from ſuch a proſecution. If I come too late "to be his accuſer, you cannot but give the hearing at leaſt to the ſad "teſtimony I bear of his cruelty and tyranny. It was under the Con-"ſulate of *L. Æbutius* and *P. Servilius*; returning home one evening, "my brother and I, from a friend's houſe where we had ſupped, we "met, hard by the public ſtews, *Cæſo*, full of wine, and accompanied, "according to his cuſtom, with ſeveral young *Patricians*, inſolent as him-"ſelf, and who, I ſuppoſe, had been making a debauch together in thoſe "houſes of proſtitution. They at firſt attacked us with abuſive language, "which I indeed was for taking no notice of. But my brother, leſs pa-"tient than myſelf, anſwered them as a man of ſpirit would do; *Cæſo* "inſtantly fell upon him, and being much the ſtronger man, he ſo bruiſed "him with his fiſts and his feet, notwithſtanding my prayers and intrea-

"ties,

Y. of *R.* 292. Bef *J.C.* 460. 49 Conſulſhip.

" ties, which were the only weapons I had, that he expired upon the " ſpot. I could not carry my complaints to the Conſuls, they dying the " ſame year of the Plague. *L. Lucretius* and *T. Veturius*, their ſucceſſors, " were a long time in the field. At their return I prepared to bring my " action. But *Cæſo* hearing of my deſign, came upon me one night un- " awares in a by-place, and ſtriking me down, repeated his blows ſo " thick, that to avoid my brother's fate, I was forced to promiſe him " never to mention what had befallen either of us."

The People were ſo exaſperated at this ſtory, that, without examining into the truth of the fact, they were going immediately to condemn *Cæſo* to die; but *A. Virginius*, who was the manager of this whole villany, thought fit to cloath it with the appearance of juſtice, and to proceed in the ordinary forms to deſtroy the accuſed: he moved, that ſince *Volſcius* had not his witneſſes at hand, *Cæſo* ſhould be ſecured and impriſoned till ſuch time as his crime could be proved. *T. Quinctius* hereupon repreſented to the Aſſembly, that it was a thing unheard of in the Republic, that upon a bare accuſation, a Citizen who was perhaps innocent ſhould be immediately arreſted and carried to jail; and that this new method of procedure would ſtrike at the public liberty. But the Tribune maintained, that ſuch a precaution was neceſſary, in order to prevent ſo great an offender from eſcaping the juſtice of the People. The queſtion was debated with much intemperance of ſpeech on both ſides. In the end, it was concluded, that the party accuſed ſhould remain in liberty, but that ten Citizens ſhould be bound [a] to produce him on the day he was to be tried, or to pay a fine of 3000 [b] *Aſſes* of braſs. *Cæſo*, though innocent, durſt not truſt himſelf to the judgment of the People, but departing from *Rome* that very night, retired into *Hetruria*. The Tribunes hearing of his flight, exacted the fine with ſo much rigour, that *Quinctius*, the father of *Cæſo*, having ſold the beſt part of his eſtate, on that account, was forced to baniſh himſelf to a poor cottage on the other ſide the *Tyber*; and there with his own hands to cultivate five or ſix acres of land, which were all he had to live upon, and which from his name were afterwards called, the *Quinctian Meadows*.

[a] This is the firſt time that we read of bail given for appearance in public and capital caſes. [b] About 9*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* according to *Arbuthnot*.

CHAP. XXI.

§. I. *Notwithſtanding the violent proceedings of the Tribunes againſt* Cæſo, *the Patricians keep ſteady in their oppoſition to the* Terentian Law; *and the better to maintain their ground, they get* C. Claudius *(brother of that* Appius Claudius, *who killed himſelf) into the Conſulſhip.* (P. Valerius, *now a ſecond time Conſul, is given him for a Collegue.*) *The Tribunes deſpairing of victory in a fair open conteſt, combine together to deſtroy the better part*

of the Senate; and in order thereto, pretend to have diſcovered a Plot upon the public liberty. Claudius *expoſes their malice and forgeries before the People, and thereby quaſhes their wicked deſign.*

§. I. THE Tribunes believed now that the Senate muſt inevitably ſtoop to them, and flattered themſelves with hopes of ſeeing the *Terentian* Law forthwith eſtabliſhed; but as it was an affair that concerned almoſt all the Great, the Nobility united themſelves more cloſely together after the diſgrace of the ſon of *Quinctius:* And no ſooner was the ſcheme of a body of Laws mentioned, but there ſprung up as it were a thouſand *Cæſo's*, all oppoſing it with the ſame intrepidity. The time being come for chuſing new Conſuls, the Senate and *Patricians* in conjunction, procured that dignity for *Caius Claudius*, brother of that *Appius Claudius* who killed himſelf. They pitched upon this Senator for the Conſulate, becauſe without having any thing of the harſh temper and haughty manner of his brother, he was equally ſteady to the intereſts of his Order. They aſſigned him for Collegue *P. Valerius*, who having once before been Conſul, was therefore named firſt Conſul in this election. *D Hal.* B.10. Y. of *R.* 293. Bef. *J.C.* 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

The Tribunes plainly ſaw by this combination of the whole Nobility, that even tho' they ſhould every year deſtroy one or other of the *Patricians* by different accuſations, they would never get the better of a body wherein there was no leſs harmony than power. Therefore without loſing time in legally proſecuting ſuch of the *Patricians* as ſhewed the moſt zeal in oppoſing the *Terentian* Law, they ſecretly formed the execrable deſign of deſtroying at one ſtroke the better part of the Senate, together with all ſuch of the *Patricians* as were obnoxious to them, or ſuſpected by them, on account either of their wealth or intereſt. In order to effect ſo deteſtable a project, their Emiſſaries were ſent about to whiſper among the rabble, as if ſome great deſign was ſecretly hatching againſt their liberty. Such flying reports paſſing from mouth to mouth, and being every time ſwelled with ſome additional circumſtances more and more dreadful, in the end filled the whole City with inquietude and diſtruſt.

The Tribunes ſeeing the People's minds prejudiced, and in a preparation to receive any impreſſion they would give them, cauſed a letter to be delivered to themſelves in public. While they were ſitting in their Tribunal, a ſtranger came, and having in ſight of all the People preſented them a letter, was gone again in an inſtant, vaniſhing away among the crowd. The Tribunes lay'd their heads together, and read it to themſelves; and tho' they knew well enough beforehand every word it contained, yet they put on an air of ſurprize, the better to excite the curioſity of the People, and make them more uneaſy. Then riſing from their ſeats, and having cauſed ſilence to be proclaimed by the Crier, *Virginius*, with looks full of conſternation, addreſſing himſelf to the Aſſembly, ſpoke thus, "The *Roman* People is threatened with the moſt dreadful calamity that "can poſſibly befal them: And if the Gods, who are protectors of inno- "cence, *D. Hal.* B.10.

Y. of *R.* 293. Bef. *J. C.* 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

" cence, had not diſcovered the wicked deſigns of our enemies, we had " been all loſt." He added, that he muſt make the Conſuls acquainted with the thing, and that he would then return to the Aſſembly, and give them an account of what ſhould be reſolved on by the Senate.

While theſe Magiſtrates were gone to ſpeak to the Conſuls, their Emiſſaries, who had diſperſed themſelves up and down in the Aſſembly, put about various reports, all tending to make the *Patricians* more odious to the multitude. Some ſaid in general, that for a long time paſt there had been but too much reaſon to ſuſpect ſome dangerous plot was contriving againſt the People's liberty; others, as if they knew more of the matter, affirmed that the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, in conjunction with the *Patricians*, were to put *Cæſo* at their head, like another *Coriolanus*; that with their aſſiſtance he was to return again to *Rome* to revenge himſelf on his enemies, and aboliſh the Tribuneſhip; and that afterwards the towns and lands which had been taken from the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, were to be reſtored to them as a reward for their ſervices: Some affirmed that *Cæſo* was not gone out of *Rome*: That they had been told he was concealed by one of the Conſuls, and that his Purpoſe was to aſſaſſinate the Tribunes ſome night in their beds. That all the young *Patricians* were concerned in this plot; and that the letter juſt now delivered into the hands of the Tribunes, doubtleſs contained advice and proofs of it. In ſhort, theſe Creatures of the Tribunes made it their buſineſs to talk in a doleful ſtrain about this myſterious letter, with intent to keep up the People's prejudice, and increaſe the hatred they bore to the *Patricians*.

The Tribunes being arrived at the Senate, *Virginius*, who was ſpokesman, addreſſed himſelf to the Conſuls and Senators, in words to this effect: " Some time ago, *Conſcript Fathers*, we had ſtrange rumours in " this City of a plot upon the liberty of the People: But as they were with- " out vouchers, we looked upon them as empty ſtories begot by fear and " idleneſs. We afterwards received intimations that were ſomewhat more " coherent and circumſtantial; but as theſe likewiſe were without any " Author's name, we did not think them deſerving enough of your no- " tice, and therefore forbore to report them to you: At the ſame time, " that nothing might be left undone in an affair of this conſequence, we " cauſed enquiry to be made privately; whereby we came at ſufficient to- " kens of a conſpiracy, tho' we could not diſcover the aim, the chief " manager, or the accomplices of it. At length, not above two hours " ago, we were let into this dreadful myſtery. A letter which we re- " ceived, as we were ſitting in our Tribunal, informs us that there is in- " deed a conſpiracy, and it lays open the deſign of the Conſpirators. The " firſt indications which we had of a plot, concur exactly with the intel- " ligence contained in this letter. In ſo imminent a danger, wherein to " loſe time in deliberating how to puniſh this crime, would be almoſt as " bad as the crime itſelf, we haſtened, as in duty bound, to come and " give you information of it, and to lay before you ſuch things as will " make your ears tingle to hear.

" Know

" Know then, Conſcript Fathers, we have received a letter which ad- Y. of *R.* 293.
" viſes us of perſons of the higheſt rank, Senators and Knights, too ma- Bef. *J. C.* 459.
" ny to be now particularly named, who have reſolved abſolutely to abo- 50 Conſulſhip.
" liſh the Tribunate, and all the rights and privileges of the People. That
" to compaſs ſuch deteſtable deſigns, they have agreed that *Cæſo Quinctii-*
" *us*, at the head of a body of *Æqui* and *Volſci*, ſhall ſecretly and by night
" come to one of the gates of *Rome*, which his accomplices are to keep
" open for him; that he ſhall be introduced without noiſe into the City;
" and that the principal Conſpirators, divided into different bands, and
" favoured by the darkneſs, ſhall attack by ſurprize the houſes of the Tri-
" bunes, and in one night murder us all, together with the principal of
" the People, and ſuch as in the Aſſemblies were wont to expreſs moſt
" zeal for the defence of liberty.

" We conjure you, Conſcript Fathers, not to give us up to the rage of
" theſe cut-throats. In order to prevent their evil Deſigns, we hope
" you will not refuſe us a *Senatus-conſultum*, impowering us to make far-
" ther inquiry into this Conſpiracy, and to ſecure its chief conductors. It
" is highly reaſonable that the Magiſtrates of the People ſhould be the per-
" ſons employ'd to take cognizance of what concerns the preſervation of
" the People, and that ſuch a Decree as we demand be immediately granted,
" without loſing time, as is too often the caſe, in long and laboured
" ſpeeches upon the matter: The leaſt delay were dangerous: Who
" knows but this very night may be pitched upon for the execution of the
" bloody deſign? They muſt be Conſpirators themſelves who are againſt
" enquiring into the Conſpiracy."

There was not a ſingle Senator who did not abhor the very thought of ſo execrable an enterpriſe as the Tribunes pretended to have diſcovered. The Aſſembly was nevertheleſs divided about the anſwer to be given *Virginius*. The more timorous were apprehenſive that a refuſal would irritate the People, and raiſe a ſedition. But thoſe, on the contrary, who had more firmneſs of mind, repreſented, that it was no leſs dangerous to grant the Tribunes a *Senatus-conſultum*, than to put arms into the hands of raging mad-men, who would immediately employ them againſt the chief of the Senate. In this diverſity of opinions, *C. Claudius*, one of the Conſuls, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to *Virginius*, declared that he did not oppoſe the enquiry demanded; that he even conſented the *Plebeian* Magiſtrates ſhould be the Inquiſitors; but that firſt of all he was for examining whether the Conſpiracy were real, or only imaginary: " Let us know,
" *ſaid he*, who ſent that myſterious letter which you received in your Tri-
" bunal, and who are the Senators and Knights named in it. Surely
" we have time enough to hear the names of thoſe great criminals. Where
" is the bearer of this foul accuſation againſt the principal men in the Re-
" public? Why don't you produce him, that we may examine him? It is
" ſurpriſing that you have not already made us ſenſible of that wonderful
" concurrence which there is between the firſt indications you had of a
" Conſpiracy being on foot, and the Letter which acquaints you with the

Y. of *R.* 293. Bef. *J. C.* 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

" heads and accomplices of it? Could you poſſibly imagine that the Se-
" nate would deliver over our moſt illuſtrious Citizens to your fury, upon
" a bare accuſation by Letter, without any kind of Proofs?

" Yes, Conſcript Fathers, the Tribunes flattered themſelves you would
" do this; and the eaſineſs with which you lately ſuffered us to be robb'd
" of *Cæſo*, made thoſe ſeditious Magiſtrates entertain a notion, that under
" ſo weak a Government they might venture at any thing. Here is the
" ground of this chimerical Conſpiracy with which they thought to frigh-
" ten us; if the State be in any danger, it is only from theſe Seducers of
" the People, who while they ſet up for the Defenders of the publick Li-
" berty are indeed its greateſt Enemies."

This diſcourſe pronounced reſolutely by a Conſul, whoſe penetration and probity were univerſally known, quite ſtunned the Tribunes. They went out from the Senate with no leſs ſhame than fury. Repairing ſtrait to the Aſſembly of the People, who waited for them, they began to inveigh moſt bitterly againſt both Senate and Conſuls.

But *C. Claudius* followed them, and immediately aſcended the *Roſtra*. Armed with that confidence which flows from truth, he attacked the impoſtors in preſence of the People in the ſame manner he had juſt done before the Senate, and ſpoke with ſo much ſtrength and eloquence, that the better ſort among the Audience were entirely convinced, that the Conſpiracy, about which the Tribunes made ſo much noiſe, was only an artifice invented by themſelves, to have it in their power to deſtroy their enemies. The undiſtinguiſhing Rabble, however, continued in their firſt perſuaſion, and the Tribunes took great care to ſupport the belief of an error which gave them an opportunity of ſignalizing their zeal for the Peoples preſervation.

CHAP. XXII.

§. I. *Theſe civil broils among the* Romans *encourage one* HERDONIUS *a private* Sabine *to attempt the conqueſt of* Rome. *At the head of* 4000 *men he ſurprizes the Capitol. The Tribunes take advantage of this publick diſtreſs, and before they will conſent to let the People arm, inſiſt upon a promiſe from the Conſuls, that they will no longer oppoſe the paſſing of the* Terentian Law. Claudius *rejects the condition, but* Valerius *makes the promiſe required, and prevails with the People to march againſt the Enemy, and take an oath not to lay down their arms without the Conſuls leave.* Valerius *is killed in the attack of the Capitol. Nevertheleſs the* Romans *carry the place, and* Herdonius *is ſlain.*

§. I. IN the midſt of theſe inteſtine troubles and commotions, *Rome* was upon the brink of falling under a foreign yoke. A private *Sabine* named *Appius Herdonius*, a man of diſtinction in his own country for his birth, wealth, and the great number of clients who

who were devoted to his ſervice, laid a Scheme to reduce the *Roman* Republic under his obedience. Ambitious, bold, and enterprizing, he imagined it was not impracticable to ſurprize the City, during the diviſions between the People and the Senate. He reckoned that he ſhould be joined by all the *Roman* Exiles, cauſe an inſurrection of the Slaves, and even engage the common People to declare for him, by entertaining them with hopes that he would make them the ſole Legiſlators of the State. He believed alſo that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* would not fail to come to his aſſiſtance upon the firſt news of his enterprize. Y. of *R.* 293. Bef. *J. C.* 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

Having got together about 4000 men, conſiſting partly of his own friends and clients, but chiefly of runaway-ſlaves, out-laws, and other fellows of deſperate fortunes, he filled ſome flat-bottom'd Veſſels with them; and driving down the ſtream of the *Tyber* in the night-time, landed before break of day by the ſide of the Capitol. He got up the hill without being perceived by any body, and under cover of the darkneſs poſſeſſed himſelf of the Temple of *Jupiter*, and the fortreſs adjoining to it. Thence he threw himſelf into the neighbouring houſes, and cut the throats of all who refuſed to join him. Thoſe of the *Romans* who had eſcaped the fury of the *Sabines* ran down into the City, carrying terror and conſternation along with them. The alarm ſpread every way; the Conſuls, awakened by the noiſe, and no leſs fearful of the domeſtic than the foreign enemy, knew not whether this tumult came from within or from without. Their firſt care was to place guards in the *Forum*, and at the City gates. The night was ſpent in doubts and uneaſineſs: At length day came, and diſcovered who was at the head of ſo daring and ſtrange an enterprize.

Herdonius from the top of the Capitol proclaimed liberty to all ſlaves who would come and join him. His Soldiers, in order to divert the Populace from taking arms, cried out, that their General was come to *Rome* only to free the inhabitants from the Senate's tyranny, to aboliſh uſury, and eſtabliſh laws advantageous to the People. The Conſuls in the mean time repaired to the *Forum*, and ſummoned all the citizens to arm and follow them. The Tribunes on this occaſion declared that they would not oppoſe the People's marching againſt the enemy, provided the Conſuls would promiſe upon oath, that as ſoon as they had re-taken the Capitol, they would ſuffer the *Terentian Law* to paſs; but that otherwiſe they ſaw no reaſon why men ſhould expoſe their lives to danger, when they could draw no advantage from it.

C. Claudius full of indignation at this diſcourſe was for having the *Patricians*, ſupported by the ſole ſtrength of their own clients, and of ſuch other of the *Plebeians* as would voluntarily join them, attack the citadel. He added, that if they found their ſtrength not to be ſufficient, they might call the *Latines* and the other allies to their aid: And that in caſe of extremity, they had better arm even their ſlaves than aſk aſſiſtance of citizens who in a time of ſuch danger to the very being of the Commonwealth, ſhewed ſo little concern for it, as to revive old quarrels and contentions. But the moſt ancient Senators, and thoſe who had the greateſt authority in that

Y. of *R.* 293. Bef. *J. C.* 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

body, ſeeing the enemy over their heads, and fearing the *Sabines*, the *Æqui* and the *Volſci* might be let into the City, were of opinion, that in ſo perillous a circumſtance they ought not to refuſe the multitude any thing that could induce them to take arms immediately. *P. Valerius*, firſt Conſul, was alſo of this mind. Advancing therefore into the midſt of the People aſſembled, he promiſed them, that as ſoon as ever the Capitol was retaken, and the City reſtored to quiet, he would not hinder the Tribunes from propoſing the Law: And that as to his own particular, whenever it was brought into deliberation, he would only conſult the good of his fellow-citizens, and would always remember his name as an hereditary obligation upon him to favour the People's intereſts in all things that were not contrary to the general good of the Republic. The People charmed with theſe hopes took arms, and ſolemnly ſwore never to lay them down without leave from the Conſuls. The *Romans* called this way of liſting without the common formalities, upon ſudden incurſions of an enemy, *Tumultus*. No body was exempt from the ſervice on ſuch occaſions. The General uſually pronounced theſe words: *Let thoſe who would ſave the Republic follow me.* Then ſuch as were aſſembled, ſwore all together to defend the Commonwealth to the laſt drop of their blood; which was called *Conjuratio*.

When the People, all armed, had taken theſe oaths, the two Conſuls, according to cuſtom, drew lots for the conduct of the attack. This command fell to *Valerius*. *Claudius* marched out of the City at the head of a body of troops, to hinder any ſuccours from coming to *Herdonius*. But no troops appeared in the country, except one legion, which *L. Mamilius*, the ſupreme Magiſtrate of *Tuſculum*, ſent of his own accord to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. This reinforcement having entered *Rome* and joined the Citizens, *Valerius* put himſelf at the head of theſe united forces, and marched them ſtrait againſt the enemy. The *Romans* and *Tuſculans* fought with equal emulation. They ſtrove who ſhould have the glory of forcing the intrenchments firſt. *Herdonius* ſuſtained the aſſault with a determined courage. The fight was long and obſtinate, and the day far ſpent before it could be diſtinguiſhed which ſide had the advantage. The Conſul *Valerius* ſtriving by his own example to encourage his ſoldiers to make a more vigorous puſh than they had hitherto done, was ſlain at the head of the attack. *P. Volumnius*, a conſular perſon who fought near him, cauſed his body to be covered, in order to conceal from the troops the knowledge of ſo great a loſs. He afterwards led them on with ſo much bravery, that the *Sabines* were forced to give ground, and the *Romans* carried the intrenchments before they perceived that they fought without a General. *Herdonius* diſputing the ground inch by inch, loſt the greateſt part of his followers, and was at length ſlain himſelf, after he had performed extraordinary acts of valour. Thoſe of his ſoldiers who were left, fell moſt of them upon their own ſwords, or threw themſelves head-long from the top of the rock. And thus ended this troubleſome affair the third or fourth day after it began.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

§. I. C. Claudius *is cited by the Tribunes to perform the promiſe of his deceaſed Collegue. He defers it under various pretences, and at length refuſes to do any thing in the affair, till a new Conſul be elected in the room of* Valerius. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus *is choſen to that dignity in his abſence, to the terror of the People who had ſo lately baniſhed his ſon* Cæſo. *The Deputies from the Senate who carry* Quinctius *the news of his election, find him driving the plough.* §. II. *He comes to* Rome, *convenes a general Aſſembly, reproves both Senate and People for their paſt behaviour, and threatens the latter (whoſe oath of obedience to the Conſuls was ſtill binding) to lead them into the field, and make them paſs the winter there. By this and other arts, which he employs, he makes the Tribunes deſiſt from their purſuit of the* Terentian Law. §. III. Virginius, Volſcius, *and the other Tribunes, get themſelves continued in their employment for another year, notwithſtanding a Decree of the Senate expreſsly made to hinder any Citizen from ſtanding two years together for the ſame Office. The Senate hereupon are for continuing* Quinctius *a ſecond year in the Conſulate, but he rejects the motion with indignation, and reprimands them for ſhewing ſo little regard to their own Decrees. The Faſces are transferred to* Q. Fabius *and* L. Cornelius ; *and* Quinctius *returns to his plough. The Quæſtors commence a proſecution againſt* Volſcius, *for having born falſe witneſs againſt* Quinctius's *ſon* Cæſo ; *but the Tribunes put a ſtop to it, and the Senate make this a pretext for continuing their oppoſition to the* Terentian Law.

§. I. THE Enterprize of *Herdonius* was no ſooner defeated, but the Tribunes of the People called upon *Claudius* to propoſe the Law, and thereby ſatisfy the *Manes* of his Collegue, who had bound himſelf to do it in ſo ſolemn a manner. Y. of *R.* 293. Bef. *J. C.* 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

The Conſul excuſed himſelf one while from holding the Aſſembly, upon account of the neceſſity there was of purifying the Capitol, and offering ſacrifices to the Gods. At another time he amuſed the People with games and public ſpectacles. At length finding himſelf cloſe preſt by the Tribunes, and being at a loſs for further pretences of delay, he declared that the Republic being deprived of one of her Rulers by the death of *Valerius*, it was expedient, before they offered to eſtabliſh any new Law, to proceed to the election of another Conſul ; and accordingly he appointed the day when the *Comitia by Centuries* ſhould be held. The Senate and the whole body of the *Patricians* who were ſo greatly concerned to oppoſe the reception of the Law in queſtion, reſolved to chuſe in the room of *Valerius* ſome Senator, whoſe merit would command the Peoples reſpect, and who at the ſame time would be ſure to defeat the Tribune's deſign. With this intent they caſt their eyes upon *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, the father of *Cæſo*

whom

Y. of *R.* 293. Bef. *J. C.* 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

whom the People had lately baniſhed; and they took their meaſures ſo well, that the day of election being come, the firſt claſs, conſiſting of eighteen *Centuries* of cavalry, and fourſcore of infantry, gave him their voices. This unanimous conſent of all the *Centuries* of a claſs which outnumbered all the reſt, ſecured him that dignity, and he was declared Conſul in his abſence and without his participation. The multitude were ſtunned and terrified at this choice of a Conſul provoked againſt them by their baniſhment of his ſon; and they plainly foreſaw that they ſhould make but little progreſs in the affair of the *Terentian Law* under his adminiſtration. The Deputies from the Senate, who went to fetch *Quinctius* out of the Country, whither he was retired ſince his ſon's diſgrace, found him driving the plough. They made him acquainted with the ſubject of their commiſſion, by ſaluting him Conſul, and preſenting him with the Decree of his election. This venerable old man was in ſome doubt what reſolution to take. Being wholly free from ambition, he preferred the ſweets of a rural life to all the pomp of the Conſular dignity. Nevertheleſs, love of his Country prevailing in his mind above his private ſatisfaction, he conſented to go with the Deputies. He took leave of his wife, and recommending to her the care of the houſe, "I fear, ſaid he, my dear *Racilia*, "our fields will be but ill manured this year." The Deputies immediately cloathed him in a robe bordered with purple, and the Lictors with their Faſces preſented themſelves to guard him and receive his commands. Thus his merit and the neceſſities of the ſtate brought him back to *Rome*, where he had never ſet his foot ſince his ſon's diſgrace.

§. II. *QUINCTIUS* had no ſooner entered upon the Conſulſhip, but he got an exact relation to be made to him of all that had happened in *Herdonius*'s invaſion. Thence taking occaſion to convene a general Aſſembly, he mounted the *Roſtra*, and without declaring himſelf either for the People or Senate, he reprimanded them both with equal ſeverity. He reproached the Senate, that by their continual compliance with all the Tribunes pretenſions, they had fed the inſolence and rebellious ſpirit of the People. He ſaid there was nothing left, in the Senators, of that love of their Country, and that deſire of glory which once ſeemed to be ſo natural to their order. That a timorous policy had taken the place of legal authority, and of that firm reſolution which was ſo neceſſary in Government. He added, that an unbridled licentiouſneſs reigned in *Rome*: That ſubordination and obedience ſeemed quite baniſhed from it. That now but lately, to the ſhame of the *Roman* name, ſome ſeditious men had been ſeen to put a price upon the defence of their City, ready to acknowledge *Herdonius* for their Sovereign, if they might not change the form of the Government. "This is the fruit, *he cried*, of thoſe continual harangues "with which the People are ſo infatuated. But I ſhall take care to carry "them out of the way of thoſe ſeducers, who now reign in *Rome* with "more inſolence and tyranny than ever did the *Tarquins*. Know then, "ye *Roman* People, that my Collegue and I have reſolved to make war "upon the *Æqui* and the *Volſci*. We declare too, that our intention is

"to

" to paſs the winter in the field without ever re-entering, during our Y. of *R.* 293.
" Conſulate, into a City ſo full of ſeditions. We command all thoſe Bef *J.C.* 459.
" who have taken the military oath to appear to-morrow with their arms 50 Conſulſhip.
" at the *Lake Regillus*. That ſhall be the rendezvous of the whole army."

The Tribunes anſwered in a ſcoffing manner, that they did not know but he might chance to go to the war alone with his Collegue; and that they would take care no Levy ſhould be made. " We ſhall not want " Soldiers (replied *Quinctius*) we have under our command all thoſe " who took arms againſt *Herdonius*, and who then ſwore ſolemnly not to " lay them down again without Permiſſion from the Conſuls. If by your " inſtigation they refuſe to obey us, the Gods, Avengers of perjury, will " know how to puniſh them for their deſertion."

The Tribunes, to evade ſo poſitive an engagement, cried out that that oath bound them only to the perſon of *Valerius*, and ſo was buried with him in his tomb. But the People, more plain-hearted, and in thoſe days ignorant of the pernicious art of interpreting the Laws of Religion according to their own purpoſes, rejected ſo frivolous a diſtinction. Every man prepared himſelf to take arms, though very unwillingly. What ſtill increaſed their repugnance, was a report ſpread abroad, that the Conſuls had given private directions to the *Augurs* to be very early in the morning on the banks of the *Lake*. It was apprehended that their deſign was to hold a general Aſſembly there, and that all which had been done in former Aſſemblies for the Advantage of the People would then be annulled, ſince at ſuch a diſtance from the City they could receive no benefit from the oppoſition of the Tribunes, whoſe authority and function were confined to a mile about *Rome*.

Quinctius, the better to keep the People in awe, further gave out, that at his return he would convene no Aſſembly for the election of new Conſuls; but that he was reſolved to name a Dictator, to the intent that the ſeditious might learn by their Puniſhment, that all the harangues of the Tribunes would not be ſufficient to ſhelter them from the power and definitive Sentences of a ſupreme Magiſtrate.

The People, who hitherto had never made war but againſt enemies bordering upon *Rome*, and had been always accuſtomed to return to their own houſes at the end of every campaign, were ſtruck with conſternation at the very mention of a deſign to make them ſpend the winter in a camp. The Tribunes were no leſs alarmed at the thoughts of an Aſſembly out of *Rome*, where reſolutions might be taken contrary to their intereſts. Both the one and the other, intimidated by the firmneſs of the Conſuls, had recourſe to the Senate. The women and children, all in tears, conjured the principal men in that Body to mollify *Quinctius*, and to prevail with him, that their huſbands and their fathers might return to their homes at the end of the campaign. The affair was put upon a kind of negotiation. This was the point to which the Conſul by his affected but neceſſary ſeverity wanted to bring the Tribunes. A ſort of treaty was made between them: *Quinctius* promiſed that he would not force

Y. of R. 293. Bef. J. C. 459. 50 Conſulſhip.

the troops to winter in the field, nor even to march out of the city, unleſs ſome new incurſions of the enemy made it neceſſary; and the Tribunes on their parts bound themſelves to make no propoſal to the People concerning the eſtabliſhment of new Laws.

Quinctius, inſtead of going to war, ſpent the whole time of his Conſulate in diſpenſing juſtice between man and man. He gave audience to every body freely; he examined the pleas of each party with attention, and then pronounced ſuch equitable judgments, that the People, charmed with his adminiſtration, ſeemed to have forgot that there were any ſuch Officers as Tribunes in the Republic.

§. III. NOTWITHSTANDING a conduct ſo full of moderation and equity, *Virginius*, *Volſcius*, and the reſt of the Tribunes, uſed all their endeavours to get themſelves perpetuated in the Tribuneſhip, alledging that the People ſtood in need of their zeal and capacity to procure the reception of *Terentius*'s propoſal. The Senate, foreſeeing the abuſes that might proceed from ſuch a perpetual Magiſtracy, made a Decree prohibiting any Citizen from ſtanding two years together for the ſame office. But without any regard to a regulation ſo neceſſary for the maintaining of the public liberty, thoſe Tribunes, accuſtomed to the ſweets of authority, made ſo much ſtir, that they were continued in the ſame employment a third year. The Senate apprehending there was nothing which thoſe ſeditious ſpirits would not attempt, were alſo, on their ſide, for continuing *Quinctius* in the Conſulſhip; but this great man oppoſed it warmly; he repreſented in very ſtrong terms to the Senators the wrong they did themſelves in offering to violate their own Laws. That nothing ſhewed the weakneſs of the Government more than that multitude of new Laws which were daily promulgated, but never obſerved. That it was by this wavering conduct they deſervedly drew upon themſelves the contempt of the Multitude. The Senate, equally touched with the wiſdom and the moderation of *Quinctius* came over to his opinion. The *Comitia* being held, *Q. Fabius* * *Vibulanus* and *L. Cornelius Maluginenſis* were named Conſuls for the enſuing year. *Quinctius* had no ſooner reſigned the Faſces, but he went back to the Country, to reſume his former labour and occupations.

Val. Max. B. 4. c. 1.

Y. of R. 294. Bef. J. C. 458. 51 Conſulſhip. *A 3d time Conſ. *Livy*, B. 3.

After his departure, the friends of his family, and among others *A. Cornelius* and *Q. Servilius*, both Quæſtors that year, provoked at the unjuſt exile of *Cæſo*, proſecuted *M. Volſcius* his accuſer, for having born falſe witneſs againſt him. Thoſe two Quæſtors, by the power belonging to their office, convened the Aſſembly of the People. They produced their Witneſſes, ſome of which gave teſtimony that they had ſeen *Cæſo* in the Army, on the very day when *Volſcius* pretended he killed his brother at *Rome*; others affirmed that *Volſcius*'s brother died of a languiſhing diſtemper, which had been upon him ſome months, and that he never ſtirr'd out of his houſe after he fell ill. Theſe facts and many others were atteſted by ſo many perſons of unqueſtionable credit, that there was no room left to doubt of *Volſcius*'s malice and falſhood. But the Tribunes being the Collegues and Accomplices of *Volſcius*, put a ſtop to this proſecution,

declaring they would not ſuffer the People's Votes to be gathered upon any affair whatſoever, before they had given their Suffrages with relation to the laws propoſed. The Senate in their turn made uſe of the like pretext, and whenever the five Commiſſioners, demanded by the Tribunes, were talked of, revived the buſineſs of *Volſcius*. Y. of *R.* 294. Bef. *J.C.* 458. 51 Conſulſhip.

CHAP. XXIV.

§. I. *The Conſuls of the preſent year are ſucceſsful in war againſt the* Æqui *and* Volſci. *But the next year, when* C. Nautius *and* L. Minucius *are Conſuls, the latter having the conduct of the war againſt the* Æqui, *ſuffers himſelf to be ſo ſhut up by the enemy in a valley, that his whole army is in danger of periſhing by hunger. His Collegue being employed againſt the* Latines, *and therefore unable to aſſiſt him, names* Quinctius Cincinnatus *Dictator. This great man being fetched again from his plough, puts himſelf at the head of a ſtrong army, expeditiouſly marches againſt the* Æqui, *blocks them up in their camp as cloſely as they had blocked up* Minucius, *and reduces them to ſurrender on his own terms. He then degrades* Minucius *from the Conſulate, and refuſes to let the ſoldiers, whom he had reſcued from danger, have any part of the enemies ſpoils. They nevertheleſs in gratitude to him, make him a preſent of a crown of gold. He has a triumph at his return to* Rome; *and the* 10th *day after his promotion to the Dictatorſhip, reſigns that office, and retires once more into the country, his ſon* Cæſo *being firſt recalled from baniſhment.* §. II. *The Senate in the next Conſulate (of* C. Horatius *and* Q. Minucius) *recal* Quinctius *again to* Rome *to ſet him up againſt the Tribunes, who refuſe the neceſſary levies for a war with the* Æqui *and* Sabines, *unleſs the* Terentian Law *be firſt paſſed.* Quinctius *adviſes the Senate and the whole body of the* Patricians *to take arms: They accordingly repair all armed to the Forum, where* Horatius *convenes an Aſſembly of the People, and reproaches them with their baſeneſs and cowardice. The Tribune* Virginius *ſeeing the multitude moved by the Conſul's ſpeech, conſents to drop the affair of the Law, and to wave his oppoſition to the levies, provided the Senate will ſuffer the number of the Tribunes to be augmented to ten.* C. Claudius *oppoſes this motion, but* Quinctius *declaring that he thinks it may turn to the Senate's advantage to comply with it, his opinion prevails, and the People are allowed to chuſe* TEN TRIBUNES.

§. I. DURING theſe reciprocal oppoſitions of the two factions at *Rome*, the Conſuls were employ'd in the field againſt the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, and obtained great advantages over them. The *Æqui* were at length ſo humbled by repeated loſſes, that they had recourſe to the clemency of the *Romans*. The Senate granted them peace upon the ſame conditions on which it had been formerly granted to the *Latines*. They were to continue in poſſeſſion of their cities, lands, and laws, but under the dominion of *Rome*. They were alſo

exempted from paying Tribute, and from every other obligation except that of aſſiſting the Republic with their troops whenever the Senate ſhould call for them.

This union however was of ſhort duration. Under the following Conſulate of *C. Nautius* and *L. Minutius*, the *Æqui* and the *Sabines* renewed their irruptions. *Nautius* marched againſt the *Sabines*, defeated them, and entered their territory, where he laid all waſte with fire and ſword. *Minucius* was not ſo ſucceſsful againſt the *Æqui*. Their General, named *Cluilius*, by a ſtratagem drew the Conſul and his army into a valley near the *Algidus*, where they were hemmed in by mountains and by the enemy, and in danger of being ſtarved into a ſurrender at diſcretion. Some horſemen, who under cover of the night made their way thro' the enemy's camp, carried the news to *Rome*. *Quintus Fabius*, the Governour of the city, immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the other Conſul to inform him of the extremity his Collegue was in: *Nautius* leaving his army under the command of his Lieutenants, ſet out privately, and repaired to *Rome* in all haſte. He arrived there in the night, and without delay had a conference with ſome of the chief of the Senate, who all agreed to have recourſe to the remedy made uſe of in the greateſt calamities, that is, to a Dictator. The Conſul named *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus* for that high ſtation, and then returned with the ſame diligence to put himſelf again at the head of his army. The Governour of *Rome* ſent the Conſul's Decree to *Quinctius*. This great man was found, as before, in the field, with his wife *Racilia*, cultivating his little inheritance with his own hands. The Deputies, at the ſame time that they gave him information of his new dignity, preſented to him four and twenty Lictors armed with axes bound up in their Faſces, a kind of guards uſed by the ancient Kings of *Rome*, and in part retained by the Conſuls, but which never carried axes in the city except before the Dictator. The Senate having notice that *Quinctius* drew near, ſent him a boat in which he croſs'd the *Tyber*; his three ſons, his friends, and the principal of the Senate received him at his landing, and conducted him to his houſe. The Dictator next day named for General of the Horſe *L. Tarquitius*, a *Patrician* of uncommon valour, but who not having wherewith to buy and keep a horſe, had till then never ſerved but in the infantry. Thus all the hopes of the Republic lay in an old man juſt taken from the plough, and in a foot ſoldier raiſed to be *General of the Horſe*.

Y. of *R.* 295. Bef. *J. C.* 457. 52 Conſulſhip.

But theſe men, who made it their glory to be poor, ſhewed no want of courage or dignity in command. The Dictator ordered the ſhops to be ſhut up, and all the citizens who were of an age to bear arms, to be before ſun-ſet in the field of *Mars*, each with twelve ſtakes, and proviſions for five days. He then put himſelf at the head of theſe troops, and, before day, arrived pretty near the enemy's camp. He went himſelf and viewed it, as well as the obſcurity of the night would permit him. His ſoldiers by his command made ſeveral loud ſhouts, to give the Conſul notice of the arrival of ſuccour; they intrenched themſelves, and fortified their intrenchments with a Palliſado, made of the ſtakes they had brought from *Rome*: And theſe intrenchments ſerved at the ſame time to ſhut up the enemy's

enemy's camp. The General of the *Æqui*, named *Gracchus Duilius*, endeavoured, notwithſtanding the darkneſs, to interrupt this work. His troops advanced, but with that fear and doubt which ſurprize and darkneſs always occaſion. *Quinctius*, who foreſaw this attack, employ'd one part of his army to repulſe the aſſailants, while the other continued to intrench themſelves. The noiſe of arms, and the ſhouts of the combatants made the Conſul yet more certain that ſuccour was come. He attacked the camp of the *Æqui* on his ſide, not ſo much with hopes of carrying it, as with deſign to make a diverſion. This attack had the effect propoſed, it drew part of the *Æqui* to that ſide, ſo that the Dictator finiſhed his intrenchments without much difficulty, and the enemy at break of day ſaw themſelves inveſted by two armies. Early in the morning the Dictator and Conſul made an aſſault on the enemy's camp with their whole power. *Quinctius* found the part that he attacked the leaſt fortified, becauſe the General of the *Æqui* had never imagined he ſhould have occaſion to defend himſelf on that ſide: He made but a weak reſiſtance, and being apprehenſive that his camp would be won ſword in hand, had recourſe to negotiation. He ſent Deputies to the Conſul, who, without ſo much as hearing their meſſage, referred them to the Dictator. The Deputies being come to his preſence, (notwithſtanding the heat of the action,) conjured him to reſtrain the impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, and not to make his glory of the deſtruction of almoſt a whole nation; and offerred him to quit their camp and retire without baggage, cloaths, or arms. *Quinctius* replied ſternly, that he did not eſteem them enough to think their death would be of any conſequence to the Republic; that therefore he freely granted them their lives; but that their General and principal Officers muſt remain priſoners of war, and all their ſoldiers paſs under the yoke, to imprint it deeply in their minds, *that the* Æqui *were a nation conquered by the* Romans; that otherwiſe he would immediately cut them to pieces. The *Æqui* being ſurrounded every way, ſubmitted to all the conditions that their victorious enemy pleaſed to impoſe on them. Two javelins were fixed in the earth, and a third faſtened acroſs upon the points of thoſe. All the ſoldiers, naked and unarmed, paſſed under this military portico: An infamy which the Commanders of armies were wont to impoſe upon an enemy, who could neither fight nor retire. At the ſame time the *Æqui* delivered up to the *Romans* their General and Officers, who were reſerved to attend the Dictator's triumph.

Y. of *R.* 295. Bef. *J. C.* 457. 52 Conſulſhip.

D. Hal. B. 10. *Livy*, B. 3. *Val. Max.* B. 2. c. 2.

Quinctius gave the plunder of the enemy's camp to the army he had brought with him from *Rome*, without retaining any thing for himſelf, or ſuffering the troops of the Conſul, whom he had relieved, to take any part of it. "You ſoldiers, *ſaid he*, who were juſt going to fall a prey to "our enemies, you ſhall have no ſhare in their ſpoils." Then turning to the Conſul, he added, "And you, *Minucius*, you ſhall never more "command theſe legions in chief, 'till you have ſhewn more courage and "Capacity." This military correction did not at all leſſen the reſpect of theſe troops for their deliverer, or their gratitude for the benefit they had

Y. of *R.* 295. Bef. *J.C.* 457. 52 Conſulſhip. received from him; the Conſul and his ſoldiers decreed him a crown of gold of a pound weight, for having ſaved the lives and honour of his fellow-citizens.

Thus *Quinctius*, in leſs than a fortnight's time, brought off the Conſul's army, defeated that of the enemy, and returned back to *Rome* in triumph. Before his chariot were led the enemy's General, and a great number of Officers in chains, who were the chief ornament of that proceſſion. The *Roman* ſoldiers followed their Commander with garlands of flowers upon their heads, celebrating his victory with military ſongs. He then abdicated the Dictatorſhip the ſixteenth day after his advancement to it, tho' he might legally have held that dignity ſix months.

But before his abdication, the friends of his family laying hold of this favourable conjuncture, prevailed at length to have *Volſcius*, the accuſer of *Quinctius Cæſo*, the Dictator's ſon, brought to a trial. The Aſſembly was held; the informer being convicted of calumny and falſe teſtimony, was condemned to perpetual baniſhment, and *Cæſo* was recalled home. The love and reverence which the People expreſſed for his father made the Tribunes ſilent, and hindered them from oppoſing ſo juſt a ſentence.

The Senate, aſhamed that ſo great a man as *Quinctius* ſhould paſs his old age in poverty, preſſed him to accept of a portion of the Lands conquered from the *Æqui*, with a ſufficient number of ſlaves and cattle to ſtock it. Many of his friends alſo would have made him conſiderable preſents; but he rejected all theſe offers, chuſing rather to owe his ſubſiſtence to his own labour. Content with his ſon's return, and cloathed with glory, he broke away from the praiſes and applauſe of his fellow-citizens, and retiring to his cottage, fell once more to the manuring of his little farm.

§. II. HE did not ſtay there long. *Virginius* was continued a fifth year in the Tribuneſhip, and even *Volſcius* was recalled from baniſhment, and reinſtated in his office. Theſe Tribunes, to revenge themſelves for *Cæſo*'s return, raiſed new diſturbances about the *Terentian Law*, which obliged the Senate to recal his father, to ſet him up againſt thoſe ſeditious Magiſtrates. The *Sabines* and *Æqui*, under the Conſulate of *C. Horatius* and *Q. Minucius*, had lately been making their cuſtomary inroads up to the very gates of *Rome*. The Senate ordered the two Conſuls to raiſe troops and march againſt theſe enemies without delay. The conduct of the war againſt the *Æqui* fell by lot to *Horatius*; that againſt the *Sabines* to *Minucius*. But when the People were to arm, the Tribunes oppoſed it, and proteſted in their old way, that they would not ſuffer one *Plebeian* to give his name in, to be inroll'd for the war, unleſs the election of the Commiſſioners for framing a body of laws, according to *Terentius*'s propoſal, was previouſly made. The Conſuls, who could not without concern ſee the enemy laying waſte the territory of *Rome* with impunity, convened the Senate to deliberate on ſome expedient to remove the Tribunes oppoſition to the levies. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* was of opinion, that no more time ought to be waſted in diſputing with thoſe factious men, but that if the People, ſtill miſled by them,

Y. of *R.* 296. Bef. *J.C.* 456. 53 Conſulſhip.

them, perſiſted in their diſobedience, the whole Senate and the *Patricians*, with their friends and clients, ſhould take arms, and march againſt the enemy. " In ſpite of the Tribunes, *ſaid he*, we ſhall be followed by all " good men who ſincerely love their country; and we ſhall find in bat- " tle either a glorious victory, or an honourable death." Y. of *R.* 296. Bef. *J. C.* 456. 53 Conſulſhip.

The whole Senate applauded ſo generous a reſolution. Even the oldeſt men of that body haſted to their houſes, took arms, and, attended by their ſons, clients, and ſervants, repaired to the *Forum*, where the Conſul *C. Horatius* had convened the Aſſembly. The People all flocked thither, and ſeemed touched at ſo new a ſight. The Conſul repreſented to them, that thoſe illuſtrious Senators choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to all the dangers of war, than to endure the enemy any longer at the gates of *Rome*, and exhorted all good citizens to join them, in order to avenge the glory of the *Roman* name. But *Virginius* cried out with great vehemence, that he would never ſuffer the People to take arms 'till the buſineſs of the laws was firſt determined. The Conſul, upon this, turning towards the Tribune with a countenance full of indignation: " It muſt be confeſſed, " *ſaid he*, you perform a very heroic action, and keep ſtrictly up to your " ordinary behaviour, in thus fomenting diviſions between the People " and the Senate; but do not imagine your clamours and oppoſition ſhall " make us abandon the Republic, founded upon ſuch fortunate auſpices. " Know, *Virginius*, and you other Tribunes, that theſe venerable old " men, whom you ſee bending more under the weight of their years, " than of their armour, are going to fight generouſly againſt the ene- " mies of our country; while you, the intrepid defenders of the " People's rights, lie hid behind our walls, and, like fearful women, " wait with anxiety for the event of the war; unleſs perhaps you pleaſe " yourſelves with a fancy, that after the doubtful chance of arms has rid " you of the Senate and the *Roman* Nobility, the enemy, when victo- " rious, as a recompence of your cowardice and baſeneſs, will leave you " in a quiet enjoyment of the tyranny you have uſurped, and not deſtroy " *Rome*, though in every part of it they find monuments and trophies of " their former defeats.

" But granting that for your dear ſakes they ſhould be inclined to ſpare " this city, do you imagine that our wives and children, after the loſs of " their fathers and huſbands, will have ſo little courage as to think of ſur- " viving us? No, Tribunes, be aſſured, that they are firmly reſolved " to ſet every thing in flames, and ſo bury themſelves under the ruins of " their country. Such are the diſmal effects which your ſeditious practices " muſt unavoidably produce."

The People were ſo melted with this diſcourſe, that every body ſhed tears: Which the Conſul obſerving, he then addreſſed himſelf to the multitude, and thus proceeded, " Are you not aſhamed to ſee thoſe venerable " old men, thoſe Senators whom you call your fathers, devote themſelves " generouſly to certain death for a rebellious and inſolent People? Do " you deſerve the name of *Romans?* And ought you not to hide your

" heads

Y. of *R.* 296. Bef. *J. C.* 456. 53 Conſulſhip.

" heads with confuſion, falſe as you are to your country, deſerters of its " armies, and greater enemies to your Generals than the very *Æqui* and " *Sabines?*"

Virginius, perceiving that the Conſul's reproach made an impreſſion upon the multitude, thought it proper to conform to the preſent conjuncture. Aſſuming therefore a milder behaviour, " No, *ſaid he*, Con- " ſcript Fathers, we will never abandon you, nor are we capable of be- " traying the intereſts of the Commonwealth. We will live and die " with you: Death muſt be pleaſant to us, fighting under ſuch worthy " Leaders in the defence of our country. It is true, that being members " of one and the ſame community, and contributing all equally, and at " the expence of our blood, to eſtabliſh liberty, we have demanded laws " ſuperior to the authority of the Senate, and reſtrictive of its extent. " But is it not the eſſential conſtitution of all Republican States, that no " body be ſubject but to the laws, and that the laws be more powerful " than the Magiſtrate? Nevertheleſs, if you perſiſt in your reſolution " of adhering to the ancient cuſtoms, I conſent for my particular to men- " tion that matter no more; I will even wave my oppoſition to the le- " vies, and am ready to exhort the People to take arms and follow you, " provided you will grant them one favour, which will be of ſervice to " them, without being at all detrimental to the Senate's authority."

The Conſul made anſwer, that if his requeſt was reaſonable, the People would always find the Senate ready to favour them, and that he might freely ſpeak his mind. *Virginius* having conferred a moment with his Collegues, replied, that he deſired he might explain himſelf in the Senate. The Conſuls and Senators immediately repaired to the place of their aſſemblies: *Virginius* followed them: He carried with him the original Decree for the creation of the Tribunes. Being admitted into the Aſſembly, he read it aloud with the permiſſion of the Conſuls, and then added: " All " that the People requeſt of you, *Conſcript Fathers*, is, that you will ſuf- " fer the number of their Tribunes to be augmented from five to ten, ſo " that henceforth the five firſt claſſes may each have two Tribunes." *Virginius* then retired, leaving the Senate to deliberate upon the matter. *Caius Claudius* warmly oppoſed this new demand. He repreſented to the Aſſembly, that to add five more Tribunes to the five old ones, was to increaſe the number of its enemies; that by degrees they would form a ſecond Senate, whoſe only aim would be to ruin the authority of the firſt. But *Quinctius* conſidered this affair in another light. He ſaid, that the more numerous the Tribunes were, the more eaſy it would be to ſow diviſion among them, and that for this reaſon he thought the preſent requeſt of the People tended much leſs to their advantage, than to that of the Nobles. The opinion of this great man prevailed, ſo that *Virginius* being called in again; the firſt Conſul informed him that the Senate granted his requeſt, but on this condition, that the ſame perſons ſhould never hereafter be elected twice to the Tribuneſhip; a condition that was not obſerved, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. But thus the Senate and People concurred equally,

though with oppoſite views, to the augmentation of the number of the Tribunes. Y. of *R.* 296. Bef. *J.C.* 456. 53 Conſulſhip.

CHAP. XXV.

§. I. Icilius *chief of the Tribunes propoſes that mount* Aventine *may be yielded to the People. The Conſuls* M. Valerius *and* Sp. Virginius *looking upon this new demand as a prelude to the revival of the* Agrarian Law, *and deferring therefore to convene the Senate for the hearing and debating it,* Icilius *ſends an Officer to them, commanding them to aſſemble the Senate forthwith, and to repair to it themſelves. The meſſenger, by order of the Conſuls, is chaſtiſed for his inſolence by one of their Lictors. The Tribunes cauſe the Lictor to be ſeized, and the Senate to ſave his life, are obliged to yield to the People the ground they demanded.* §. II. *The conceſſions of the Senate make the Tribunes ſtill more preſumptuous.* T. Romilius *and* C. Veturius (*Conſuls for the next year*) *attempting to force the citizens to liſt themſelves for a war in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Tribunes, the latter order the Ædiles to ſeize thoſe ſupreme Magiſtrates and lead them to priſon. The* Patricians *hinder by force the execution of this order. The Tribunes hereupon cite the Conſuls to appear before an Aſſembly of the People. Their citation being diſregarded, they apply to the Senate for a Decree, empowering the People to try the Conſuls.* Romilius *anſwers them with reproaches and menaces, and nothing is determined that day.* §. III. *The Tribunes without any further ſoliciting a* Senatus-conſultum, *reſolve to get the Conſuls condemned by the People in a fine; but when the day for the Aſſembly comes, they drop that deſign, and propoſe anew the* Agrarian *and* Terentian Laws. Sicinius Dentatus, *an old ſoldier, makes a notable ſpeech in relation to the former. The Aſſembly is adjourned to the next day; and then the* Patricians *by violence hinder the ſuffrages from being collected. The following day the People being again aſſembled, empower their Tribunes to make enquiry after the Authors of the Tumult. The miſdemeanour is charged upon three eminent* Patrician *families, and the Senate to pacify the People, ſuffer the eſtates of the delinquents to be confiſcated without oppoſition.* §. IV. *During theſe contentions, the Conſuls are obliged to lead an army into the field againſt the* Æqui. Sicinnius Dentatus *ſerves as voluntcer in this war at the head of* 800 *Veterans.* Romilius *orders him with his company upon a deſperate enterprize.* Sicinnius *remonſtrates againſt it, but nevertheleſs obeys, and he ſucceeds ſo well, as to occaſion the total defeat of the enemy by the Conſuls; afterwards he marches to* Rome, *complains to the People of the General's tyranny, and prevails with them to refuſe him a triumph. And in the following Conſulate (of* Sp. Tarpeius *and* A. Æternius) Sicinnius *being choſen Tribune,* Romilius *and* Veturius *are accuſed before the People for miſconduct during their Magiſtracy, and fined. A Law is alſo paſſed empowering any Magiſtrate to impoſe a fine for diſobedience.*

§. I. IT

Y. of *R.* 296. Bef. *J.C* 456. 53 Conſulſhip.

§. I. IT was not long before the Senate found, that their compliance with the laſt demands of the People ſerved only to put them upon new pretenſions. The Tribunes, grown more audacious than ever by their number, demanded that mount *Aventine* ſhould be granted to the People, or at leaſt thoſe parts of it which were not occupied by lawful purchaſers. *L. Icilius*, the head of the college of Tribunes, ſet forth, that the land of that mountain belonged to the Republic; that ſome *D. Hal.* B. 10. *Patricians* had indeed purchaſed certain parcels of it; but that others had got poſſeſſion of what they enjoy'd by mere uſurpation, and that the remaining part of that ground was uncultivated and uninhabited. He propoſed therefore, that thoſe Patricians who could ſhew good claims to what they poſſeſſed ſhould be confirmed in their poſſeſſions, but that thoſe who had built houſes upon the hill, without lawful title to the ground, ſhould be outed, being however firſt repaid the value of thoſe houſes; and laſtly, that all the land uncultivated, or unoccupied by rightful owners, ſhould be given *gratis* to the People, who growing daily more numerous began to want habitations.

To outward appearance there was nothing but juſtice in this propoſal: Y. of *R.* 297. It was beſides a matter of ſmall importance: But *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Vir-* Bef *J.C.* 455. *ginius*, the preſent Conſuls, apprehending that from this partition of mount 54 Conſulſhip. *Aventine*, the People might take occaſion to renew their old pretenſions upon the conquered lands, deferr'd convening the Senate, in hopes this new demand would gradually and inſenſibly be dropt. *Icilius* perceiving the policy of the Conſuls, ventured upon an attempt never heard of before: He ſent them an apparitor, commanding them to aſſemble the Senate forthwith, and repair to it themſelves without delay.

The Conſuls, juſtly provoked at the Tribune's audaciouſneſs, and the apparitor's want of reſpect, ordered this errand-bringer to be driven away ignominiouſly; and one of the Conſuls Lictors, by their directions, gave him ſome baſtinadoes for his pains. This was more than enough to open the mouth of the ſeditious Tribune, who only wanted a pretence to inveigh againſt the Senate. He repreſented to the People, that in the perſon of his Apparitor the ſacred privileges of the Tribuneſhip had been violated; he cauſed the Lictor to be ſeized, and was immediately for putting him to death, as a man guilty of Sacrilege, and devoted to the infernal Gods: Nor could the Conſuls, though the chief Magiſtrates of the Republic, reſcue him out of the hands of thoſe who were both his adverſaries and his judges. In this emergence the Senate endeavoured to gain over ſome one of the Tribunes who might put a ſtop to the fury of his Collegue; but *Icilius* had been beforehand with them, and had ſo warmly repreſented to all the Tribunes that the Power and ſtrength of their College lay wholly in their union, that they had agreed, no one among them ſhould oppoſe what was determined by plurality of voices. Thus the poor Lictor ſaw himſelf juſt upon the point of loſing his life, for having obeyed the orders of the Conſuls too punctually. The Senate, to ſave him, had recourſe to intreaties,

and they ſeem to have been obliged to come to a compoſition with the Tribunes. The Lictor was ſet at liberty; but mount *Aventine* was yielded to the People by a *Senatus-conſultum*. This conceſſion was of ſmall importance in itſelf, but the proceedings by which it was obtained made a very great breach in the authority of the Conſuls; for the Tribunes kept themſelves ever after in poſſeſſion of that new prerogative, aſſumed by *Icilius*, of convening the Senate; they who at their inſtitution durſt not ſo much as go into it, but waited its commands under a portico like common officers. Y. of *R.* 297. Bef. *J. C.* 455. 54 Conſulſhip.

§. II. THEY did not ſtop here; *Icilius*, the boldeſt and moſt enterprizing of the Tribunes, being continued in that office for the following year, laid a deſign to bring the Conſuls themſelves into ſubjection, and oblige thoſe Magiſtrates, though inveſted with the ſovereign power, to undergo the judgment of *the Aſſembly of the People.*

T. Romilius and *C. Veturius*, who were Conſuls this year, and who well knew that the Republic was never in ſo much quiet at home, as when her arms were carried abroad, reſolved to make war againſt the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, in revenge of their continual inroads and devaſtations. The buſineſs was to raiſe troops, and get the legions to march out of *Rome*. The two Conſuls, but eſpecially *Romilius*, a Magiſtrate ſevere and haughty in his nature, proceeded in the inrollment of the *Plebeians*, with a rigour very improper in the preſent diſpoſition of the People's minds. They admitted of no excuſes how allowable ſoever, and condemned to heavy fines, or impriſonment, all thoſe who refuſed to inliſt themſelves for the war. The Tribunes did not fail to take the part of the complainants, they endeavoured to reſcue the priſoners out of the hands of the Lictors. Nor was this the utmoſt of their preſumption; for the Conſuls advancing to ſupport the execution of their own orders, the Tribunes, abetted by the angry populace, commanded the Ædiles to ſeize thoſe ſovereign Magiſtrates and lead them to priſon. So ſtrange and daring an attempt increaſed the tumult. The two parties came to blows, and the *Patricians* for this time prevailed. The Tribunes themſelves were ſoundly beaten, and forced to fly with the reſt. Confounded and enraged at their ill ſucceſs, they appointed an Aſſembly for the next day, and took care to bring to it a great number of *Plebeians* out of the country. And now ſeeing themſelves the ſtrongeſt, they cauſed the two Conſuls to be ſummoned like the meaneſt private men, to come and anſwer before the People for what had happened the day before. The Conſuls having ſcornfully refuſed to obey the ſummons, the Tribunes had recourſe to the Senate. They flattered themſelves that the *Conſcript Fathers* would oblige the two Magiſtrates, as they had done *Coriolanus* and *Cæſo*, to acknowledge the ſuperior authority of *the Aſſembly of the People*, and to ſubmit themſelves to its judgment. Being introduced into the Senate, they demanded juſtice for the violence which had been done them in defiance of thoſe Laws which made the perſons of the Tribunes ſacred; and they peremptorily required, that the Conſuls ſhould either clear themſelves by oath from having had any hand in that violence; or, Y. of *R.* 298. Bef. *J. C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

Y. of *R.* 298. Bef *J.C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

if a juſt remorſe of conſcience hindered them from taking ſuch an oath, they ſhould immediately appear before the Aſſembly of the People, and there juſtify their conduct. They added, that they were juſt going to take the votes of the Tribes upon this affair. *Romilius* haughtily anſwered them, that they themſelves, by oppoſing the levy of ſoldiers, had been the ſole authors of the tumult. He reproached them with that audacious inſolence which they had ſhewn in attempting to ſeize upon the chief Magiſtrates of the Republic, and in citing them afterwards to appear before the Aſſembly of the People, *they*, who had not power to ſummon thither, no not the moſt inconſiderable of the *Patricians*, without a *Senatus-conſultum* expreſsly for that purpoſe. And he declared to them, that if they were ſo daring as to proceed a ſtep further toward collecting the votes of the People, he would immediately arm the whole Body of the *Patricians*.

Theſe mutual complaints and reproaches laſted the whole day, and the Senate thinking it equally dangerous to declare either for the Tribunes or the Conſuls, came to no reſolution.

§. III. THE Tribunes finding that nothing was to be expected from that auguſt body, convened an Aſſembly of the People the next day, in order to ſome vigorous reſolution for effecting their deſigns.

The moſt turbulent and headſtrong among the *Plebeians*, were for retiring in arms a ſecond time to the *Mons Sacer*, and thence declaring war againſt the *Patricians*.

Others more moderate, or perhaps reſtrained only by the fear of a civil war, held it not to be equitable to impute to the whole body of the Nobles, the fault which had been committed by the Conſuls; that theſe indeed ought to be puniſhed; and they propoſed therefore, that without taking arms, or ſoliciting a *Senatus-conſultum* any longer, the People by their own proper authority ſhould try the Conſuls, and condemn them in a large fine.

Laſtly, thoſe who had not entirely loſt the reſpect that was due to the chief Magiſtrates in the Republic, adviſed the Aſſembly to defer all proceedings againſt them till they were out of office, and in the mean time to proſecute with the utmoſt rigour ſuch private perſons as had aided and abetted the Conſuls in their inſult upon the perſons of the Tribunes.

Of theſe three different opinions, the Tribunes choſe to follow the ſecond, which they thought the ſafeſt and moſt ready way to ſatisfy their reſentment, and they accordingly appointed an Aſſembly, wherein, at their ſuit, the Conſuls were to be condemned in a fine. This project, however, came to nothing. It is highly probable, that the People, when their firſt heat was over, ſhew'd a good deal of indifference about carrying a point which they thought concerned only the perſons of the Tribunes, and that this induced the latter to defer their revenge, or at leaſt to diſguiſe it under the appearance of pure zeal for the intereſt of the Commons. The day ſet for the Aſſembly being come, *Icilius* declared that the College of Tribunes, at the intreaty and for the ſakes of the beſt men in the Senate, dropt their ſuit againſt the Conſuls; but that tho' they gave up their own intereſts, they were not capable of neglecting thoſe of the People, and would there-

therefore inſtantly renew the proſecution of thoſe two important affairs, the *Agrarian* and *Terentian* Laws, the publication of which had been ſo long poſtponed by the artifices of the *Patricians*. This ſaid, he fixed a day for a new Aſſembly to deliberate and decide upon thoſe matters. Y. of *R.* 298. Bef *J.C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

The People being met at the time appointed, *Icilius* began with propoſing the *Agrarian* Law, and having himſelf made a long harangue on the reaſonableneſs of it, he then declared that any *Plebeian* preſent might ſpeak his mind freely. Upon this ſeveral ſtood forth ſucceſſively, pleaded the right their ſervices gave them to a ſhare of the conquered lands, and were all heard with pleaſure. But nothing ſo much quickened the zeal of the Aſſembly in behalf of the Law, as the diſcourſe of **Sicinius Dentatus*, a *Plebeian*, a veteran ſoldier, of about threeſcore years of age. He was yet in his full ſtrength and vigour, of a handſom ſhape and mein, and not uneloquent for a man of his profeſſion. "It is now, *ſaid he*, forty years "that I have bore arms, and for the thirty laſt, I have been always in "ſome command or other. I have been in a hundred and twenty engage- "ments. I have received forty-five wounds and all before, twelve of "them in that ſingle action againſt *Herdonius* the *Sabine*. Fourteen [a] civic "crowns

* *Siccius*, according to *Livy*.

[a] Of the military rewards in uſe among the *Romans*, Mr. *Kennet* [Part 2. Book 4. Chap. 16.] ſpeaks thus:

[c] The encouragements of valour and induſtry were much more conſiderable than the proceedings againſt the contrary vices. The moſt conſiderable (not to ſpeak of the promotion from one ſtation to another, nor of the occaſional *donatives* in money, diſtinguiſhed by this name from the largeſſes beſtowed on the common people, and termed *Congiaria*) ſuch were firſt the *dona imperatoria*, ſuch as

The *haſta pura*, a fine ſpear of wood without any iron on it; ſuch a one as *Virgil* has given *Sylvius* in the ſixth of the *Æneids*.

Ille, vides? purâ juvenis qui nititur haſtâ.

This preſent was uſually beſtowed on him, who in ſome little ſkirmiſh has killed an enemy, engaging him hand to hand. They were reckoned very honourable gifts, and the Gods are commonly repreſented with ſuch ſpears, on the old coins. Mr. *Walker* derives hence the cuſtom of our great Officers carrying white rods or ſtaves, as enſigns of their places.

The *armillæ*, a ſort of bracelets, given upon account of ſome eminent ſervice, only to ſuch as were born *Romans*.

The *torques*, golden and ſilver collars, wreathed with curious art and beauty. *Pliny* attributes the golden collars to the auxiliaries, and the ſilver to the *Roman* ſoldiers; but this is ſuppoſed to be a miſtake.

The *phaleræ*, commonly thought to be a ſuit of rich trappings for a horſe; but becauſe we find them beſtow'd on the foot as well as the cavalry, we may rather ſuppoſe them to have been golden chains, of like nature with the *torques*, only that they ſeem to have hung down to the breaſt; whereas the others only went round the Neck. The hopes of theſe two laſt are particularly urged, among the advantages of a military life by *Juvenal*, *Sat.* 16.

Ut læti phaleris omnes, & torquibus omnes.

The *vexilla*, a ſort of banners of different colours, worked in ſilk or other curious materials, ſuch as *Auguſtus* beſtowed on *Agrippa*, after he had won the ſea-fight at *Actium*.

Next to theſe were the ſeveral coronets, received on various occaſions. As,

Corona civica, given to any ſoldier who had ſaved the life of a *Roman* citizen in an engagement. This was reckoned more honourable than any other crown, though compoſed of no better materials than oaken boughs. *Virgil* calls it *civilis quercus*, *Æn.* 6.

Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.

Y. of *R.* 298. Bef. *J. C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

" crowns I obtained for having ſaved the lives of ſo many citizens " in battle; three mural crowns for having been the firſt that mounted " the breach in towns taken by aſſault; eight other crowns for different " exploits; eighty-three golden collars, ſixty golden bracelets, eighteen " lances (*haſtæ puræ*), twenty-five ſets of furniture for horſes, nine of " which I won from ſo many enemies conquered in ſingle combat. And " now *Romans* you know my ſervices, and you have heard what have been " the rewards of them, rewards that ſufficiently prove my courage, but " make little addition to my fortune. No land, no ſhare in the conquered " countries. Neither *Sicinius*, nor any of you *Plebeians*, the compani- " ons of my labours and my glory, are to reap the leaſt benefit from thoſe " acquiſitions. The *Patricians*, it ſeems, by their noble birth, have an " inherent right to all the public demeſnes. No matter whether they have " any merit or not. But is this to be endured? Shall they alone enjoy " the fruits of our conqueſts? the purchaſe of our blood? No, *Plebeians*, " let us delay no longer to do ourſelves juſtice. Without ſo much as hear- " ing what the uſurpers have to ſay againſt it, let us this very day paſs the " Law propoſed by *Icilius*. If the young *Patricians* have the boldneſs to " oppoſe

Plutarch has gueſs'd very happily at the reaſon why the branches of this tree ſhould be made uſe of before all others. For the oaken wreath, ſays he, being otherwiſe ſacred to *Jupiter*, the great guardian of their city, they might therefore think it the moſt proper ornament for him who had preſerved a citizen. Beſides, the oak may very well claim the preference in this caſe, becauſe in the primitive times, that tree alone was thought almoſt ſufficient for the preſerving of man's life: Its acorns were the principal diet of the old mortals, and the honey which was commonly found there, preſented them with a very pleaſant * liquor.

It was a particular honour conferr'd on the perſons who had merited this crown, that when they came to any of the publick ſhows, the whole company, as well Senate as People, ſhould ſignify their reſpect, by riſing up when they ſaw them enter; and that they ſhould take their ſeat on theſe occaſions among the Senators; being alſo excuſed from all troubleſome duties and ſervices in their own perſons, and procuring the ſame immunity for their father and grandfather by his † ſide.

Corona muralis, given to him who firſt ſcaled the walls of a city in a general aſſault; and therefore in the ſhape of it there was ſome alluſion made to the figure of a wall.

Corona caſtrenſis, or *vallaris*, the reward of him who had firſt forced the enemies intrenchments.

Corona navalis, beſtowed on ſuch as had ſignalized their valour in an engagement at ſea; being ſet round with figures like the beaks of ſhips.

——*Cui belli inſigne ſuperbum*
Tempora navali fulgent roſtrata Coronâ.
Virg. Æn. 8.

Lipſius fancies the *corona navalis*, and the *roſtrata*, to have been two diſtinct Species, though they are generally believed to be the ſame kind of crown.

Corona obſidionalis: This was not, like the reſt, given by the General to the ſoldiers, but preſented by the common conſent of the ſoldiers to the General, when he had delivered the *Romans* or their allies from a ſiege. It was compoſed of the graſs growing in the beſieged place.

Corona triumphalis, made with wreaths of lawrel, and proper only to ſuch Generals as had the honour of a triumph. In after-ages this was changed for ‡ gold, and not only reſtrained to thoſe that actually triumphed, but preſented on ſeveral other accounts, as commonly by the foreign ſtates and provinces to-

* Vide *Plutarch* in *Coriolano*. † Vide *Plin.* lib. 16. cap. 4. ‡ *Aurum Coronarium.*

their

"oppoſe by violence the collecting of the votes, let our Tribunes make "them feel what is the extent of their authority." Y. of *R.* 298. Bef. *J. C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

Icilius gave great commendations to the ſpeaker of this diſcourſe: But affecting at the ſame time to appear a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, he told him, they could not with juſtice refuſe to hear what the *Patricians* ſhould pleaſe to alledge againſt the Law; and ſo he adjourned the Aſſembly to the day following.

§. IV. THE two Conſuls during great part of the night held private conferences with the chief men of the Senate, to conſider what meaſures were moſt proper to be taken to fruſtrate the deſigns of the Tribune. After various counſels, it was reſolved to employ firſt the moſt inſinuating manners, and the whole art of eloquence to win upon the People, and diſſuade them from the publication of the Law: But if, by the influence of their Tribunes, they continued obſtinately bent upon it, in that caſe to oppoſe it with a high hand, and even by main force hinder the collecting of the votes. Word was ſent to all the *Patricians* to be at the *Forum* very early with their friends and clients; and it was agreed that part of them ſhould ſurround the *Roſtra*, and the reſt diſperſe themſelves among the Aſſembly in ſmall parties, to oppoſe the diſtribution of the tablets.

The *Patricians* did not fail to do as they were directed. They repaired betimes in the morning to the *Forum*, and took poſſeſſion of all the poſts agreed upon. The Conſuls being come, the Tribunes cauſed proclamation to be made by a Herald, that whoever had any ſolid reaſons to offer againſt the publication of the Law, might, if they pleaſed, lay them before the People. Divers Senators preſented themſelves one after another; but the moment they began to ſpeak, ſome inſolent fellows of the loweſt rank ſet up ſuch a houting and a clamour from all parts of the *Comitium*, that it was impoſſible to hear what was ſaid. The Conſuls, full of indignation at this inſolence, proteſted warmly againſt all that ſhould be done in ſo tumultuous an Aſſembly. Then the Tribunes, throwing aſide the maſk, told them confidently, that their proteſts ſhould not hinder the promulgation of the Law; that the People had already been too long amuſed with vain ſpeeches, whoſe affected prolixity was only intended to ſtave off the deciſion of this affair, and that therefore the voices of the Aſſembly muſt now bring it to ſome iſſue: And thereupon *Icilius* commanded the urns to be opened, and the tablets to be delivered out to the People. The Officers making ready to execute his orders, ſeveral young *Patricians* of the beſt families in the Republic, taking this to be as it were the ſignal for them to ſtir, inſtantly ſnatched away the urns, and ſcattered about the billets. Others, at the head of their friends and clients, threw themſelves into the

their patrons and benefactors. Several of the other crowns too are thought to have been of gold, as the *caſtrenſis*, the *mural*, and the *naval*.

Beſides theſe, we meet with the *cornæ aureæ*, often beſtowed on ſoldiers without any other additional term. And *Dion Caſſius* mentions a particular ſort of coronet made of olive boughs, and beſtowed, like the reſt, in conſideration of ſome ſignal act of valour. *Lipſius* believes theſe to have ſucceeded in the room of the golden crowns after they were laid aſide.

Y. of *R.* 298. Bef *J. C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

crowd, and by blows and main force hindered the People from dividing into their reſpective tribes. The Tribunes hereupon making loud exclamations, and breaking through the preſs, haſtened to aſſiſt the *Plebeians* and rectify the diſorder. The young *Patricians* ſuffered theſe ſacred Magiſtrates ſafely to paſs and to go whitherſoever they pleaſed, but they ſtopp'd all thoſe who were following them, nor would they permit the reſt of the multitude diſperſed about the *Forum* to join them; and thus the meaſures of the Tribunes being quite diſconcerted, they thought fit at length to retire.

They convened the Aſſembly again the next day; and having firſt made their complaints, demanded permiſſion of the People to enquire after the authors of the late diſorder; which was immediately granted them. Witneſſes were not wanting to depoſe that moſt of the young *Patricians* were concerned in raiſing the tumult; but as it was impracticable to include ſo great a number in the impeachment, the Tribunes, who only wanted to ſacrifice ſuch victims to their reſentment as might intimidate the Senate, reſolved to turn the whole accuſation againſt the youth of the *Poſthumian*, *Sempronian*, and *Clelian* families; and they accordingly cited thoſe to appear before the Aſſembly of the People.

D. Hal. B. 10.

The beſt heads in the Senate having conſulted together on this occaſion, and knowing that the People had determined to inflict no ſeverer puniſhment on the criminals than confiſcation of their effects, thought it adviſable to make no oppoſition to it, not only becauſe they could eaſily repair the loſs to the ſufferers, but becauſe they hoped that the multitude, ſatisfied with this revenge, would drop the proſecution of the Law. When the day came for the trial, the perſons accuſed not appearing were condemned in a fine for default; their goods were afterwards ſold publickly to pay it, and the produce conſecrated to *Ceres*. The Senate cauſed thoſe goods to be bought up again with their money by private hands, and ſhortly after reſtored them to the former proprietors.

§. IV. THE Tribunes not eaſily blinded by the Senate's policy, quickly reſumed the affair of the Law. The partition of the conquered lands became once more the common ſubject of their harangues. Their projects however were again diſconcerted by the ſudden arrival at this time of ſome expreſſes from *Tuſculum*. Theſe brought advice, that the *Æqui* were fallen upon the territory of that city, which was in alliance with *Rome*; that they laid waſte the whole country with fire and ſword; that it was even to be feared they would carry that town, if they laid ſiege to it; and that the inhabitants begged for ſuccour with the greateſt earneſtneſs. The Senate immediately decreed, that the Conſuls ſhould take the field with the forces of the Republic. The Tribunes failed not to oppoſe it, according to their old Cuſtom, and would fain have had their conſent bought by the publication of the Law. But the People, more generous than their Magiſtrates, remembering the aſſiſtance they had received from *Tuſculum* againſt *Herdonius*'s invaſion, readily offered to take arms. An army was raiſed out of hand, and the two Conſuls put themſelves at the Head

Head of it. *Sicinius Dentatus*, that *Plebeian* who had ſpoken ſo zealouſly in favour of the *Agrarian Law*, appeared under their ſtandard with eight hundred veterans, like himſelf, who had all compleated the time of ſervice preſcribed by law, but yet would go once more to the war under the particular command of *Sicinius*, whom they loudly named the *Roman Achilles*. Y. of *R.* 298. Bef. *J. C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

The army marched from *Rome*, advanced towards the *Algidus*, the uſual haunt of the *Æqui*, and whither they had retired on the news of the Conſuls approach. Theſe Generals having found the enemy intrenched on the top of a ſteep hill, pitched their camp not far from them, fortified it well, and kept cloſe within it, to conceal their ſtrength, which was very conſiderable. The *Æqui* took theſe precautions for a ſign of fear, and imagining the number of the *Romans* to be ſmall, made ſeveral attempts to bring them to an engagement. To confirm the enemy in their falſe confidence, the Conſuls ſtill kept the gates of the camp ſhut. But one day when *Romilius* commanded in chief, and the *Æqui* were deſcended into the plain, he reſolved to give them battle there, and at the ſame time to attack their entrenchments on the hill. With this view he ſent for *Sicinius Dentatus*, (who commanded the 800 veterans mentioned above,) and either out of eſteem for his valour, or with deſign to expoſe that *Plebeian* in a very dangerous action, gave him the charge of attacking the enemy's camp. "My Collegue and I, *ſaid he*, intend to march againſt *D. Hal.* B. 10. "the enemy in the plain, and in the mean time I would have you with the "body under your command, aſcend by yon narrow winding way to the "top of the hill, and attack their entrenchments. They have undoubtly left but a weak garriſon there, and your brave veterans will eaſily "make themſelves maſters of the camp. If the *Æqui* here below, to "preſerve it, quit the plain, we ſhall then fall upon their rear, and their "deſtruction will be inevitable." *Sicinius* anſwered, that he was always ready to obey his orders implicitly: "But give me leave, *ſaid he*, to re-"preſent to you that the execution of what you now command is not ſo "eaſy as you ſeem to imagine it. The hill is very high and ſteep, and I "ſee but one way up to it. We ſhall no ſooner be engaged in that narrow paſs, but the enemy will infallibly pour down upon us; and how "ſhall I be able, with my body of veterans alone, to withſtand them under ſo great a diſadvantage of the ground. You are willing to ſuppoſe "that the number of men employ'd to guard the camp is but ſmall. "There is no probability of this. But even granting that it be certainly "ſo, their very ſituation alone gives them ſuch an advantage over us, "that we ſhall never be able to force them."

Sicinius was going on with his remonſtrance, when the Conſul in great anger cut him ſhort, with telling him, that without pretending to act the General, his buſineſs was only to obey. "But if you think, *ſaid he*, there "is too much danger in the enterprize, I ſhall employ ſome other Officer, "who, leſs conceited of his own abilities, may ſucceed better."

He added with a ſcornful ſmile, "And you mighty Captain, you that have "followed the wars forty years, that have been in an hundred and twenty

Y. of *R.* 298. Bef. *J. C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

" battles, and whoſe whole body is covered over with wounds, do you " return to *Rome* without having dared to face the enemy, and carry back " to the *Forum* that eloquent tongue which is more formidable to your " fellow-citizens, than your ſword is to the *Æqui*, and the enemies of your " country "

The Officer, enraged at the General's reproaches, told him boldly, that he found he was reſolved either to deſtroy an old ſoldier, or to ſhame him, and for no other reaſon but his honeſt zeal for the public liberty; but that one was much eaſier to do than the other; that he would march up to the enemy's camp, and win it, or fall in the attempt with all his comrades. Theſe veterans then took their leave of the reſt of the ſoldiers, who looked after them as after men ſent to the ſlaughter. Happily for them they were under the conduct of an old Officer who underſtood his trade. *Sicinius* went round about a tedious way, and at length entered a great wood that ſeemed to ſtretch along the hills quite to the enemy's camp. Here having halted a moment, " Cheer up, my lads, *he cried*, either I am much " miſtaken, or I ſhall find ſome path that will lead us much more ſafely " to the enemy's camp, than that which our General pointed out, and " by which we could not have approached it without being ſeen." He then continued his march, and ſoon after met with a peaſant, who ſerving him for a guide, conducted him at length to an eminence that overlooked the camp, and was not far from it.

During this march the two armies were come to an engagement in the plain. They fought a great while with equal valour, and victory did not declare for either ſide. The ſoldiers in the camp of the *Æqui*, not apprehending any danger from behind, were all got to the ſide next the plain to ſee the fight. In this juncture *Sicinius* arrived on the other ſide, and finding it without Centinels, and quite defenceleſs, entered the camp at once. Then the veterans giving a loud ſhout fell upon the *Æqui*, whoſe eyes were turned another way. The ſudden fright which ſeized the latter made them imagine their enemies to be much more numerous than they were; ſo that without ſtaying to gather up their arms, all that could fled out of the camp, and ran precipitately down to the main body of their army, carrying fear and confuſion along with them. *Sicinius* followed them cloſe, ſlew many of them by the way, and then thundering upon the rear of that main body, which was engaged in fight with the *Roman* army, quickly put an end to the conflict. It was no longer a battle, but a general rout. The *Æqui* breaking their ranks, and diſperſing themſelves every way, 7000 of them were ſlaughtered, the Conſuls not giving over the purſuit 'till night came upon them.

Sicinius, as ſoon as it was dark, and the action quite over, retired with his veterans to the camp he had taken from the enemy. He had not loſt one man, nor of the whole number was there one who had received a wound. With mutual embraces they congratulated each other on their good fortune, and they all loaded their commander with praiſes. About midnight *Sicinius*, full of reſentment againſt the Conſuls, formed a reſolution

lution to hinder, if poſſible, thoſe Generals from having the honours of a triumph, at their return to *Rome*. His companions, to whom he imparted his deſign, having unanimouſly approved it, they inſtantly cut the throats of the priſoners, killed the horſes, ſet fire to the tents, the arms, and all the baggage, leaving none of thoſe marks of victory which were required from a General when he demanded the TRIUMPH. He then marched away with extream diligence, arrived at *Rome* with his cohort, and gave an account to the Tribunes of what had paſſed. The People ſeeing theſe old men returned alone, and all covered with the blood of their enemies, flock about them, and enquired news of the army. *Sicinius* told them of the victory gained over the *Æqui*, and at the ſame time complained of the inhumanity of the Conſuls, who, he ſaid, without neceſſity, and only to ſatisfy their hatred to the *Plebeians*, had expoſed eight hundred veterans to death, in all likelihood, unavoidable. He then related by what good fortune they had eſcaped the ſnares which the Conſuls had laid for them. "In ſpight of all difficulties, *ſaid he*, we took the enemy's camp, and "cut to pieces thoſe who guarded it. We afterwards fell upon the rear of "their main army, and by our valour and conduct, obtained a compleat "victory for the Conſuls. The only recompence we deſire is, that the honours of the TRIUMPH may not be allowed to Generals who have made "uſe of their authority to deſtroy their fellow-citizens without any juſt "cauſe." The People equally moved with compaſſion and indignation, promiſed they would never conſent that the Conſuls ſhould have a triumph. In vain did thoſe Generals at their return from the campaign repreſent the juſt title they had to the honours in queſtion, by having won a compleat victory, and cut 7000 of the enemy to pieces. The multitude prepoſſeſs'd with the belief that they had endeavoured to deſtroy the veterans, obſtinately refuſed to let them enter the city with the uſual pomp on ſuch occaſions; and the Senate, whether out of a principle of equity, or for fear of ſome new commotion, did not think proper to make themſelves parties in this affair.

Y. of *R.* 298. Bef. *J. C.* 454. 55 Conſulſhip.

The two Conſuls had no ſooner reſigned the Faſces to their ſucceſſors, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*, but they were cited before the Aſſembly of the People. *Romilius* was accuſed by *Sicinius*, (whom the People had raiſed to the Tribuneſhip) and *Veturius* by one of the Ædiles named *Allienus*. The accuſations ran upon the inſults which during their Conſulate they had offer'd to the Tribunes, and upon the affair of *Sicinius* and his veterans; but their real crime was the conſtant oppoſition they had both made to the promulgation of the *Agrarian* Law. The People fined them both, *Romilius* in ten thouſand *Aſſes*, and *Veturius* in fifteen thouſand. Hiſtory does not inform us of the reaſon of the difference which the People made in their fines: It was perhaps becauſe *Veturius* had the greater hand in the ill treatment of *Icilius*'s apparitor. What favours this conjecture is, that at the ſame time a Law was made, with the conſent of all orders in the State, that any Magiſtrate ſhould have power to lay a fine upon ſuch as ſhould be wanting in reſpect to his dignity: A prerogative reſerved before

Y. of *R.* 299. Bef. *J. C.* 453. 56 Conſulſhip. *D. Hal.*

D. Hal. B. 10. *sub fin.* to the Conſuls only. But to prevent any particular Magiſtrate from abuſing and ſtretching his authority in this point, it was provided by the ſame Law, that the higheſt fine for ſuch crimes ſhould never for the future exceed the value of two oxen and thirty ſheep.

CHAP. XXVI.

§. I. *The Tribunes finding they cannot by any means bring the Conſuls to hear of the* AGRARIAN LAW, *return to the purſuit of the* Terentian. Romilius, *whom the People had lately fined, takes part with them on this occaſion. At his motion both Senate and People agree to ſend Deputies to* Athens *to copy out the Laws of* Solon *and of the other Law-givers of* Greece, *in order to form thereby a body of* Roman *Law, to be the future rule to the Magiſtrates in all the parts of their adminiſtration. The next year (when* Sextus Quintilius *and* P. Horatius *are Conſuls) there is neither war abroad, nor contention at home, but* Rome *is dreadfully afflicted by a plague.* §. II. *In the following Conſulate of* P. Seſtius *and* T. Menenius, *the Deputies return from* Greece. *The People preſs the nomination of the ten Commiſſioners or* Decemvirs, *who are to compile the new Laws. The Conſuls, to avoid proceeding in this affair, inſiſt upon a previous election of their ſucceſſors, under whoſe adminiſtration it is to be ſettled.* Appius Claudius *(ſon of that* Appius *who killed himſelf, and grandſon of the firſt* Appius) *is choſen with* T. Genucius. *After this* Menenius *pretends ſickneſs. The Conſuls elect, to pleaſe the People, offer to forego their pretenſions to the Conſulate, rather than hinder the immediate nomination of the* Decemvirs. Seſtius, *the Collegue of* Menenius, *aſſembles the Senate, where it is carried by a majority, to create* Decemvirs, *and the* Tribunes, *after ſome ſtruggle, conſent to let them be all* Patricians. §. III *The election is made in the* Comitia *by* Centuries, *where* Appius *is the firſt named. The* Decemvirs *having entered upon their office, behave themſelves much to the ſatisfaction of the People. They compoſe* TEN TABLES OF LAWS, *which are approved by the Centuries aſſembled.*

Y. of *R.* 299. Bef. *J. C.* 453. 56 Conſulſhip. *Liv.* B. 3.

§. I. THE misfortune that befel *Romilius* and *Veturius* did not terrify [a] the preſent Conſuls, *Tarpeius* and *Æternius*. They declared undauntedly, that though they alſo ſhould be condemned and fined after the expiration of their Magiſtracy, yet the Tribunes and the People ſhould not be the nearer to their obtaining the publication of the *Agrarian* Law. So much reſolution, together with the unanimity of the Senate, diſheartened the Tribunes. The two parties, equally tired with their continual bickerings, looked as if they were going

[a] *D. Hal.* on the contrary ſays, that theſe Conſuls were terrify'd by the ill treatment their predeceſſors met with; that to pleaſe the People, they promoted the paſſing of the Law before mentioned relating to fines for diſobedience to Magiſtrates; and that they alſo propoſed and promoted the paſſing of the *Terentian* Law.

to be reconciled. Not a word was heard about the partition of the lands, for ſome time. But the multitude, ever reſtleſs, only changed their object: They returned to the *Terentian* Law, and required of the Senate, that Legiſlators, choſen partly out of the Nobility, and partly out of the Commons, might be appointed to draw up a body of Laws, which ſhould be a guide to the Magiſtrates with regard both to publick affairs and to thoſe conteſts that daily aroſe between private perſons. Y. of *R.* 299. Bef. *J. C.* 453. 56 Conſulſhip.

The Senators expreſſed no diſlike to the ſubſtance of this propoſal; but as to the Commiſſioners who were to be employ'd to execute it, they abſolutely refuſed to admit of any but *Patricians*. Nothing was ſo ſurpriſing on this occaſion to both parties, as the conduct of *Romilius*, that Conſular whom the People had but a little before condemned in a heavy fine. Inſtead of oppoſing that eſtabliſhment of fix'd laws and rules, which the commons demanded, he warmly declared for it; but he adviſed, that without attempting to frame new Laws, the Senate ſhould diſpatch away Deputies to *Athens*, there to tranſcribe the Laws of *Solon*; that thoſe Deputies ſhould likewiſe make themſelves acquainted with the forms of government in the other Cities and States of *Greece*; and that when they were come back, Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to make choice of ſuch of the *Grecian* Laws as ſhould appear to be moſt ſuitable to the preſent conſtitution of the *Roman* Republic. *Livy*, B. 3.

This advice of *Romilius* was equally well received by the two parties. *Sicinius*, his late enemy, beſtowed large encomiums upon him, proteſting that for the future he ſhould ever be his friend. Nay he went further, and in the name of the People remitted him the fine which he had been condemned to pay. However, as the money had been conſecrated to *Ceres*, *Romilius* rejected this favour, as thinking he could not accept it without ſacrilege.

A Decree conformable to *Romilius*'s propoſal being paſſed by the Senate and confirmed by the People, *Sp. Poſthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *S. Sulpitius Camerinus*, were ſoon after commiſſioned, and ſent away to make the collection of *Grecian* Laws. During the reſt of this year, the State was pretty quiet. Nor in the year following, when *P. Horatius* and *Sextus Quintilius* were Conſuls, was there either war abroad, or contention at home, but almoſt all *Italy* was afflicted with a plague. The Conſul *Quintilius*, four Tribunes of the People, and great numbers of citizens of all ranks and conditions died of it. The People diſperſed themſelves on every ſide to avoid it. *Rome* in this general deſolation became a deſart, and ſome ſurprize was to be feared from the *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, and the *Sabines*. But the contagion raged among them too with the ſame fury; a calamity that was general ſerved inſtead of ſtrength and defence to the Republic. Y. of *R.* 300. Bef. *J. C.* 452. 57 Conſulſhip.

§. II. THE next year began with happier auſpices. The plague ceaſed in the Conſulate of *P. Seſtius* and *T. Menenius*, and the Ambaſſadors who had been ſent into *Greece*, returned to *Rome*. The Tribunes of the People preſently made warm inſtances to the Conſuls for the election of Decemvirs or ten Commiſſioners, who ſhould be employ'd in the great Y. of *R.* 301. Bef. *J. C.* 451. 58 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 10.

V. of *R.* 301. Bef *J.C.* 451. 58 Conſulſhip.

great work of drawing up a body of Laws for the government of the Commonwealth. *Seſtius* and *Menenius* averſe to the whole deſign, put off this election under various pretences. At firſt, they alledged in excuſe of the delay, that the great affair in queſtion being to be ſettled under the Conſulate of their ſucceſſors, nothing ought to be done in it, till thoſe ſucceſſors were appointed, nor indeed without their participation. To this the Tribunes made no objection; but it is probable that their impatience haſtened the meeting of the Centuries; for the Conſuls convened them before the uſual time. *Appius Claudius* was choſen firſt Conſul. He was the third from father to ſon in the *Claudian* family who obtained that dignity. All the *Patricians* gave him their voices, in hopes he would be no leſs zealous for the power of the Senate than his anceſtors. *T. Genucius* was named for his Collegue. The Tribunes, after this election of Magiſtrates for the next year, renewed their ſollicitations to the preſent Conſuls to proceed to the nomination of the Decemvirs. *Menenius* to get rid of their importunity, pretended ſickneſs and ſtaid at home. And as for *Seſtius*, he excuſed himſelf by ſaying, that it would not be decent for him to act in ſo great an affair, without his Collegue; and he referred them to *Appius* and *Genucius* the Conſuls elect. To theſe the Tribunes applied themſelves, and by much ſollicitation and fine promiſes, at length entirely gained them. *Appius* in a general Aſſembly, to which he went at their deſire, made ſo artful a ſpeech, that without declaring againſt the Senate, he won the hearts of the People. His diſcourſe chiefly turned upon the juſtice of eſtabliſhing Laws that ſhould be equally binding upon all the citizens, and equally favourable to all; an eſtabliſhment which would put an end to the contentions between the two parties, and make *Rome*, which had been ſo long divided, as it were, into two cities, become but one Commonwealth. He added, that he was convinced the nomination of the Decemvirs ought not to be deferred any longer; and that if the election of himſelf and his Collegue to the Conſulate was thought to be any hindrance to it, they were both ready (provided the Senate approved it,) to relinquiſh their pretenſions to that dignity.

This diſcourſe ſo little expected from a *Patrician* of the *Claudian* family, was highly applauded by the Aſſembly. The next ſtep was to bring the affair before the Senate. *Menenius* ſtill feigned to be ſick, in order to avoid convening that body; but *Seſtius*, won over probably by a promiſe of being included in the number of the Decemvirs, aſſembled the *Conſcript Fathers*, and propoſed the nomination of thoſe new Magiſtrates. The Senators were divided in opinion. Some fond of the old cuſtoms, were averſe to all Changes in the government of the State, and the adminiſtration of juſtice: But *Appius*, who had a ſtrong party in the Aſſembly, maintained on the contrary, that there was great juſtice in eſtabliſhing, with the People's conſent, Laws that might be conſtant Rules for the future to direct the judgments of the Magiſtrates. And this at laſt was carried by plurality of voices. It was reſolved to proceed forthwith to the nomination of the Decemvirs: But then a new difficulty aroſe. The Tribunes of the Commons

demanded in their name, that ſome *Plebeians* ſhould be let into that commiſſion. All the Senators unanimouſly oppoſed this pretenſion. They remonſtrated, that as the Decemvirs were to take the place and the authority of the Conſuls, it was a thing unheard of, that *Plebeians*, who were by their very birth excluded from all *Curule* Magiſtracies, ſhould be inveſted with the ſovereign power. The Tribunes after many reaſons had been offered on both ſides, finding plainly that the Senate would never give up this point, at length deſiſted from their demand, for fear the nomination of the Decemvirs ſhould be dropt entirely; and ſo it was agreed that they ſhould all be choſen out of the body of the Senate; that theſe Commiſſioners ſhould for one whole year be inveſted with the Sovereign power, without any appeal from their judgments and decrees; that during the ſaid ſpace of time there ſhould be neither Conſuls nor Tribunes [a]; that the authority and functions of all the other Magiſtrates ſhould be ſuſpended; that the Decemvirs ſhould draw up a body of Laws extracted from thoſe of *Greece*, and from the ancient uſages of *Rome*; and that when theſe Laws had been communicated to the Senate and People, and had received their confirmation, they ſhould always for the future be ſtrictly obſerved in the government of the State, and the adminiſtration of juſtice. Nevertheleſs it was provided, that no alteration ſhould be made by the Decemvirs in two Laws favourable to the People, the *Icilian*, and that of the *Mons Sacer*. Y. of *R.* 301. Bef. *J. C.* 451. 58 Conſulſhip.

§. III. SHORTLY after, a ſolemn Aſſembly was held of the whole *Roman* People convened by Centuries, and when the auſpices had been taken, and the other ceremonies of religion performed, they proceeded to the election of the Decemvirs. *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius* were the firſt named; and it was thought they deſerved this honourable preference for the generous abdication they made of the Conſulſhip. The next choſen were *L. Seſtius*, the Conſul who had brought this matter before the Senate againſt his Collegue's will, *Sp. Poſthumius*, *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, the three Deputies who had been ſent into *Greece*; *T. Romilius*, who had propoſed that deputation; and to theſe were added *C. Julius*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all Conſulars, and men of diſtinction. Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J. C.* 450. 59 Conſulſhip.

Theſe DECEMVIRS having taken the Government upon them, agreed among themſelves, that only one of them at a time ſhould have the faſces and the other conſular ornaments, aſſemble the Senate, confirm Decrees, and act in all reſpects as ſupreme Magiſtrate. To this honour they were to ſucceed by turns, each enjoying it one whole day, and then reſigning it to another; and while one had the badges of ſovereign power, the other nine differed very little in their habits or manner of living from pri- 1 Decemvirate

[a] This is the firſt inſtance of ſuſpending the Tribuneſhip. The dignity and functions of the Tribunes had hitherto been always preſerved, even under the Dictator's, and when all other Magiſtracies ceaſed. The reaſon was, that the Tribunes were not properly Magiſtrates, but only Protectors of the People againſt any oppreſſions by the Magiſtrates.

vate

Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J. C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

vate perſons, to give the People the leſs ſuſpicion of tyranny and abſolute government.

They repaired every morning, each in his turn, to their Tribunal in the *Forum*, to diſpenſe juſtice, which they did with ſo much impartiality, that the People, charmed with their conduct, ſeemed to have forgot their Tribunes. Moſt of them pray'd to the Gods for the continuance of a Government ſo full of moderation; nay, there were many *Plebeians* who declared, that inſtead of reſtoring the Conſulate and Tribunate, the beſt thing they could do, would be to find ways to make the Decemvirate perpetual.

The People looked upon themſelves as chiefly indebted to *Appius* for the preſent felicity they enjoy'd. And indeed by the good underſtanding he lived in with his Collegues, and by his affable behaviour to the People, he acquired univerſally the reputation of ſuperior merit. From being an auſtere *Patrician* who croſſed the *Plebeians* in all their pretenſions, he was become a very *Poplicola*. No body ſo gracious and condeſcending as *Appius*. He could call the Citizens he met by their names. He ſaluted even the meaneſt of the populace, giving them all aſſurances of his good will and concern for their intereſts.

The Decemvirs laboured with great application this whole year upon the compilation of the Laws, which they gathered partly from the ancient Decrees of the Kings of *Rome*, and partly from the Laws of *Greece*, which one [a] *Hermodorus* of *Epheſus*, who happened to be then at *Rome*, interpreted to them. When their work was compleated, they propoſed it in TEN TABLES, of which only a few fragments are come down to us. Theſe tables being fixed up in the *Forum*, and a general Aſſembly convened, the Decemvirs repreſented to the People with great modeſty, that they did not know they had omitted any thing which ſeemed neceſſary for the preſervation of liberty, and the eſtabliſhment of that equality which was ſo neceſſary in a Republic. That however they would have their fellow-citizens examine their Performance carefully, and declare freely what they conceived ought to be retrenched or added; to the intent that for the future the *Roman* People might live under Laws which they might be ſaid to have *made* rather than *approved*. A Diſcourſe ſo modeſt and candid, had no other anſwer but the higheſt praiſes. The Decemvirs for ſome time ſat daily in the *Forum* to receive remonſtrances; and whoever had any thing to object againſt the Laws was readily heard. When all neceſſary corrections and amendments had been made, and the People in general ſeemed to be well ſatisfied, the TEN TABLES were then carried before the Senate. The Conſcript Fathers, having examined and approved them, paſſed a Decree for convening the Centuries, in order to their ratification. This Aſſembly was ſoon after held, the auſpices were ſolemnly taken, and the Laws being firſt read over, in the preſence of the Miniſters of Religion, were confirmed by the unanimous voices of the whole ROMAN PEOPLE.

Plin. B. 34. Cap. 5.

[a] It is ſaid, that *Heraclitus* the friend of *Hermodorus* wrote him a congratulatory letter on the ſhare he had had in drawing up the *Roman* Laws, adding, that in a dream he had ſeen all the nations of the earth bowing down before theſe Laws, and worſhipping them in the *Perſian* manner.

Strabo B. 14.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Fragments of the TEN TABLES of Laws beforemention'd, as they have been collected and digeſted by the learned Jeſuits *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, and alſo of the TWO TABLES of Laws ſoon after added to the TEN.

TABLE I.

Of LAW-SUITS.

I. LAW. *Go immediately with the perſon who cites you before the Judge.* Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J.C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

II. LAW. *If the perſon you cite refuſes to go with you before the Judge, take ſome that are preſent to be witneſſes of it, and you ſhall have a right to compel him to appear.*

III. LAW. *If the Perſon cited endeavours to eſcape from you, or puts himſelf into a poſture of reſiſtance, you may ſeize his body*

IV. LAW. *If the perſon proſecuted be old, or infirm, let him be carried in a* Jumentum, *or open carriage. But if he refuſe that, the proſecutor ſhall not be obliged to provide him an* Arcera, *or a covered carriage.*

V. LAW. *But if the perſon cited find a ſurety, let him go.*

VI. LAW. *Only a rich man ſhall be ſecurity for a rich man. But any ſecurity ſhall be ſufficient for a poor man.*

VII. LAW. *The Judge ſhall give judgment according to the agreement made between the two parties, by the way.*

VIII. LAW. *If the perſon cited has made no agreement with his adverſary, let the* Prætor *hear the cauſe from ſun-riſing till noon; and let both parties be preſent when it is heard, whether it be in the* Forum, *or* Comitium.

IX. LAW. *Let the ſame* Prætor *give judgment in the afternoon, though but one of the parties be preſent.*

X. LAW. *Let no judgments be given after the going down of the ſun.*

XI. LAW. *When the parties have pitched upon a judge or arbitrator by conſent, let them give ſecurities, that they will appear. Let him who does not appear in court pay the penalty agreed upon, unleſs he was hindered by ſome great fit of ſickneſs, or by the performance of ſome vow, or by buſineſs of ſtate, or by ſome indiſpenſible engagement with a foreigner. If any one of theſe impediments happen to the judge or arbitrator, or either of the parties, let the hearing be put off to another day.*

XII. LAW. [a] *Whoever ſhall not be able to bring any witneſſes to prove his pretenſions*

[a] The plaintiff was often diſappointed of his demand upon the defendant, and the proſecution declared null, for want of witneſſes. In order to remove this inconvenience, the *Decemviri*

Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J. C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

pretenſions before the Judge, may go and make a clamour for three days together, before his adverſary's houſe.

TABLE II.

Of ROBBERIES.

I. LAW. *He that is attacked by a robber in the night, let him not be puniſhed if he kills him.*

II. LAW. *If the robbery be committed by day, and if the robber be taken in the fact, let him be beaten with rods, and become the ſlave of him whom he robbed. If the robber be a ſlave already, let him be beaten with rods, and thrown down headlong from the top of the capitol. If he be a child, under the age of* puberty, *let him be corrected, according to the* Prætor's *diſcretion, and let reparation be made to the injured party.*

III. LAW. *When robbers attack any perſon with arms, if the perſon attacked has cried out for help, he ſhall not be puniſhed if he kills the robbers.*

IV. LAW. *When upon a legal ſearch, any ſtolen goods are found in a houſe, the robbery ſhall be puniſhed upon the ſpot, as if openly and publickly committed.*

V. LAW. *For robberies committed privately, the robber ſhall be condemned to pay double the value of the things ſtolen.*

VI. LAW. *Whoſoever ſhall cut down trees, which don't belong to him, he ſhall pay* 25 Aſſes *of braſs, for every tree ſo felled.*

VII. LAW. *If any one comes privately, by night, and treads down another man's field of corn, or reaps his harveſt, let him be hanged up, and put to death, as a victim devoted to* Ceres. *But if he be a child, under the age of* puberty, *let the* Prætor *order him to be corrected as he ſhall think fit, or let double ſatisfaction be made for the damage he has done.*

Decemviri made a Law, which gave the perſon injured leave to go to the door of his houſe whom he intended to proſecute; to repeat the ſubject of his complaint with a loud voice; and even to have recourſe to invectives if there was occaſion: and to continue this for three market-days together, becauſe the country People came then to *Rome*, about their buſineſs. Hence came the cuſtom, which continues to this day, of ſending three ſummons, before judgment is given by default. If after theſe repeated clamours the perſon cited ſtill refuſed to make reſtitution, the plaintiff had a right to call thoſe in the neighbourhood who heard him, as witneſſes, and go in with them, even by force, into his adverſary's houſe, and there ſeize his own goods wherever he found them. The Law was thus expreſſed. CUI TESTIMONIUM DEFUERIT, IS TERTIIS DIEBUS, OBPORTUM, OBVAGULATUM ITO; that is to ſay, *ei, qui teſtimoniis deſtituitur, liceat, tertiis nundinis, reum ante ædes, convitiis & clamoribus appetere.* According to *Feſtus*, *portus* had anciently the ſame ſignification as *domus*, or *ædes*. The word *obvagulatum* is, ſays *Feſtus*, put for *quæſtionem cum convitio*, i. e. *a demand made with great outcries and invectives*. In this ſenſe the *Civilians* interpret the verb *vagulo*, which they derive from the verb *vagio*.

Turneb. B. 2. *adverſ. cap.* 26. and *Salmaſius Obſerv. ad jus Attic. & Ro. cap.* 30. ſtate this Law in a different manner. Their interpretation of it is this. *If the plaintiff cannot produce his witneſſes, let him go to the houſe of him whoſe teſtimony he had a right to expect; and let him require him to bear witneſs for him with great cries, and with injurious reflections, if the witneſs obſtinately perſiſts in the refuſing it.*

VIII.

VIII. LAW. *If a robber and the perſon robbed agree together upon terms of reſtitution, no farther action ſhall lie againſt the robber.* Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J.C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

IX. LAW. *Preſcription ſhall never be pleaded as a right to ſtolen goods, nor ſhall a foreigner have a right to the goods of any* Roman *citizen, by the longeſt poſſeſſion.*

X. LAW. *If any one betrays his truſt, with reſpect to what is depoſited in his hands, let him pay double the value of what was ſo depoſited, to him who entruſted him with it.*

XI. LAW. *If any one finds any of his goods in another man's poſſeſſion, who became poſſeſſed of them by a breach of truſt, let the* Prætor *nominate three arbitrators to judge of it. And let the wrongful poſſeſſor pay double the value of what he has gained by detaining them.*

XII. LAW. *If a ſlave has committed a robbery, or done any damage, with the privity and at the inſtigation of his maſter, let the maſter deliver up the ſlave to the perſon injured, by way of compenſation.*

TABLE III.

OF LOANS, AND THE RIGHT OF CREDITORS OVER THEIR DEBTORS.

I. LAW. *Let him who takes more than one* per Cent. *intereſt for money, be condemned to pay four times the ſum lent.*

II. LAW. *When any perſon acknowledges a debt, or is condemned to pay it, the creditor ſhall give his debtor thirty days for the payment of it: After which he ſhall cauſe him to be ſeized, and brought before a Judge.*

III. *If the debtor refuſes to pay his debt, and can find no ſecurity, his creditor may carry him home, and either tie him by the neck, or put irons upon his feet, provided the chain does not weigh above fifteen pounds; but it may be lighter, if he pleaſes.*

IV. LAW. *If the captive debtor will live at his own expence, let him; if not, let him who keeps him in chains allow him a pound of meal a day, or more, if he pleaſes.*

V. LAW. *The creditor may keep his debtor priſoner for ſixty days. If in this time the debtor does not find means to pay him, he that detains him ſhall bring him out before the people three market-days, and proclaim the ſum, of which he has been defrauded.*

VI. LAW. *If the debtor be inſolvent to ſeveral creditors, let his body be cut in pieces on the third market-day. It may be cut into more or fewer pieces with impunity: Or, if his creditors conſent to it, let him be ſold to foreigners beyond the* Tyber.

TABLE IV.

OF THE RIGHT OF FATHERS OF FAMILIES.

I. LAW. *Let a father have the power of life and death over his legitimate children, and let him ſell them when he pleaſes.*

Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J.C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

II. LAW. *But if a father has ſold his ſon three times, let the ſon then be out of his father's power.*

III. LAW. *If a father has a child born, which is monſtrouſly deformed, let him kill him immediately.*

IV. LAW. *Let not a ſon, whoſe father has ſo far neglected his education as not to teach him a trade, be obliged to maintain his father in want; otherwiſe let all ſons be obliged to relieve their fathers.*

V. LAW. *Let not a baſtard be obliged to work to maintain his father.*

TABLE V.

OF INHERITANCES AND GUARDIANSHIPS.

I. LAW. *After the Death of a father of a family, let the diſpoſition he made of his eſtate, and his appointment concerning the guardianſhip of his children, be obſerved.*

II. LAW. *If he dies inteſtate, and has no children to ſucceed him, let his neareſt relation be his heir; if he has no near relation, let a man of his own name be his heir.*

III. LAW. *When a freed-man dies inteſtate, and without heirs, if his patron be alive, or has left children, let the effects of the freed-man go to the family of his Patron.*

IV. *After the death of a debtor, his debts ſhall be paid by his heirs, in proportion to the ſhare they have in his inheritance. After this they may divide the reſt of his effects, if they pleaſe, and the* Prætor *ſhall appoint three arbitrators to make the diviſion.*

V. LAW. *If a father of a family dies inteſtate, and leaves an heir under age, let the child's neareſt relation be his guardian.*

VI. LAW. *If any one becomes mad, or prodigal, and has no body to take care of him, let a relation, or if he has none, a man of his own name, have the care of his perſon and eſtate.*

TABLE VI.

OF PROPERTY AND POSSESSION.

I. LAW. *When a man conveys his eſtate to another, let the terms of the conveyance create the right.*

II. LAW. *If a ſlave, who was made free on condition of paying a certain ſum, be afterwards ſold, let him be ſet at liberty, if he pay the perſon who has bought him, the ſum agreed upon.*

III. LAW. *Let not any piece of merchandize, tho' ſold and delivered, belong to the buyer, till he has paid for it.*

IV. LAW. *Let two years poſſeſſion amount to a preſcription for lands, and one for moveables.*

V. LAW. *In litigated caſes the preſumption ſhall always be on the ſide of the poſſeſſor: And in diſputes about liberty or ſlavery, the preſumption ſhall always be on the ſide of liberty.* Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J. C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

TABLE VII.

OF TRESPASSES AND DAMAGES.

I. LAW. *If a beaſt does any damage in a field, let the maſter of the beaſt make ſatisfaction, or give up his beaſt.*

II. LAW. *If you find a raſter or a pole which belongs to you, in another man's houſe or vineyard, and they are made uſe of, don't pull down the houſe, or ruin the vineyard; but make the poſſeſſor pay double the value of the thing ſtolen; and when the houſe is deſtroyed, or the pole taken out of the vineyard, then ſeize what's your own.*

III. LAW. *Whoever ſhall maliciouſly ſet fire to another man's houſe, or an heap of corn near his houſe, ſhall be impriſoned, ſcourged, and burnt to death. If he did it by accident, let him repair the damage: And if he be a poor man, let him be ſlightly corrected.*

IV. LAW. *Whoever ſhall deprive another of the uſe of a limb, ſhall be puniſhed according to the law of retaliation, if the perſon injured does not agree to accept ſome other ſatisfaction.*

V. LAW. *If he has only diſlocated a bone, let him pay three hundred pounds of braſs if the ſufferer be a freed-man, and a hundred and fifty if he be a ſlave.*

VI. LAW. *For common blows with the fiſt, and injurious words, the puniſhment ſhall be twenty five* Aſſes *of braſs.*

VII. *Whoever ſlanders another by words, or defamatory verſes, and injures his reputation, ſhall be beaten with a club.*

VIII. LAW. *Let him who has once been a witneſs, and refuſes to bear witneſs again, tho' a public perſon, be deemed infamous, and made incapable of bearing witneſs any more.*

IX. LAW. *Let every falſe witneſs be thrown down headlong from the* Capitol.

X. LAW. *Whoever ſhall wilfully kill a freed-man, or ſhall make uſe of magical words to hurt him, or ſhall have prepared poiſon for him, or given it to him, ſhall be puniſhed as an homicide.*

XI. LAW. *Let all* Parricides *be thrown into the river, ſowed up in a leather-bag, and with their heads veiled.*

XII. LAW. *The guardian who manages the affairs of his ward ill, ſhall be reprimanded; and if he be found to have cheated him, he ſhall reſtore double.*

XIII. LAW. *A patron who ſhall have defrauded his client, ſhall be execrable.*

TABLE VIII.

OF ESTATES IN THE COUNTRY.

Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J. C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

I. LAW. *Let the ſpace of two foot and an half of ground be always left between one houſe and another.*

II. LAW. *Societies may make what by-laws they pleaſe among themſelves, provided they don't interfere with the public laws.*

III. LAW. *When two neighbours have any diſputes about their bounds, the* Prætor *ſhall aſſign them three arbitrators.*

IV. LAW. *When a tree planted in a field does injury to an adjoining field by its ſhade, let its branches be cut off fifteen foot high.*

V. LAW. *If the fruit of a tree falls into a neighbouring field, the owner of the tree may go and pick it up.*

VI. LAW. *If a man would make a drain, to carry off the rain-water from his ground to his neighbour's, let the* Prætor *appoint three arbitrators, to judge of the damage the water may do, and prevent it.*

VII. LAW. *Roads ſhall be eight foot wide, where they run ſtrait, and where they turn, ſixteen.*

VIII. LAW. *If a road between two fields be bad, the traveller may drive through which field he pleaſes.*

TABLE IX.

OF THE COMMON RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

I. LAW. *Let not privilege be granted to any perſon.*

II. LAW. *Let both debtors who are got out of ſlavery, and ſtrangers who have rebelled, and returned to their duty, be reſtored to their ancient rights, as if they had never offended.*

III. LAW. *It ſhall be a capital crime for a judge or arbitrator to take money for paſſing judgment.*

IV. Law. *Let all cauſes, relating to the life, liberty, or rights of a* Roman *Citizen, be tried only in* Comitia by Centuries.

V. LAW. *Let the People appoint* Quæſtors, *to take cognizance of all capital caſes.*

VI. LAW. *Whoever ſhall hold ſeditious aſſemblies in the city, by night, ſhall be put to death.*

VII. LAW. *Let him who ſhall have ſollicited a foreigner to declare himſelf againſt* Rome, *or ſhall have delivered up a* Roman *citizen to a foreigner, loſe his life.*

VIII. LAW. *Let only the laſt laws of the People be in force.* [*i. e.* let the laſt ſuperſede all former ones, in the ſame caſe made and provided.]

TABLE X.

OF FUNERALS, AND ALL CEREMONIES RELATING TO THE DEAD.

I. LAW. *Let no dead body be interred, or burnt, within the city.* Y. of *R.* 302.
II. LAW. *Let all coſtlineſs and exceſſive wailings be baniſhed from funerals.* Bef. *J. C.* 450.
III. LAW. *Let not the wood, with which funeral-piles are built, be cut with a ſaw* [a]. 1 Decemvirate

IV. LAW. *Let the dead body be covered with no more than three habits, bordered with purple; and let no more than ten players upon the flute be employ'd in celebrating the obſequies* [b].

V. LAW. *Let not the women tear their faces, or diſfigure themſelves, or make hideous outcries.*

VI. LAW. *Let not any part of a dead body be carried away, in order to perform other obſequies for the deceaſed, unleſs he died in war, or out of his own country* [c].

VII. LAW.

[a] ROGUM ASCIA NE POLITO, are the *Latin* words of this Law, which ſeems to have paſſed from the *Athenians* to the *Romans*. *Solon*, and after him *Phalerius*, forbad the uſe of joinery, and the ornaments of ſculpture, in the building of ſepulchres.

[b] It was a Law eſtabliſhed by *Solon*, that no more than three robes ſhould be buried or burnt with the corps; it being cuſtomary among the ancients, to load the funeral-pile, or fill the ſepulchre with rich habits, and all the valuable things the deceaſed had had in his life-time; agreeable to theſe lines of *Virgil* in his ſixth *Æneid*,

———Tum membra thoro deſleta reponunt
Purpureaſque ſuper veſtes, velamina nota
Injiciunt.

The latter clauſe of this Law did not hinder the *Romans* from joining trumpets to flutes in the funerals of great men.

[c] The *Civilians* have given us this Law, after *Tully*, B. 2. *de Legib.* thus, HOMINI MORTUO OSSA NE LEGITO, QUO POST FUNUS FACIAS, EXTRA QUAM SI BELLI, ENDOVE HOSTICO, MORTUUS ESCIT. It often happened at *Rome*, that the friends and relations of the deceaſed, carried off ſome parts of his body, during the celebration of the obſequies, in order to perform another funeral for him in private. Which multiplied expences, and renewed uſeleſs grief. The *Decemviri* therefore forbad this cuſtom. Nevertheleſs the practice of interring ſtill continued at *Rome*, even with regard to thoſe bodies which were burnt. The relations and friends of the deceaſed, reſerved a ſmall part of his body, a finger for inſtance, or a bone, and buried it with as much ceremony, as if it had been the whole body. By this means the *Romans* intended to preſerve the ancient cuſtom of burial, without which, ſays *Cicero*, the place where the body had been burnt, was not conſecrated by religion, nor therefore could any one legally build a ſepulchre there: *Nam priuſquam in os injecta gleba eſt, locus ille, ubi crematum eſt corpus, nihil habet religionis. Injectâ glebâ, tum & ille humatus eſt, & ſepulchrum vocatur, ac tum denique multa religioſa jura complectitur.* The Law makes an exception for thoſe who had died in war, or in a diſtant country, or who had been devoured by ſome wild beaſt, &c. It was lawful to make a funeral pomp for ſuch, in honour of their bravery, and to erect one of thoſe tombs for them, which the ancients called *Cænotaphia*. It was a received opinion, according to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, that theſe empty ſepulchres were retreats for the wandering ſouls of thoſe who had had no burial. This defect was ſupplied by throwing three handfuls of earth upon the tomb, and calling the deceaſed by his name three times. *Æneas* paid this tribute to the memory of young *Polidorus*.

Ergo

Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J. C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

VII. LAW. *Let no ſlaves be embalmed after their death; let there be no drinking round a dead body; nor let any perfumed liquors be poured upon it.*

VIII. LAW. *Let no crowns, feſtoons, perfuming-pots, or any kind of perfume, be carried to funerals.*

IX. LAW. *If the deceaſed has merited a crown in the public games, by any exploit of his own, or the expertneſs of his ſlaves, or the ſwiftneſs of his horſes, let his panegyric be made at his funeral, and let his relations have leave to put a crown upon his head, as well during the ſeven days he remains in the houſe, as when he is carried to be buried.*

X. LAW. *Let no man have more than one funeral made for him, or than one bed put under him.*

XI. LAW. *Let no gold be uſed in any obſequies, unleſs the jaw of the deceaſed has been tied up with a gold thread. In that caſe the corps may be interred or burnt with the gold thread.*

XII. LAW. *For the future, let no ſepulchre be built, or funeral-pile raiſed within ſixty feet of any houſe, without the conſent of the owner of the houſe.*

XIII. LAW. *Preſcription ſhall never be pleaded againſt a man's right to his burial place, or the entrance to it.*

TABLE XI.

OF THE WORSHIP OF THE GODS, AND OF RELIGION.

The Laws of the 11th and 12th Tables were not drawn up till the next year 303, nor paſſed till 305 of *Rome.*

I. LAW. *Let all perſons come with purity and piety to the aſſemblies of religion, and baniſh all extravagance from thence. If any one does otherwiſe, may the Gods themſelves revenge it.*

II. LAW. *Let no perſon have particular Gods of his own; or worſhip any new and foreign ones in private, unleſs they are authoriſed by public authority.*

III. LAW. *Let every one enjoy the temples conſecrated by his fore-fathers, the ſacred groves in his fields, and the oratories of his* Lares. *And let every one obſerve the rites uſed in his own family, and by his anceſtors, in the worſhip of his domeſtic Gods.*

IV. LAW. *Honour the Gods of Heaven, not only thoſe who have always been eſteemed ſuch, but thoſe likewiſe whoſe merit has raiſed them thither, as* Hercules, Bacchus, Æſculapius, Caſtor, Pollux, *and* Romulus.

V. LAW. *Let thoſe commendable qualities, by which heroes obtained Heaven, be ranked among the Gods, as Underſtanding, Virtue, Piety, Fidelity; and let Temples be erected to them. But let no worſhip ever be paid to any vice.*

VI. LAW. *Let the moſt authoriſed ceremonies be obſerved.*

Ergo inſtauramus Polydoro funus, & ingens
Aggeritur tumulo tellus. Stant manibus aræ.
Animamque ſepulchro
Condimus, & magna ſupremum voce ciemus.
Æneid 3.

Ovid ſpeaks of theſe monuments, which looked like ſepulchres.

Et ſæpe in tumulis, ſine corpore, nomina legi.

VII. LAW.

VII. LAW. *Let law-ſuits be ſuſpended on feſtivals; and let the ſlaves have leave to celebrate them after they have done their work. That it may be known on what days they fall, let them be ſet down in the calendars.*

VIII. LAW. *Let the Prieſts offer up in ſacrifice to the Gods, on certain days, the fruits of the earth, and berries: And on other days abundance of milk, and young victims. For fear this ceremony ſhould be omitted, the Prieſts ſhall end their year with it. Let them likewiſe take care to chooſe for every God, the victim he likes. Let there be* Prieſts *appointed for ſome Gods,* Flamines *for others, and* Pontifices *to preſide over them all.*

IX. LAW. *Let no woman be preſent at the ſacrifices which are offered up in the night, except at thoſe which are made for the people, with the uſual ceremonies. Nor let any one be initiated in any myſteries brought from* Greece, *but thoſe of* Ceres.

X. LAW. *If any one ſteals what belongs, or is devoted to the Gods, let him be puniſhed as a Parricide.*

XI. LAW. *Leave perjury to be puniſhed with death by the Gods, and let it be puniſhed with perpetual diſgrace by men.*

XII. LAW. *Let the* Pontifices *puniſh inceſt with death.*

XIII. LAW. *Let every one ſtrictly perform his vows: But let no wicked perſon dare to make any offerings to the Gods.*

XIV. LAW. *Let no man dedicate his field to the ſervice of the altar; and let him be diſcreet in his offerings of gold, ſilver, or ivory. Let no man dedicate a litigated eſtate to the Gods: If he does, he ſhall pay double the value of it to him whoſe right it ſhall appear to be.*

XV. LAW. *Let every man conſtantly obſerve his family-feſtivals.*

XVI. LAW. *Let him who has been guilty of any of thoſe faults, which make men execrable, and are not to be atoned for, by expiations, be deemed impious. But let the Prieſts expiate ſuch, as are to be expiated* [d].

TABLE XII.

OF MARRIAGES, AND THE RIGHT OF HUSBANDS.

I. LAW. *When a woman ſhall have cohabited with a man for a whole year, without having been three nights abſent from him, let her be deemed his wife* [e].

II. LAW.

[d] SACRUM COMMISSUM QUOD NEQUE EXPIARI POTERIT, IMPIE COMMISSUM ESTO: QUOD EXPIARI POTERIT, PUBLICI SACERDOTES EXPIANTO. That is to ſay, *A premeditated crime could not be expiated by the blood of victims, becauſe it implied a formal contempt of the Gods.* It therefore was the guilty perſon's buſineſs to repair the injury he had done religion by repentance and legal ſatisfaction.

[e] This Law is quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, B. 3. c. 2. and by *Macrobius Saturnal.* B. 1. c. 3. The *Civilians* ſtate it as follows. MULIERIS QUÆ ANNUM MATRIMONII ERGO, APUD VIRUM REMANSIT, NI TRI NOCTIUM AB EO, USURPANDI ERGO, ABESCIT, USUS ESTO, i. e. *Let a man be abſolute maſter of a woman, who has cohabited with him for the ſpace of one year, provided that, in all this time, ſhe has not been abſent from him three*

II. LAW. *If a man catches his wife in adultery, or finds her drunk, he may, with the consent of her relations, punish her even with death.*

III. LAW. *When a man will put away his wife, the form of doing it shall be by taking from her the keys of the house, and giving her what she brought. This shall be the manner of a divorce.*

IV. LAW. *A child born of a widow, in the tenth month after the decease of her husband shall be deemed legitimate.*

V. LAW. *It shall not be lawful for the* Patricians *to intermarry with the* Plebeians [f].

three nights. She then became his wife, yet not in such a manner, as to be a sharer in the husband's goods, or to have a right to his inheritance. So that this was being in a condition much below that of a lawful wife: By which we mean, one whose marriage was solemnized with the usual ceremonies.

[f] Mr. *Kennet* speaking of these twelve tables of Laws, Part 2. Book 3. Chap. 21. says: The excellency of this institution, as it is sufficiently set forth by most Authors, so is it especially beholden to the high *encomium* of *Cicero*, when he declares it as his positive judgment and opinion, That *the Laws of the twelve tables are justly to be preferred to whole libraries of the Philosophers* *.

* *Cic. de Oratore, B.* 1.

These Laws being established, it necessarily followed, that there should be disputations and controversies in the courts, since the interpretation was to be founded on the Authority of the learned. This interpretation they called *jus civile*, though at present we understand by that phrase the whole system of the *Roman* Laws.

Besides out of all these Laws the learned men of that time composed a scheme of forms and cases, by which the processes in the courts were directed. These were termed *actiones legis*.

We may add to these the Laws preferred at the public Assemblies of the People; and the *Plebiscita*, made without the authority of the Senate, at the *Comitia Tributa*, which were allowed to be of equal force with other constitutions, though they were not honoured with the title of *leges*.

And then the *Senatus-consulta*, and edicts of the supreme Magistrates, particularly of the *Prætors*, made up two more sorts of Laws, the last of which they called *jus honorarium*.

And, lastly, when the Government was intrusted in the hands of a single person, whatever he ordained had the authority of a Law, with the name of *principalis constitutio*.

Most of these daily increasing, gave so much scope to the Lawyers for the compiling of reports and other labours, that in the reign of *Justinian*, there were extant two thousand distinct volumes on this subject. The body of the Law being thus grown unweildy, and rendered almost useless by its excessive bulk, that excellent Emperor entered on a design to bring it into just dimensions; which was happily accomplished in the constituting those four tomes of the *Civil Law*, which are now extant, and have contributed, in a great measure, to the regulating of all the States in *Christendom*: So that the old fancy of the *Romans*, about the eternity of their command, is not so ridiculous as at first sight it appears, since by their admirable sanctions, they are still like to govern for ever.

CHAP. XXVIII.

§. I. *The People and Senate agree to have the same sort of government continued for another year, in order to the adding two tables of Laws to the ten already established. The Collegues of* Appius *suspecting him of ambitious views, declare him President of the Assembly where the second election of* Decemvirs *is to be made, thinking thereby to hinder him from being one of the candidates. But* Appius *in spite of all decency names himself the first, and not only gains the voices of the Assembly in his own favour, but*

in favour of nine men (three of them Plebeians*) all devoted to his will; to the exclusion of all his late Colleagues, and of the best men in the Republic.* §. II. *The new Decemvirs privately agree to make their authority perpetual. They exercise an absolute and cruel tyranny.* C. Claudius, *the uncle of* Appius, *would reprove him for his conduct, but cannot get admittance to him. Two new tables of laws are drawn up.* §. III. *The year of the Decemvirs' Government being expired, they continue themselves in office by their own authority. They convene the Senate in order to obtain a levy of troops to oppose the incursions of the* Æqui *and* Sabines. Valerius, *an avowed enemy of the Decemvirs, in the warmth of his zeal, rises up to speak before his turn.* Appius *commands him silence, and not being obey'd, threatens to punish him as an incendiary.* Horatius *answers the Decemvir in a bold speech, which makes him soften his tone and manner.* Appius *desires his uncle* C. Claudius *to give his opinion. The uncle with great frankness reproves his nephew for all his vices and tyranny, and exhorts him to divest himself of a power which he held only by usurpation, and which in the end would prove fatal to him. He concludes with declaring against any levies of troops till the Consulship be restored. The* Quinctii, *and all the other eminent members of the Senate are of the same opinion. The majority is nevertheless for empowering the Decemvirs to raise troops and to command them; which* Appius *perceiving, then calls upon* Valerius *to speak his opinion.* Valerius *declares for naming a Dictator, and moves to have the question put, and this motion is seconded; but the other party cry out that the affair is already determined, and the care of the war given to the Decemvirs. A Decree to that effect is accordingly drawn up.* §. IV. Valerius *and* Horatius *to secure themselves from being insulted by the Decemvirs, keep guards about their persons. Many of the Senators and other principal citizens retire into the country.* Appius *confiscates their estates.* §. V. Fabius *with two other of the Decemvirs leads an army against the* Sabines. *Five other Decemvirs lead five legions against the* Æqui. Appius *and* Oppius *stay with a body of troops in* Rome. *Nothing succeeds in the two camps, the soldiers being resolved not to conquer.* Sicinius Dentatus, *that old soldier, who had been in* 120 *battles, publickly gives out at* Rome, *that the misfortunes of the campaign are owing to the incapacity of the Generals.* Appius *hereupon contrives, in concert with the Decemvirs who command against the* Sabines, *to get him treacherously murdered. The discovery and report of so detestable a villainy, dispose the soldiers to a revolt.*

§. I. THOUGH the Laws contained in the TEN TABLES had been approved in all their parts, both by the Nobles and the *Plebeians*; yet many persons were of opinion that, several regulations, which would fill two other Tables, were necessary to be added to them, in order to make a compleat body of *Roman* Laws. This notion prevailing, it occasioned a proposal of continuing the Decemviral government for one year more: The Senate and the Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J. C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

Y. of *R.* 302. Bef. *J. C.* 450. 1 Decemvirate

People with equal readineſs, tho' for different reaſons, conſented to the motion. The People were extremely deſirous to keep back the reſtoration of the Conſular authority, and at preſent they found but little want of the protection of their Tribunes, becauſe the Decemvirs admitted, in ſome ſort, of appeals, allowing cauſes which had been determined by one of them, to be reheard by another. And as for the Senators, they were glad at any rate to be rid of the Tribunes, thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates ſo odious to them, and whoſe functions they now conceived hopes of entirely aboliſhing. Before the holding of the Comitia for electing new Decemvirs, the Senate fell into diviſions about that dignity. Some aſpired to it out of ambition; others who had been the warmeſt oppoſers of its eſtabliſhment, courted the office now, but it was only in order to exclude thoſe whoſe behaviour gave cauſe to ſuſpect them of ſome ill deſigns.

Appius at firſt pretended to be weary of a charge ſo difficult and laborious, and to be very averſe to burthen himſelf with it a ſecond time. But his well known and avowed intimacy with the *Duilii* and *Icilii*, the leading men among the People; the pains he took to make himſelf agreeable to the *Plebeians*; his affability and moderation, ſo contrary to the pride of the *Claudian* family; all this gave great uneaſineſs to his competitors, and rendered him ſuſpicious to his Collegues. Theſe latter, to make ſure of his excluſion, appointed him to preſide at the new election; and as it was the cuſtom at every election for the preſident to give out the names of thoſe who ſtood for the office in queſtion, they imagined, that *Appius*, after the declarations he had made, could not have the aſſurance to put his own name in the liſt of candidates: Beſides, excepting an inſtance or two of ſome ſhameleſs Tribunes of the People, it was a thing unheard of, that he who preſided at an election of Magiſtrates, ſhould offer himſelf for one. *Appius* nevertheleſs, contrary to all rules of decency, propoſed himſelf for firſt Decemvir; and the People, who were now entirely devoted to him, readily gave him their ſuffrages. The other perſons choſen to the Government were ſuch as *Appius* had favoured and recommended. The firſt of the number was *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been three times Conſul, a *Patrician* indeed of manners hitherto unblameable. After him were named *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M' Rabuleius*, Senators very little eſteemed in their own body, but all devoted to the ſervice of *Appius*, who by his private brigues carried the Decemviral dignity in their favour from the *Quinctii*, and even from his own uncle *Claudius*, as likewiſe from all his Collegues in the firſt Decemvirate. But what moſt ſurpriſed and alarmed the Senate, was, that *Appius*, forgetting his own glory and that of his anceſtors, was not aſhamed, out of complaiſance to the late Tribunes, to whom he had ſold his faith, to propoſe three *Plebeians* for Decemvirs, pretending it was but juſt, that there ſhould be ſome perſons in that College to take care of the intereſts of the People. Thus he brought in *Q. Petilius*, *Cæſo Duilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*, all three *Plebeians*, excluded by their birth from thoſe prime Magiſtracies.

§. II. AND

§. II. AND now *Appius* ſeeing himſelf by means of his diſſimulation and cabals, once more at the head of the Decemvirate, turned his thoughts wholly to make his domination perpetual. He immediately aſſembled his new Collegues, who were all obliged to him for their dignities, and throwing off the maſk of a Republican, repreſented to them, that being entruſted with a commiſſion wherein the Conſular authority and that of the Tribunes were united, nothing was more eaſy than to retain this ſovereign power during their whole lives; that the ſure means thereto was to aſſume to themſelves the cognizance of all affairs, not ſuffering them to be carried before either the Senate or the People; to convene thoſe two bodies as ſeldom as poſſible; and above all to keep firmly united among themſelves: That they ought to have a mutual complaiſance for each other; that the whole College ought to intereſt itſelf warmly for the particular affairs of each Decemvir; and he added, that he thought they ſhould all bind themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths, never to interrupt one another in the execution of their particular deſigns. As this propoſal of *Appius* agreeably flattered the ambition of his Collegues, they readily came into it, and took the oaths that he required. A new conſpiracy againſt the public liberty. Y. of *R.* 303. Bef. *J.C.* 449. 2 Decemvirate *D. Hal.* B. 10.

Theſe Magiſtrates entered into poſſeſſion of their dignity on the *Ides* of *May*; and to ſtrike immediate terror and reſpect into the People, they appeared in public each with twelve Lictors bearing axes among their faſces, like thoſe that uſed anciently to go before the Kings of *Rome*, and afterwards before the Dictator; ſo that the *Forum* was filled with an hundred and twenty Lictors. The People could not ſee this train and parade of tyranny without indignation. The compariſon they made between the moderation of the Conſuls, and the haughty behaviour of the *Decemvirs*, ſoon led them to regret their old Government. They complained in private, that now ten Kings were ſet up over them inſtead of two Conſuls. But theſe reflections came too late, and it was not in their power to undo their own work. The *Decemvirs* began to reign imperiouſly, and with a deſpotic authority. Beſide their Lictors, they had each of them by way of guard, a band of fellows without houſe or home, moſt of them black with crimes, or loaded with debts. But what was ſtill more deplorable, there followed in the train of theſe new Magiſtrates a crowd of young *Patricians*, who preferring licentiouſneſs to liberty, made their court, in the moſt abject manner, to the diſpenſers of favours; and to provide for their own pleaſures, did not bluſh to be Miniſters to thoſe of the *Decemvirs*. There was no longer any ſafe aſylum for beauty and virtue. Thoſe unbridled youths, under ſhelter of the ſovereign power, tore the daughter out of the boſom of her mother with impunity. Nor was property in lands or goods any more ſecure from the invaſions of thoſe creatures and ſupporters of tyranny; upon the moſt frivolous pretenſions they took poſſeſſion of their neighbours eſtates that lay convenient for them. In vain was application made to the *Decemvirs* for redreſs; the complainants were treated with contempt, their complaints rejected, and favour and ſelf-intereſt ſat in the place of law and juſtice. If any citizen, warmed with a remaining ſpark of the ancient

Y. of *R.* 303. Bef. *J.C.* 449. 2 Decemvirate

liberty, was ſo bold as to expreſs his reſentment, he was beaten with rods like a ſlave; others were baniſhed; ſome were even put to death; and confiſcation always followed the execution.

The people, groaning under ſo cruel a tyranny, turned their eyes to the Senate, from whence they hoped for liberty. But moſt of the Senators, dreading the fury of the Decemvirs, were retired into the country. Thoſe who ſtaid in the city were not diſpleaſed to find that the ſeverity of the preſent government made that of the Conſuls regretted; and they flatter'd themſelves the People would gladly give up their Tribunes, if they could but be delivered from the domination of the Decemvirs.

C. Claudius, a Conſular perſon and *Appius*'s uncle, deeply concerned to ſee his nephew make himſelf the tyrant of his country, went ſeveral times to his houſe, with an intention to reprove him, and to put him in mind how much he ſhamed the memory of his anceſtors by ſo odious a conduct: But *Appius* gueſſing at the deſign of theſe viſits, conſtantly eluded them, and the venerable old man found by experience, that tyrants never own either relations or friends.

In the mean time the Decemvirs drew up two tables of Laws to be added to the ten that had been promulgated the year before. Among thoſe additional Laws there was one prohibiting alliances between *Patricians* and *Plebeians* by inter-marriage; a prohibition which *Dionyſius* conjectures to have been made with a view to perpetuate the diviſions between the two orders in the Republic; the Decemvirs being apprehenſive, that if the Nobility and Commonalty ſhould ever unite, they would turn againſt them all that animoſity which they had uſed to expreſs againſt each other.

§. III. THE body of *Roman* Law being now compleated, and the ſole end for which the Decemvirate had been inſtituted being thereby accompliſhed, it was reaſonably hoped, that the tyranny which the public groaned under would ſhortly ceaſe, and the Decemvirs, as ſoon as their year was expired, be ſucceeded by Conſuls. But the *Ides* of *May* came, and not the leaſt appearance of any *Comitia* for an election of new Magiſtrates. The Tyrants then ſhewed themſelves bare-faced, and in ſpite both

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

of Senate and People retained the Government, without any other title but poſſeſſion and violence. All who gave them the leaſt umbrage were proſcribed; and many citizens voluntarily baniſhed themſelves from their country, taking refuge among the *Latines* and the *Hernici*.

Every body ſecretly deplored the loſs of liberty, but not one citizen in the whole Republic was ſo generous as to attempt to break her chains. The *Roman* People ſeemed to have loſt that courage which had formerly made them ſo much feared and reſpected by their neighbours. The nations that had ſubmitted to the Dominion of the *Romans*, began now to deſpiſe them, and they diſdained to be ſubject to a city which had loſt her own liberty. The *Sabines*, after ſeveral incurſions in flying parties upon the territories of the Republic, gathered their forces together into one body, and advancing along the *Tyber*, encamped near *Eretum*, about twelve miles from *Rome*; and the *Æqui*, having firſt ravaged the lands of *Tuſculum*, came and pitched their

their camp near the *Algidus*. Theſe two armies, which ſeemed to threaten *Rome* with a ſiege, much alarmed the Decemvirs. It was abſolutely neceſſary to raiſe troops; but in what method to proceed in the enrollments, whether in a way of gentleneſs or ſeverity; and whether they ſhould inliſt all indiſcriminately or only thoſe who were leaſt diſaffected to the Government; theſe were difficulties which at firſt perplexed them. Nor were they leſs unreſolved, whether to apply to the Senate, or to the People, for a decree to levy an army in legal form, or whether they ſhould act in this affair by their own ſole authority. At length, after many councils held among themſelves on this matter, they determined to convene the Senate, believing it eaſier to engage this body than the other to favour their pretenſions; and not doubting but the People, having loſt with their Tribunes the privilege of *oppoſition*, would readily obey a decree of the Magiſtrates, when it had the ſanction of the Senate's authority. Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

It was a great ſurprize to the People to hear proclamation made in the *Forum* for the Senators to meet. *Thanks to our enemies*, ſaid they, *for this ſingle ſpark of our ancient liberty.* But when the Decemvirs repaired to the Senate-houſe, they found no body there except their own creatures, who came prepared to act the parts which had been aſſigned them.

The other Senators had thrown up all care of the public affairs; and were retired, as was ſaid before, to their country houſes. The Decemvirs ſent meſſengers thither to them, appointing another Aſſembly for next day. Moſt of them returned to *Rome*, and came to the Senate-houſe; but with views widely different from thoſe of the uſurpers.

Appius in a ſtudied diſcourſe having laid open the neceſſity of taking arms, to repel the incurſions of the *Æqui* and the *Sabines*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, without waiting till it came to his turn to give his opinion, preſently ſtood up. He was the Son of that *Valerius* who was ſlain at the head of the *Romans* fighting againſt *Herdonius*, and grandſon of the famous *Valerius*, ſurnamed *Publicola*, one of the chief founders of the public liberty. *Appius* fearing that a man of that family and of the ſame character with his anceſtors, would propoſe ſomething contrary to the intereſt of the Decemvirs, ſternly commanded him to ſit down and hold his peace, telling him, that he ought to wait 'till Senators older than himſelf, and more conſiderable in the Republic, had declared their opinions firſt. "You ſay "very well (replied *Valerius*) had I been going to ſpeak upon the buſi- "neſs which you have propoſed; but I have matters of much greater mo- "ment to lay before this Aſſembly, and what the Senate, if I miſtake not, "will think to be much more worthy of its immediate attention. Whence "is it that you have the preſumption to impoſe ſilence upon me, a Senator, "a *Valerius*, ſtanding up for the liberty of the Common-wealth? And "yet if you perſiſt in this your inſolence, your accuſtomed inſolence, to "what *Tribunes* ſhall I have recourſe? You have deprived us of that "ſuccour which the Laws had provided for every citizen under oppreſſion. "But is it indeed come to this? And does *Valerius Potitus*, to preſerve "his rights, want the aid of the *Tribunitian* power? Well then, ſince you "and *D. Hal.* B. 11.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate.

" and your Collegues have uſurped that power, together with the ſovereignty, " ſhall I appeal to you Decemvirs? Shall I implore the aſſiſtance of " you *all?* To what purpoſe, when my deſign is to lay open that " conſpiracy which you have *all* formed againſt the public liberty? Yet " to you, *Quintus Fabius*, who have been honoured with three Conſulates, " to you alone I will appeal. Riſe, *Fabius*, if you have not loſt that ſpirit " which was once your glory, riſe and ſuccour the oppreſſed! 'Tis on you " that the Senate turns its eyes."

Fabius, confounded and overwhelmed with ſhame, had not power to anſwer. But *Appius* and the reſt of the Decemvirs, ſtarting up in anger from their ſeats, cried out once more to *Valerius*, commanding him ſilence, and adding threats to their injunctions: So extraordinary a proceeding raiſed a tumult in the Aſſembly. Many of the Senators were filled with indignation at the haughty manner of the Decemvirs; but no body was ſo highly provoked at it as *M. Horatius Barbatus*. He was grandſon of that *Horatius* who had been Conſul with *Poplicola*. As he had inherited his grandfather's ardent zeal for liberty, and was an intimate friend of *Valerius*, he could no longer bear the inſolence of *Appius* and his Collegues. He ſtood up and loudly called them the *Tarquins* and tyrants of their country.

D. Hal. B. 11. *Livy*, B. 3.

" You talk to us, *ſaid he*, of a war begun againſt us by the *Sabines*, " as if the *Roman* People had greater enemies than yourſelves. I would " gladly know by what authority you convened this Aſſembly, and by " what right you take upon you to preſide in it. Is not the time of your " Magiſtracy expired? Do you not know that the Decemviral power was " given you but for one year? We choſe you to eſtabliſh ſuch laws as " were fit for a free State to ſubmit to, and you have left no appearance of " that equality which was the ſole object the *Romans* had in view. You " have ſuppreſſed the Aſſemblies both of the People and of the Senate. " There is no longer any mention made of elections, either of Conſuls, or " of Tribunes: All the annual Magiſtracies are aboliſhed. It is not the " name of *King* that makes a tyrant. You *Decemvirs* have totally ſubverted our Government, to build upon its ruins your own empire and " domination. But know, that the blood of *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who " formerly drove the *Tarquins* out of *Rome*, yet runs in the veins of their " deſcendants. We have the ſame courage and the ſame zeal for the liberty of our country. The Gods, Protectors of this city, will grant us " the ſame ſucceſs; and I hope the People, no leſs jealous of their freedom than their anceſtors, will never deſert us in ſo juſt a cauſe."

D. Hal. B. 11.

Horatius was going on with his diſcourſe, when the Decemvirs with loud clamours all came and ſurrounded him, threatening to have him thrown from the *Tarpeian* rock if he did not inſtantly hold his peace. But when they perceived that the Senate in general expreſs'd an uncommon reſentment at this tyrannical invaſion of the liberty of ſpeech, they preſently repented of their raſhneſs. *Appius* to ſooth the minds of the Senators, having firſt requeſted and obtained a moment's ſilence, aſſured them, that the Decemvirs were far from having the leaſt thought of hindering any one

one of the *Conſcript Fathers* from freely delivering his opinion: That if he had impoſed ſilence upon *Valerius*, it was only to oblige him to conform to the ordinary method, which was, that every man ſhould ſpeak in his turn, unleſs he was particularly applied to by him who preſided in the Senate: That whatever *Horatius* might imagine to the contrary, the right of the Decemvirs to exerciſe this authority did ſtill ſubſiſt: That their Commiſſion had not been limited by the People to one year, or to any fixed period of time, but was to laſt 'till the Tables of Laws were compleated and paſſed in due form; after which they would lay down their Magiſtracy, and give an account of their adminiſtration. Then turning to his uncle *C. Claudius*, he deſired him to ſpeak his mind with freedom. He perhaps flattered himſelf, that *Claudius*, out of affection for a near relation, or moved by a zeal for the glory and intereſt of his family, or pleaſed with the honour of being the firſt whoſe opinion was aſked, would take upon him to anſwer the ſevereſt parts of *Horatius*'s invective. But the Decemvir addreſſed himſelf to a true *Roman*, one who would have ſacrificed his own children to the preſervation of the public liberty. Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

Claudius obſerved to the Aſſembly, that two affairs of different natures were then to be conſidered of; a war abroad, and a remedy for the diſſentions at home with relation to the Government: That as to the war, the late incurſions of the enemies were wholly owing to the encouragement which the inteſtine diviſions in the Republic gave them: That therefore the firſt thing to be done, was to ſettle peace and union in the city, after which the very appearance of the ſtandards of the legions would be enough to frighten away the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, over whom the *Romans* had already ſo often triumphed: But that he doubted whether the People would range themſelves under the banners of the Decemvirs, whom they juſtly looked upon as private men, who had uſurped the Sovereign power. Then directing his ſpeech to *Appius*: "Can you be now to learn, *ſaid he*, how "very odious your conduct is to all good men? And if you doubt it, the "voluntary exile to which our moſt illuſtrious Senators have condemned "themſelves, does it not ſufficiently ſhew that they look upon you to be "no better than a tyrant? The Senate very impatiently bears that you "ſhould rob them of their authority; the People demand their right of "*Appeal*, or that of *Oppoſition* which you have deprived them of; all our "citizens call upon you, ſome for their eſtates, which have been made a "prey to your ruffians, others for their daughters whom you have forced "away to ſatisfy your criminal paſſions. The whole city, the whole na-"tion deteſt a Magiſtracy, which has deſtroy'd their liberty, aboliſhed "the uſe of *Comitia*, uſurped the legal authority of the Conſuls, and ſup-"preſs'd the functions of the Tribunes. Reſtore to the Commonwealth "the power with which ſhe intruſted you but for one year; reſtore to us "our ancient form of Government; reſtore yourſelf to yourſelf. Call to "mind your former virtue, and generouſly quit, together with an unwar-"rantable power, the very name of Decemvir, which you have made ſo "odious. I conjure you to this by our common anceſtors, by the *Manes*

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" of your father, that illuſtrious citizen, who left you ſo noble an example " of moderation, and of zeal for the public liberty; I conjure you eſpe- " cially, by your own preſervation, and the care of your life, which you " muſt unavoidably loſe by ſome ignominious puniſhment, if you obſti- " nately perſiſt to hold any longer the unjuſt Empire which you have u- " ſurped over your fellow-citizens."

Thus ſpake *Claudius*, and the Senate at firſt conceived hopes that the Decemvirs would be induced to lay down their magiſtracy. But *Appius* diſdained to give his uncle any anſwer. *M. Cornelius*, one of his Colleagues, taking upon him to ſpeak, and applying himſelf directly to *Claudius*, told him proudly, that thoſe who had the Government of the Republic, did not ſtand in need of his advice to direct their conduct. That if he thought he had a right to give particular counſels to his nephew, he might go to him at his houſe; that the only affair in queſtion now was the war with the *Æqui* and *Sabines*; " Tell us, therefore, *ſaid he*, your opinion " on this point, for on this only it was aſked, and don't waſte our time in " digreſſions that are nothing to the purpoſe.

Claudius, yet more provoked at the ſcornful ſilence of *Appius*, than at his Collegue's inſolent anſwer, roſe up again, and turning to the Senate: " Since my nephew, *ſaid he*, will not condeſcend to ſpeak to me, either " in his own houſe, or in full Senate, and I am ſo unhappy as to ſee the " tyrant of my country ariſe out of my own family, I declare, Conſcript " Fathers, that I am reſolved to retire to *Regillus*. I baniſh my ſelf from " *Rome*, and make an oath never to enter it again but with our liberty. " However, to fulfil the obligation I lie under of giving my opinion, " with relation to the preſent buſineſs, I don't think that any levy of " troops ought to be made, 'till Conſuls are firſt choſen to lead them."

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *L. Lucretius*, all Conſular perſons, and the principal men in the Senate, declared themſelves of the ſame opinion. *M. Cornelius*, apprehending that the authority of thoſe great men would draw the reſt of the Senate after them, interrupted the order of gathering the ſuffrages, and aſked the opinion of his brother [a] *L. Cornelius*, with whom he had before concerted the ſpeech he ſhould make in caſe of ſuch an exigence. This Senator then roſe up, but made no attempt to juſtify either the authority or conduct of the Decemvirs. Taking a more artful turn, he only repreſented to the Aſſembly, how expedient he thought it would be to defer the election of new Magiſtrates, till the enemy was driven out of the territory of *Rome*. " Have thoſe, " *ſaid he*, who are ſo warm for the abdication of the Decemvirs, had any " promiſe from the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, that they will put a ſtop to the " progreſs of their arms, 'till we have changed the form of our Govern- " ment? You know, *Conſcript Fathers*, the tedious delays which our " elections require: Firſt, there muſt be a *Senatus-conſultum* to appoint " the *Comitia* by *Centuries*. This Aſſembly cannot be held 'till ſeven and

[a] He had been Collegue to *Q. Fabius* in the third Conſulate of the latter.

" twenty days after notice given. When the new Magiſtrates are named, and have taken poſſeſſion of the Government, they muſt prefer a petition for the levies to another Aſſembly of the People; and before all theſe things can be done, and the neceſſary troops can be raiſed to repel the enemy, Who will warrant us that we ſhall not ſee them at the gates of *Rome*, and in a condition to lay ſiege to the city? And what ſhall we do in this caſe? Doubtleſs we ſhall ſay to the *Æqui* and *Sabines*, " *A little patience if you pleaſe. Suſpend your attacks till we have choſen other Magiſtrates.* Caius Claudius *has perſuaded us not to paſs any Decree for raiſing forces, unleſs new Generals be firſt elected to command them. Begone therefore out of our territory, and when you hear that the* Roman *People have created Conſuls, and that we have made all neceſſary preparations for war, you may then return and ſue to us for peace.* Strange infatuation! that ſuch follies ſhould ever enter into the minds of men. Nor ſurely leſs ſtrange is our ſtupidity, that we can hear theſe triflers without indignation, as if we were conſulting for the ſafety of our enemies, not the preſervation of our country. My opinion, *Conſcript Fathers*, is, that our Decemvirs immediately inliſt the legions, and march againſt our enemies. Let us drive them from our frontiers, let us force them, by the terror of our arms, to beſeech us to grant them peace; and when we have ſecured ourſelves abroad, then let us employ our thoughts upon our affairs at home: Revoke by your authority that of the Decemvirs, if they will not of their own accord diveſt themſelves of it: Call them to an account for their adminiſtration; elect new Magiſtrates in their room; and let the Republic return again to her ancient conſtitution: But permit me to tell you, that in matter of Government, we muſt regulate our proceedings by the times, and never hope to make the times ſubſervient to our deſires and projects."

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D. Hal. B. 11.

The creatures of the Decemvirs declared loudly for this opinion, and the greater part of the Senators came into it, ſome as thinking it neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture, and others out of fear of the Tyrants. Nay ſome of the oldeſt Senators took the ſame ſide, in hopes that after the war was finiſhed, the abdication of the Decemvirs would quietly follow of courſe, and ſo the Government return naturally into the hands of the Conſuls; and that prudent Magiſtrates by their moderation might perhaps gradually accuſtom the People to do without their Tribunes.

Livy, B. 3.

Appius, who with a ſecret pleaſure ſaw that the majority were of the opinion of *Cornelius*, did then only for form ſake deſire that of *Valerius*, on whom he had impoſed ſilence at the beginning of the Aſſembly. *Valerius* riſing up, ſpoke to this effect, " You ſee, *Conſcript Fathers*, the crafty and deceitful management of theſe Decemvirs. My mouth was ſtopt ſo long as they apprehended that what I had to offer might make ſome impreſſion upon the Aſſembly to the diſadvantage of their pretenſions; but now when the majority has declared for the opinion of *Cornelius*, why now truly they condeſcend to aſk me mine, imagining, doubtleſs, that nothing which I can ſay, be it ever ſo reaſonable, will be of any effect. I ſhall never-

D. H. B. 11.

V. of R. 304. Bef. J. C. 448. 3 Decemvirate

" nevertheleſs deliver my thoughts with freedom, and you are ſtill " maſters to determine as you ſhall judge to be moſt for the good of the " Republic.

" I declare then, in the firſt place, that I heartily ſubſcribe to what *C.* " *Claudius* has ſo wiſely repreſented to you concerning the expediency of " creating new Magiſtrates before we take the field. But ſince *L. Corne-* " *lius*, the avowed advocate of Tyranny, has endeavoured to turn ſo ju- " dicious a counſel into ridicule, upon pretence that the delays requiſite " for the election of thoſe Magiſtrates would waſte the time that ſhould " be employ'd in repelling the enemy, I think myſelf obliged to ſhew " you the weakneſs and fallacy of this wretched reaſoning. To convince " you that ſuch it is, do but call to mind the meaſures which the Republic " took about ten years ago, againſt the ſame enemies, in the Conſulate " of *C. Nautius* and *L. Minucius*.

" You know, that while *Nautius* was on one ſide fighting againſt the " *Sabines*, *Minucius*, on the other, ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut up by the " *Æqui* in the narrow paſſes of ſome mountains. There was a neceſſity of " raiſing a new army to relieve him; the Tribunes (according to cuſtom) " oppoſed all levies of troops, unleſs the Senate would admit the Law " concerning the partition of the lands. In this extremity, as neither par- " ty would abate any thing of its pretenſions, recourſe was had to a Dicta- " tor, a Magiſtrate ſuperior both to the Senate and the Tribunes of the " People. *L. Quinctius* was choſen; he was ſent for out of the country; " he came to *Rome*; he raiſed a new army, and in a fortnight's time " brought off that of *Minucius*, and triumphed over the enemy. What " hinders, in the preſent exigence, to follow ſo wiſe and ſo recent an exam- " ple? Let us chuſe an *Inter-rex*, as was the practice upon the demiſe of " the Kings, and has ever been the practice when the State happened to be " left, as it is now, without legal Magiſtrates. Let him name a Dictator. " Theſe things may be done in leſs than a day. The Dictator will raiſe " troops by the ſupreme power belonging to his dignity; we ſhall march " againſt our enemies without delay; and at our return from the campaign, " that Magiſtrate, whoſe power cannot laſt longer than ſix months, will " give us an opportunity to proceed at leiſure, and according to the " uſual forms, upon the election of Conſuls. If on the other hand you in- " truſt the command of your armies with the Decemvirs, do you imagine " that theſe ambitious men who have uſurped a tyrannical power, and in " ſpight of all our laws refuſe ſo obſtinately to deliver up the Faſces, " will eaſily be brought to lay down their arms? Believe rather they will " turn them againſt you yourſelves, and make uſe of them to perpetuate " their tyranny. I demand therefore, that, in the extreme danger wherein " the public liberty now is, the propoſal I make to name a Dictator be " examined, and the opinions and votes of the Senate taken thereupon."

Almoſt all the Senators who were to ſpeak after *Valerius* declared for this motion, as did alſo many of thoſe who had before voted for the continuation of the Decemvirate. But *Cornelius* cried out, that the affair upon which

which the Senate had met was already decided, and that nothing new ought now to be propoſed. A warm diſpute hereupon aroſe, with much clamour and tumult. *Appius*, taking advantage of the diſorder to accompliſh his deſires, ſtept forth into the midſt of the Aſſembly, and ſpoke thus: "You were called together, *Conſcript Fathers*, to deliberate concerning a war with the *Æqui* and *Sabines*. *Claudius*, *Cornelius*, and "*Valerius*, have given different opinions. The voices of the Aſſembly "have been all taken, and the opinion of *Cornelius* has prevailed." He added with a contemptuous ſmile, "As for *Valerius* and his friends, if ever "they attain to the Conſulſhip, let them, if they pleaſe, reviſe and make "void Decrees, which you in your wiſdom have thought fit to paſs." This ſaid, he ordered the Secretary to read aloud the *Senatus-conſultum* (which he had already made him draw up in writing) empowering the Decemvirs to raiſe Troops and to conduct the war. He then diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and withdrew. Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

§. IV. THE new powers which by this Decree were granted to the Decemvirs, not only in ſome manner confirmed their authority, but made it more formidable than ever. They employed it to revenge themſelves of their perſonal enemies, and they reckoned as ſuch all thoſe who did not ſubmit to be their ſlaves. The moſt timorous among the citizens became as ſubmiſſive and complying as the tyrants could wiſh: Others, leſs fearful, only quitted all attention to publick affairs, and turned their thoughts to live in quiet: But the men of courage and ſpirit held private Aſſemblies to concert meaſures for reſtoring liberty to the Commonwealth. At the head of theſe were *Valerius* and *Horatius*. They gathered together in their houſes a great number of their friends and clients to ſecure them againſt the violence of the *Decemvirs*; and they never appeared in the city without a powerful attendance ſtrong enough to repel the inſults they had reaſon to expect. As for *C. Claudius*, he left *Rome*, as he had declared in full Senate he would do, and retired to *Regillus*, the native city of his anceſtors. Other Senators and many of the principal Citizens of *Rome*, who could not endure the Tyranny of the *Decemvirs*, and yet found themſelves unable to deſtroy it, ſought an aſylum in the country, or among the neighbouring nations. *Appius* enraged to ſee ſo convincing a proof given of the averſion which the beſt men in the Republic had to his Government, placed guards at the city gates: But finding that this precaution only increaſed the number of the malecontents, and fearing a general revolt, he removed that guard, leaving every body free to retire that would: But to be revenged of thoſe who withdrew, he confiſcated the Effects they had in *Rome*; with which he paid and rewarded his ruffians.

§. V. AND now the Decemvirs began to raiſe troops for the war. The People, deſtitute of their Tribunes, were forced to liſt themſelves. Ten legions were ſoon compleated: They were divided into three bodies. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, with whom two other of the Decemvirs *Q. Petilius* and *M. Rabuleius* were joined in commiſſion, marched againſt the *Sabines* at the head of three legions. *M. Cornelius*, *L. Minucius*, *M. Sergius*,

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate. by the new Laws was obliged to follow the claimant to the tribunal of juſtice, where *Appius* was that day deſignedly alone upon the bench. The multitude all attended her, ſome out of curioſity to ſee the iſſue of ſo ſtrange a buſineſs, and others out of affection to *Icilius*, who during his Tribunate had made himſelf very agreeable to the People. *Claudius* was going inſtantly to open his claim; but the People full of indignation cried out, that he ought to wait 'till *Virginia*'s relations, who had been ſent for, were come. To this the Judge conſented; and *Numitorius*, the uncle of the young woman, arrived ſoon after with a great number of his kinſmen and friends.

Silence being then made, *Claudius* ſet forth, that *Virginia* was born in his houſe; that ſhe was privately ſtolen away by a ſlave her mother, who, to conceal her theft, had pretended to be delivered of a dead child: But that it had ſince been diſcovered that ſhe had ſold this girl to *Virginius*'s wife, who was barren, and who, being uneaſy at having no child, had made *Virginia* paſs for her daughter: That he would ſoon produce undeniable teſtimonies of what he advanced; that in the mean while, it was but juſt that a ſlave ſhould go with her maſter; and that he would give good ſecurity for her appearance again, if *Virginius*, at his return, ſtill pretended to be her real father.

D. Hal. B. 11. §. II. *NUMITORIUS* preſently ſaw that there was ſomebody of much greater weight and power than *Claudius* at the bottom of this contrivance; but he prudently concealed his ſuſpicions, and repreſented to the Decemvir with a great deal of calmneſs, that his niece's father was ab-

Livy, B. 3. ſent in the ſervice of his country; that it was highly unjuſt to diſpute a citizen's right to his very children, when he was not preſent to aſſert it; that *Virginius*, upon notice, would not fail to be at *Rome* in two days, 'till whoſe return it was but fitting that her uncle ſhould have the care of her. *Numitorius* offered to give any ſecurity whatſoever for producing her again; but he ſaid it was not reaſonable to truſt the daughter of *Virginius* in the houſe of ſuch a one as *Claudius*, where her honour would be in danger even more than her liberty. He added, that what he demanded was conformable to the laws, which ordained, that during a law-ſuit, and before a definitive ſentence, the plaintiff ſhould not diſturb the defendant in his poſſeſſion.

The whole Aſſembly ſhewed by their applauſes, that they thought this requeſt to be perfectly juſt. *Appius* having cauſed ſilence to be proclaimed, and affecting the impartiality becoming a Judge, declared that he ſhould always be the protector of ſo reaſonable a Law, and which he himſelf had inſerted in the twelve tables: But that in the preſent diſpute there were ſome particular circumſtances which alter'd the caſe; that here were two perſons claiming, one as a father, the other as a maſter; that if he who pretended to be the father of *Virginia* were preſent, he indeed ought to be allowed the poſſeſſion of her till the deciſion of the conteſt, but that he being abſent, the perſon who claimed her as his ſlave ought to have that poſſeſſion, giving good ſecurity, however, to produce her again at the return of him who was called her father. This ſaid, he ordered VIRGINIA to be delivered up to *Claudius*.

All

to be his guard; but this guard conſiſted only of the Decemvirs ruffians, who had ſecret orders to diſpatch him. *Sicinius* having led them into the narrow paſſages of ſome mountains, they took that opportunity to fall upon him. He no ſooner perceived their baſe deſign, but ſetting his back againſt a rock, that he might not be attacked behind, he received them with a courage that ſtruck terror into the boldeſt of them. Calling up all his ancient valour, he ſlew ſeveral of the aſſailants, and wounded others: And now not one of them durſt venture near him: They ſtood at a diſtance and threw their darts at him. But as even this would not effect their purpoſe, the villains climbed up to the top of the rock, and thence knocked him on the head with ſtones. They then went back to the camp, and gave out that they had fallen into an ambuſh, in which they had loſt their captain, and part of their comrades. At firſt they were believed; but when a band of ſoldiers, who with the Decemvirs permiſſion went to fetch the body of *Sicinius* in order to its burial, came to the place of action, they perceived that the ſlain were all *Romans*; that they were all fallen with their faces towards him, and that none of them were ſtripped either of their arms or cloaths. All theſe circumſtances laid together, made them ſuſpect that the brave veteran had been murdered by his guard. This ſuſpicion prevailing throughout the camp, raiſed loud complaints and a general diſcontent. The whole army with great fury demanded that the aſſaſſins ſhould be brought to juſtice. But the Decemvirs helped them to make their eſcape; and, becauſe the ſoldiers ſeemed reſolved to have the body of *Sicinius* immediately conveyed to *Rome*, they with all expedition gave it an honourable funeral at the public expence. Theſe proceedings of the Generals made it but too evident, that *Sicinius* had not been murdered without their privity; and the diſcontent which ſo odious a treachery excited in this army roſe to ſuch a height, that the greater part of the ſoldiers began to think in earneſt of revolting from the Decemviral Government. A new attempt of *Appius*, which was ſtill more hateful, and which filled up the meaſure of his extravagant enormities, produced in the city and in the other army, a yet greater deteſtation of the preſent tyranny.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

Livy, B. 3.

CHAP. XXIX.

§. I. Appius (*at* Rome) *falls in love with* Virginia, *the daughter of a* Plebeian *named* Virginius, *a centurion in the army employ'd againſt the* Æqui. *To get her into his power, having in vain tried to corrupt her nurſe, he concerts a ſtratagem with* M. Claudius *one of his clients.* Claudius *ſeizes the girl as a ſlave belonging to him, and leads her before the Decemvirs Tribunal, there to have his right legally confirmed to him. He pretends that* Virginia *was born of one of his ſlaves, and that* Numitoria, *the wife of* Virginius, *had (in concert with the mother of the girl) impoſed her upon* Virginius *as her own child, ſhe herſelf being barren.* §. II. Numitorius, *the uncle of* Virginia, *demands that the deciſion of the affair*

affair may be ſuſpended, and his niece left under his care till her father can be fetched from the camp. The Decemvir finds reaſons for refuſing this requeſt: But Icilius *to whom* Virginia *had been promiſed in marriage coming into court juſt in this inſtant, ſpirits up the People to ſuch a pitch of fury, that* Appius *thinks fit to comply.* Virginius *is ſent for, and arrives at* Rome, *notwithſtanding the ſecret meaſures taken by* Appius *to intercept him on the road.* §. III. *The cauſe is heard, and the impoſture of* Claudius *made manifeſt to all preſent.* Appius *nevertheleſs making himſelf a witneſs in the affair, and pretending conſcience, decrees* Virginia *to his client. The father hereupon, to hinder his daughter from being diſhonoured, ſtabs her, and then haſtens back to the army, leaving the city in a great commotion, which* Valerius Horatius *take care to augment.* §. IV. *The ſoldiers upon hearing the tragical ſtory from* Virginius *revolt from their Generals, return to* Rome, *and encamp on mount* Aventine. §. V. *The Senate being convened by the Decemvir* Oppius, *diſpatch three of their body to them, to queſtion them upon their deſertion. The ſoldiers unanimouſly cry out, to have* Valerius *and* Horatius *ſent to them, and they give no other anſwer. This army is ſoon after joined by all the ſoldiers of the other, who are equally incenſed againſt the* Decemvirs, *by the complaints of* Icilius. *The Senate is for ſending* Valerius *and* Horatius *to the mutineers; but thoſe two Senators refuſe to go unleſs the Decemvirs depoſe themſelves. The latter reject this condition, 'till they hear that the armies are marched to the* Mons Sacer; *they then promiſe to lay down their authority.* §. VI. Valerius *and* Horatius *repair to the* Mons Sacer, *and prevail with the army, upon a promiſe of the ancient Government's being reſtored, to return to* Rome; *but the ſoldiers before they ſeparate chuſe their Tribunes; and ſoon after* Valerius *and* Horatius *are named Conſuls.* §. VII. *Theſe popular Magiſtrates get ſeveral new laws paſſed in favour of the People.* §. VIII. Virginius *being now one of the Tribunes, impeaches* Appius *for his conduct as a Judge in relation to* Virginia; *and inſiſts upon his making his defence immediately, or being impriſoned till the day of trial.* Appius *appeals to the People, but in vain. He is carried to priſon. His uncle* C. Claudius *ſollicits for his enlargement without ſucceſs.* Appius *dies in priſon. His Collegue* Oppius *being tried and condemned dies alſo in priſon the day of his commitment. The other Decemvirs all baniſh themſelves.* Claudius *the client and miniſter of* Appius *is condemned to death, yet ſuffers only baniſhment. The Tribune* Duilius *puts a ſtop to all further proſecutions, relating to the tyranny of the* Decemvirs.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

§. I. IT has been already ſaid, that *Appius* by agreement with his Collegues ſtaid at *Rome* with a body of troops to keep the inhabitants in obedience to the Decemvirs. As he was one day going to his Tribunal, he accidentally caſt his eyes on a young virgin of uncommon beauty, who was reading her book in one of the publick ſchools. (In theſe times it was cuſtomary at *Rome* for young perſons of that ſex, as well as of the other, to purſue their proper

per ſtudies in ſchools that were purpoſely erected for them in the *Forum*.) Her charms, and the blooming graces of youth, immediately drew his attention. He could not help beholding her with a ſecret pleaſure: His curioſity increaſed the next day; he thought her more lovely than before; and as he was obliged to paſs often by the ſchool, he inſenſibly conceived a moſt violent paſſion for her. Upon enquiry after her family and condition, he learnt, that ſhe was by birth a *Plebeian*; her name *Virginia*; that ſhe had loſt her mother, *Numitoria*; that her father *Virginius* then ſerved in the poſt of Centurion in the army employ'd againſt the *Æqui*, and that he had promiſed his daughter to *Icilius*, who had been Tribune of the People, and who was to marry her at the end of the campaign. Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

This account, ſo unfavourable to *Appius*'s love, only ſerved to increaſe it. He would gladly have married *Virginia*, but he had a wife already; and had this not been the caſe, the laſt laws of the twelve tables, of which he was the chief framer, prohibited all inter-marriages of *Patricians* with *Plebeians*; ſo that he had no room to hope for the accompliſhment of his wiſhes, but by the ſcandalous means of debauching the young maid.

The innocence and modeſty of *Virginia* reſtrained him from opening his diſhoneſt purpoſe directly to her ſelf. He thought it more proper to begin the work by means of one of thoſe women of intrigue, who make a private market of the beauty and charms of youth. He loaded her with favours, and having let her into his deſires, ordered her not to name him, but to ſay only, that *Virginia*'s lover was a man in power, who could do much good or much hurt to whomſoever he pleaſed. This woman applied herſelf to *Virginia*'s nurſe, made her rich preſents, and richer promiſes; and having thus paved the way, came at length to the ſubject of her errand. But the nurſe, equally faithful and prudent, not only rejected the propoſal with horror, but kept now a more watchful eye upon her charge than ever. *Appius* learned with grief, that it was impoſſible either to deceive or to corrupt her. *D. Hal.* B. 11. *Livy*, B. 3.

However, his paſſion growing ſtill more furious by the difficulties it met with, he had recourſe to another ſtratagem more bold and impudent, and which, if it ſucceeded, would put *Virginia* wholly in his power. For the execution of this new ſcheme he employ'd a client of his, named *M. Claudius*, a man without ſhame or fear, and one of thoſe who introduce themſelves to the ear of the great, by the ſole merit of a baſe complaiſance for their pleaſures. This Miniſter of the Decemvir's paſſion, taking with him a band of fellows like himſelf, entered the public ſchool where VIRGINIA was, and ſeizing her by the arm, would force her away to his own houſe, under pretence that ſhe was the daughter of one of his ſlaves. He was already dragging her all in tears through the *Forum*, when the People, hearing a great cry, flock'd about him, and being moved with ſo piteous a ſight, obliged him to let go his hold. The Villain perceiving that he could not execute his firſt deſign, pretended then, that he had not meant to uſe any violence, but to proceed in due courſe of law; and he cited her to appear immediately before the Decemvir. *Virginia*

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

T. Antonius, and *C. Duilius*, all Decemvirs, led five legions againſt the *Æqui*. *Appius* ſtaid at *Rome* with *Oppius*, and kept with him a body of troops which he placed as a gariſon in the Capitol, to maintain his authority againſt the enemy at home, which was much more formidable than the enemy abroad. Thus mere private men under the title of Decemvirs got poſſeſſion of the whole ſtrength of the State, which under their dominion retained nothing but the bare name of a Commonwealth.

The People who compoſed the legions, that is to ſay, the centurions and ſoldiers, having a quick ſenſe of their loſs of liberty, would not conquer, for fear of increaſing the power of the Decemvirs. The two armies ſuffered themſelves to be defeated almoſt without fighting. The legions appointed againſt the *Sabines*, after ſome ſlight loſſes near *Eretum*, made a haſty retreat in the night, and pitched their camp in the territory of *Rome* between *Fidenæ* and *Cruſtumeria*. And as for thoſe who were to act againſt the *Æqui* (poſted upon the *Algidus*) they left their camp and baggage, and fled for refuge to *Tuſculum*. The news of theſe defeats was received at *Rome* with the ſame joy that would at another time have been ſhewn for a compleat victory.

Appius, attentive to all events, ſent recruits and proviſions to his Colleagues. He exhorted them, by letters, to keep the ſoldiers in awe by the terror of puniſhment, unleſs they judged this method to be dangerous in the preſent conjuncture. In that caſe, *he added*, that they would not want opportunities during the campaign to deſtroy the moſt mutinous by private ways; and he himſelf ſet them an example.

Sicinius Dentatus, that renowned *Plebeian* who had been in 120 engagements, filled the ears of the multitude with the faults which he affirmed the Decemvirs had committed in the management of this war. *Appius*, to get him out of *Rome*, pretended an earneſt deſire to conſult him upon the operations of the campaign. He ſent for him, diſcourſed with him ſeveral times, admired his wiſdom, and engaged him to go to the army at *Cruſtumeria* and aſſiſt the Generals with his Counſels. And the ſooner to induce him to make the campaign, he dignify'd him with the character of Envoy

D. Hal. B. 11. or Legate, which among the *Romans* (according to *Dionyſius*) not only gave him who was honoured with it the authority of a General, but made his Perſon ſacred and inviolable, as that of a Prieſt.

Sicinius, free from diſtruſt, and with the ſincerity of a brave ſoldier, gladly embraced an opportunity of ſerving his country. He repaired to the camp with all ſpeed. The Decemvirs, inſtructed by *Appius*, received him with outward marks of joy, and treated him with diſtinction. Nothing was undertaken without his advice; but this ſeeming deference concealed a real deſign of making away with him. An occaſion ſoon offered.

D. Hal. ibid. *Sicinius*, with his accuſtomed frankneſs, having told the Decemvirs, that he thought they ſhould remove their camp into the enemies territory, for many good reaſons which he laid before them, they commiſſioned him to go and view the ſituation of the country, and mark out the ground for a new encampment; and they appointed him a hundred choſen men light-armed

All the people preſent exclaimed againſt ſo iniquitous a Decree; and nothing was to be heard but cries of indignation, ſhrieks and lamentations. The women with tears in their eyes gathered round *Virginia*, and placed her in the midſt of them, as if they meant to defend her. In this inſtant ICILIUS, to whom ſhe had been promiſed in marriage, came running into the Forum with fury in his eyes, and loudly demanding who he was that durſt to lay violent hands upon a free woman, and what were his pretenſions? *Appius* who perceived him breaking through the crowd, ordered a Lictor to oppoſe his paſſage, and to tell him that the affair was already judged. But nothing could ſtop the enraged lover; he forced his way up to the Tribunal, and taking *Virginia* in his arms, "No, *Appius*, *he cried*, "nothing but death ſhall ſeparate me from her. If thou wouldſt have "thy vile artifices concealed, thou muſt murder me. Aſſemble all thy "Lictors, and if thou wilt, thoſe of thy Collegues too; bid them pre"pare their rods and axes; but to my laſt breath I will defend her ho"nour. Have you deprived the *Romans* of the protection of their Tri"bunes, that you may ſubject their wives and daughters to your lewdneſs? "Go on to exerciſe your rage in ſcourging and ſlaughtering the *Roman* "Citizens, but let modeſty and chaſtity eſcape your Tyranny. *Virginia* "is mine, ſhe is promiſed to me, and I expect to marry a virgin pure "and unſpotted. I will receive her from no man's hands but her father's. "If in his abſence any attempt be made to do her violence, I will implore "the aid of the *Roman* People for my wife; *Virginius* will demand the "aſſiſtance of his fellow-ſoldiers for his daughter; and both Gods and "Men will be on our ſide."

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

The People, equally moved with his misfortune and his courage, fell upon the Lictors who were forcing away *Virginia*, diſperſed them, and obliged *Claudius* himſelf to ſeek refuge at *Appius*'s feet. The Aſſembly was full of noiſe and confuſion. The tumult increaſed by the arrival of thoſe who flocked to the *Forum* from all parts of the city. *Appius* quite ſtunn'd at ſeeing to what a degree the People were incenſed againſt him, was for ſome time in doubt what meaſures to take. At length, having cauſed ſilence to be made: "It is well known (*ſaid he*) *Icilius* only wants "an opportunity of reſtoring the Tribuneſhip by means of a ſedition. But "that he may have no pretence of complaint, I am willing to wait for "*Virginius*'s return till to-morrow. Let his friends take care to give him "notice. It is not above four hour's journey from hence to the camp. I "will prevail upon *Claudius* to yield up ſomewhat of his right for the "ſake of the public peace, and to let the girl remain in liberty 'till the "return of the man ſhe imagines to be her father. But in caſe *Virginius* "does not appear to-morrow, I would have *Icilius* know, that I ſhall not "want any aſſiſtance from my Collegues to put my decree in execution, "or to keep in awe ſuch ſeditious ſpirits as he.

Claudius, feigning to admit unwillingly of this delay, requeſted that at leaſt *Icilius* might give ſecurity for producing *Virginia* on the morrow. The People all around immediately held up their hands, and every man

Y. of *R.* 304. offered eagerly to be his ſecurity. *Icilius* touched with the affection of his
Bef. *J. C.* 448. fellow-citizens, broke into Tears, while he returned them thanks. "To
3 Decemvirate. "morrow, *ſaid he*, if there be occaſion, we will make uſe of your aſ-
"ſiſtance. To-day, I hope they will be ſatisfied with my ſecurity and
"that of all *Virginia*'s Relations."

Appius, though intoxicated with his paſſion, durſt not refuſe ſuch Bail: But he privately diſpatched a meſſenger to his Collegues who commanded the army, intreating them to arreſt *Virginius* upon ſome pretence or other, and to keep him in cloſe priſon. He thought that, the Father not appearing at the time appointed, he might then with a good colour deliver up the daughter into *Claudius*'s hands: But his courier arrived at the camp too late. *Numitorius*'s ſon, and a brother of *Icilius* had been beforehand with him; and *Virginius*, upon the firſt notice of his daughter's danger, pretending the ſudden death of ſome relation, had obtained leave to return to *Rome*, and was already gone. And he had the good fortune to eſcape two Parties of horſe, one which upon the receipt of *Appius*'s Letter the Decemvirs ſent after him to ſtop him, and the other which *Appius* with the ſame deſign had placed in the road that led from the city to the camp.

He appeared the next morning in the *Forum* pierced to the heart with grief, and leading by the hand his daughter all drowned in tears: She was accompanied by her kinſwomen, and by a great number of other ladies. *Virginius*, as he paſſed along, addreſſed himſelf to his fellow-citizens with an air of dignity, that ſeemed to *demand* their aſſiſtance, rather than to *implore* it. "To what purpoſe, *ſaid he*, do we every day "expoſe our lives in war to defend our wives and children from a "foreign enemy, if our Tyrants at *Rome* exerciſe upon them all the vio-"lence that can be ſuffered in a city taken by aſſault? *Icilius*, quite furious with love and reſentment, inveighed loudly againſt *Appius*, without any reſerve: But the ſilent tears of the whole train of women affected the multitude more than any words or exclamations.

§. III. *APPIUS* heard with extream ſurpriſe that *Virginius* was in the *Forum*. Full of rage and vexation he repaired inſtantly thither, with a numerous[a] guard of his dependents and creatures. Having aſcended his

[a] Mr. *Vertot*, B. 5. P. 71. quotes *D. Hal.* as ſaying, B. 11. that *Appius*, to prevent all reſiſtance, ordered down the troops [2 legions] that were in the Capitol, and that they took poſſeſſion of the *Forum*. And he ſoon after quotes *Livy*, as telling us, that the multitude were attacked by *Appius*'s ſoldiers. There is nothing either in *Dion. Hal.* or *Livy*, from whence it can be gathered, that *Appius* employed any ſoldiers on this occaſion. It is true, *Dion. Hal.* repreſents him ſaying to the People, that the troops in the Capitol were not placed there only for defence againſt a foreign enemy, but alſo to prevent riots in the city. And *Livy* makes him inſinuate to the People, in order to terrify them, that he has brought down ſome armed men from the Capitol. But we do not find in either of thoſe two Hiſtorians, that theſe armed men ever appeared. *D. Hal.* ſays, p. 680, that *Appius* came to his Tribunal, μετὰ πολλῆ σίφυς, but it was ἑταίρων καὶ πελατῶν, (a great company of his friends and clients) as appears by the context. And *Livy* having mentioned the reſiſtance

his Tribunal, he bid *Claudius* open his demand, and proceed in his action. Y. of *R.* 304.
Claudius then repeated what he had ſaid the day before, and at the ſame Bef. *J. C.* 448.
time produced the ſlave whom he had ſuborned, and who, out of fear of 3 Decemvirate
her maſter, declared, that ſhe had ſold *Virginia* to *Virginius*'s wife. The claimant added, that he had many other credible witneſſes to produce if there were occaſion; and that he humbly hoped, his being the Judge's client would not be thought a good reaſon for refuſing him that juſtice which every other man would obtain in the like caſe: And he concluded, with intreating the *Decemvir* not to ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by his compaſſion to the prejudice of truth and right.

The friends and relations of *Virginia*, to deſtroy this impoſture, repre- *D. Hal.* B. 11.
ſented, that her mother *Numitoria* could have had no temptation to practiſe ſuch a fraud as was pretended; that ſhe was married very young, and to a man almoſt as young as herſelf; that ſhe bore a child in a very few years after her marriage; that if ſhe had proved barren, and had been minded to introduce a ſtranger into her family, ſhe would never have taken the child of a ſlave, and certainly not a girl, when ſhe might as eaſily have had a boy. That as to thoſe many credible witneſſes which *Claudius* talked of producing, it was highly improbable that a tranſaction which required ſo much ſecrecy, ſhould be imparted to many perſons, when one was ſufficient for the purpoſe. That granting *Numitoria* to have been guilty of ſo ſtrange a folly, it was yet ſtranger that an affair intruſted with ſo many confidents ſhould remain ſo long a ſecret. That it was impoſſible to account why *Claudius* himſelf ſhould be ſo profoundly ſilent in this affair for fifteen years, and ſhould never declare his pretenſions till the young woman was become marriageable, and appeared in that wonderful degree of beauty.

At theſe words all eyes were turned upon *Virginia*; the modeſty of her countenance, her tears, her youth, her innocence, and, above all, her amazing beauty, which clouded as it was with exceſſive grief had yet a ſurpaſſing luſtre, fill'd every breaſt with the moſt tender compaſſion. Nor could they help reflecting with extreme concern and terror, that if the laws of liberty were thus violated in the perſon of this young maid, there could be no longer any ſecurity for wives or daughters againſt the like diſhonour. For every body was already convinced that the allegations of *Claudius* and his witneſs were mere impoſture, and the wicked contrivance of ſome dignified villain, who thought himſelf at liberty to do whatever he pleaſed.

But to thoſe arguments, ſhewing the improbability of what *Claudius* had alledged, *Virginius* added, that he had witneſſes of unqueſtionable credit

ſiſtance which *Appius*'s Lictors met with when they would have ſeized *Icilius*, adds, *Quum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipſe* cum agmine Patriciorum juvenum *per turbam vadens in vincula duci jubet. Appius*, the moſt deſpotic Magiſtrate that had appeared in *Rome* ſince *Tarquin*, did not venture to exerciſe ſo avowed a tyranny, as to employ his armed ſoldiers to attack unarmed citizens. This is evident, not only from what the Hiſtorians ſay of thoſe who aided and abetted him, but from his being worſted in the conflict with his adverſaries.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

ready, (whom he named, and who he desired might be strictly examined) who would testify, some that they had seen *Numitoria* big with child, others that they had been present when she was delivered of this daughter, and others that they had seen her give suck to young *Virginia*, which she could not have done, had she been barren, as *Claudius* pretended.

Virginius was still going on with his plea, when *Appius* perceiving the impression that was made upon the Assembly by those unanswerable reasons which had been offered, and being determined at any rate to accomplish his enterprize, interrupted him, and commanded silence, signifying that he himself had something to say. All the People being curious and anxious to know what it was, were presently still, and listened to him with attention.

The Decemvir having first cast his eyes on all sides to observe his strength, and how his friends were posted, "*Virginius*, *said he*, I must "acquaint you, and all who are here present, that this is not the first "time I have heard of this affair. I was told of it long before my election to the Decemvirate. *Claudius*'s father at his death desired me to be "guardian to his son; (his ancestors, you know, were always clients of "our family.) Intimations were soon after given me, that I ought to claim "this young slave in right of my ward. Hereupon I examined into the "matter, and found the fact to be exactly as *Claudius* has represented it. "However, I did not think it became me to meddle in an affair of this "nature, but chose rather to leave it for him to manage when he should "come of age, when he might either take back the girl, or accept of "a sum of money for her from the parties who had bred her up. "Our civil feuds, and the hurry of public business hindered me afterwards from giving any attention to the concerns of *Claudius*. He has "applied himself of late, I suppose, to examine into the state of his affairs, "and he finds this girl to belong to him, as part of his inheritance. I "can see nothing unjust nor unreasonable in the demand he makes to have "the daughter of his slave restored to him. It would have been better indeed if the thing could some way or other have been compromised. But "since a suit has been commenced upon it, I am obliged in conscience "to give testimony in his favour; and upon what I myself know, I do, "as Judge, pronounce him lawful master of this girl."

Virginius, provoked to the highest pitch at so unjust and cruel a sentence, no longer kept any measures with the Decemvir. Holding up his hand at him, "*Appius*, *said he*, I promised my daughter to *Icilius*, and not to "thee. I educated her for honourable marriage, and not to be a prey to "an infamous ravisher. Is this then your way and manner? Is the lawless lust of savage beasts to prevail among us? How the citizens *here* will "bear with these things, I know not; but I trust that those who are *in* "*arms* will not endure them."

Livy, B. 3.

The People at these words set up a loud cry full of indignation, and they seemed at first as if they would oppose the execution of *Appius*'s decree. But the Decemvir with a threatening voice told them, that he was not

not unacquainted with the ſeditious meetings which had been held the night before, nor with the plots there laid to cauſe an inſurrection, but that he wanted neither power nor reſolution to chaſtiſe thoſe who ſhould dare to diſturb the public peace; that the ſoldiers in the Capitol had not been placed there only for defence againſt the foreign enemy: And he adviſed them therefore to be careful of their behaviour, and to retire quietly to their own houſes. "And you, *ſaid he*, (*ſpeaking to one of his Lictors*) go put "aſide the crowd, and make room for a maſter to lay hold of his ſlave." Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate *D. Hal. Livy*, B. 3.

The multitude terrify'd at theſe menaces, and the wrathful manner in which they were uttered, inſtantly gave back, and left the unhappy *Virginia* ſtanding by herſelf, a helpleſs prey to injuſtice. *Virginius*, who then ſaw that there was no other remedy, turning towards the Decemvir, "Pardon, APPIUS, *ſaid he*, the unguarded words which eſcaped from "me in the anguiſh of a fatherly grief, and allow me, if you pleaſe, be- "fore *Claudius* takes away the girl, privately to aſk, in her preſence, "ſome queſtions of her nurſe, that I may be ſet right in this matter, and, "in caſe *Virginia* be not really my daughter, may return to the camp in "leſs affliction."

Appius readily granted him this requeſt, upon condition however that it ſhould be in *Claudius*'s ſight, and without ſtirring out of the Forum. *Virginius*, pierced to the heart with the ſharpeſt ſorrow, took his daughter, half dead, in his arms; he wiped away the tears in which her face was all bathed, embraced her, and drawing her near to ſome ſhops which were on the ſide of the Forum, chance directed him to a butcher's knife: Having inſtantly ſeized it, "My dear daughter, *ſaid he*, this is the only way to "ſave thy honour and thy liberty:" With theſe words he plunged the knife into her heart, and then drawing it out again all ſmoaking with her blood, and turning towards the Tribunal, "By this blood, APPIUS, *he* "*cried*, I devote thy head to the infernal Gods."

The Decemvir, from his Tribunal, called out in the greateſt fury, to ſeize him; but he with the knife in his hand made his way through thoſe who would have ſtopt him, and being favoured by the Multitude, got out of the city, mounted his horſe, and took the road to the camp. In the mean while, *Numitorius* and *Icilius* raiſed a great commotion in *Rome*; they ſtaid by the dead body of *Virginia*, ſhewed it to the eyes of the People, and beſought them not to let her death go unrevenged. Crowds flocked to the *Forum* from all parts; they uttered bitter exclamations againſt the Decemvirs, and demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient government and of the Tribunes. As for *Appius*, he was now returned to his own houſe. He had waded through an ocean of wickedneſs, to reach a prize which eſcaped him for ever, in the very moment he thought to take poſ- ſeſſion of it. He had been a ſpectator of the murder of her, whom he loved to exceſs, a murder of which he himſelf was the cauſe; and by his laſt ſtroke of tyranny had made ſure of the extreme hatred and indignation of the *Roman* People. Stung with theſe reflections, he ſeemed to have quite loſt his reaſon. Inſtead of endeavouring to pacify the multitude, he

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sent his Lictors to seize *Icilius* and carry away the dead body from the *Forum*. The People oppoſed the execution of his orders, and, being now urged to fury, fell upon his Lictors, broke their faſces, and drove them out of the *Forum*. *Appius* hereupon getting together, as faſt as he could, a great number of his friends and clients, came in perſon to ſupport his authority. But *Valerius* and *Horatius*, thoſe ſworn enemies of the Decemvirs, having had notice of his motion, had put themſelves at the head of a band of brave young men, marched them into the *Forum*, and placed them round the body of *Virginia*. At firſt the two parties diſcharged their fury againſt each other in mutual reproaches and invectives: But they ſoon after came to blows. *Appius* was worſted and repulſed. In this perplexity not knowing what elſe to do, he got up into the Temple of *Vulcan*, and there took upon him to act the part of a Tribune of the People, demanding that *Valerius* and *Horatius* ſhould be thrown head-long from the *Tarpeian* rock, as diſturbers of the public peace: But the multitude hiſſed at ſo ſenſeleſs a diſcourſe; and in the mean time *Valerius*, having cauſed the body of *Virginia* to be carried to the top of a flight of ſteps, where the People might ſee it, was from the ſame eminence inveighing againſt *Appius*. Moſt of the Decemvir's auditors ſoon left him to go to *Valerius*, who thereupon aſſuming the authority of a Magiſtrate, commanded the Lictors to pay no more attendance on a private perſon. And now *Appius* terrified at the deſertion of many of his Creatures whom he ſaw changing ſides, believed his life to be in danger; hiding therefore his face with his robe he fled, and took refuge in a neighbouring houſe. At this juncture *Oppius* the *Plebeian* Decemvir ruſhed from another ſide into the Forum to ſuccour his Collegue. But he came too late: Force had got the better of authority. He judged therefore that the wiſeſt method in the preſent exigence was to aſſemble the Senate; and this in a great meaſure quieted the People; for they hoped that the Decemvirate would ſpeedily be aboliſhed. But thoſe of the Fathers who happened to be in *Rome* were moſt of them friends to the preſent Government; they only ordered the People to behave themſelves peaceably, and commiſſioned ſome young members of their body to go to the camp near the *Algidus*, to prevent the ſedition which *Virginius* might excite there. In the mean time *Valerius* and *Horatius* cauſed the body of *Virginia* to be laid in an open litter, and to be carried in great pomp through all the high ſtreets, in order to excite the compaſſion of the citizens, and increaſe their deteſtation of the Decemvirs. Men and women, old and young, married and unmarried, all ran out of their houſes to ſee this funeral proceſſion, and they all bewailed her fatal beauty, and her untimely death. The women with tears in their eyes threw, ſome of them flowers upon the litter, others the ribbons from their heads to adorn it, others caſt their girdles, their fillets, wreaths of their hair upon it. The men alſo contributed, every one, ſome little preſent.

The whole city would have revolted immediately from the Government, had not the Decemvirs been actually commanding armies, and had not *Valerius*

rius and *Horatius* (who managed this buſineſs, and who hoped to compaſs their point without effuſion of blood) thought it more adviſeable to wait and ſee what *Virginius*'s return would produce in the army near the *Algidus*. Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

§. IV. HE entered the camp, attended by near 400 citizens, and ſtill holding in his hand the bloody knife with which he had killed his Daughter. The ſoldiers at this ſtrange ſight flocked to him from all quarters. *Virginius* got upon a ſmall eminence from whence he might the more eaſily be heard: His face was drowned in tears, and grief for a while tied his tongue. At length breaking this mournful ſilence, he related to them the whole tragical ſtory, and then raiſing his hands to heaven, "I call you to witneſs, "immortal Gods, *ſaid he*, that *Appius* alone is guilty of the bloody deed "I was forced to commit. And you, my fellow-ſoldiers, I conjure you *Livy*, B. 3. "not to drive me out of your company as a parricide and the murderer of "my daughter. I would willingly have ſacrificed my own life to have "preſerved hers, if ſhe could have lived with her honour and her liber- "ty. But finding that the tyrant was determined to make her a ſlave that "he might have an opportunity to diſhonour her, pity alone made me "cruel: I rather choſe to loſe my daughter, than keep her with ſhame; "but I would not have outlived her one moment, had I not hoped to re- "venge her death by your aſſiſtance."

The centurions and ſoldiers, filled with compaſſion for his misfortune, and with indignation againſt the Decemvir, all aſſured him, that they would nor fail him in any thing he ſhould undertake againſt *Appius*. Nay they reſolved to extend their reſentment to all the Decemvirs, and to ſhake off the yoke of a dominion that was now grown into an avowed tyranny.

The Decemvirs who commanded the army being informed of *Virginius*'s return, and of the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, ſent for him with deſign to ſecure him. No obedience was paid to their orders. The troops were all eager to return to *Rome*; nothing but the military oath withheld them. They thought they could not leave their Generals without offending the Gods, and diſhonouring themſelves. *Virginius*, who burnt with impatience to revenge himſelf of *Appius*, quickly removed their *D. Hal.* B. 11. ſcruple, by aſſuring them, that a *Roman* could never be under any obligation to obey uſurpers and tyrants; that the Decemvirs were notoriouſly ſuch, and that therefore to ſubmit to them would not be obedience and piety, but madneſs and ſuperſtition. There needed no more to ſatisfy the conſcience of the ſoldiers. They immediately flew in a kind of fury to their arms, ſnatch'd up their enſigns, and under the conduct of their reſpective Centurions took the way to *Rome*. The Decemvirs, ſtartled at ſo general a deſertion, ran to ſtop them: But wherever they turned themſelves, they found only exaſperated ſpirits who breathed nothing but vengeance. If the Decemvirs ſpoke to them in gentle terms, they received no anſwer. If they pretended to threaten or command, the ſoldiers ſternly anſwered, *We are men, we have ſwords in our hands.* *Livy*, B. 3.

The army entered *Rome* about evening, without making the leaſt diſturbance, and without ſo much as a ſoldier's ſtirring out of his rank. As they

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paſſed along they aſſured their friends and relations, that they were returned only to deſtroy tyranny. All the troops marched quietly through the city to mount *Aventine*, fully reſolved not to ſeparate 'till they had obtained the depoſal of the Decemvirs, and the reſtoration of the Tribuneſhip.

§. V. *APPIUS*, terrified with remorſe of conſcience, and with the revolt of the army, durſt not appear in public. But *Oppius*, his Colleague, had recourſe in this diſtreſs to the authority of the Senate, which he convened with all expedition.

The Senators thought it by no means adviſable to proceed in a way of ſeverity, becauſe they themſelves had given occaſion to the ſedition. The reſult of their debate was to commiſſion *Sp. Tarpeius*, *C. Julius*, and *P. Sulpitius*, all three Conſulars, to go to mount *Aventine* and demand of the ſoldiers, *By whoſe orders they had left their camp? what their intent was in poſſeſſing themſelves of mount* Aventine? *and why, quitting the war begun againſt the enemy, they had invaded their own country?*

Liv. B. 3.

The ſoldiers did not want an anſwer, but they wanted a ſpeaker, for as yet they had not choſen themſelves a Head; and no one man among them would venture to act as Chief in this revolt. They remained for ſome time in ſilence, but at length they all cried out with one voice, *Let* Valerius *and* Horatius *be ſent to us, we will give an anſwer to the Senate by them.*

As ſoon as the three Commiſſioners were gone, *Virginius* took notice to the ſoldiers how much they had been puzzled, even in an affair of no great importance, for want of a Head; that the anſwer they had fallen upon, tho' pertinent enough, had proceeded rather from caſual agreement, than previous and public counſel; and he adviſed them therefore to chuſe ten perſons to be over them, and to manage for them. Inſtantly they named him the firſt to that honour, but he excuſed himſelf, deſiring them to reſerve their good opinion of him to happier times. "No honours, *ſaid* "*he*, can give me pleaſure while my daughter is unrevenged, nor is it ad- "viſable for you, in ſuch a ſeaſon of trouble as this, to chuſe thoſe men to "be your directors and agents who are moſt obnoxious to the parties you "are to treat with. If you think me capable of being uſeful to you, I "ſhall not be leſs ſo in a private capacity." The army hereupon appointed ten other Centurions to be their Governors, with the title of Military Tribunes.

The example of this army was followed by that employed in the war againſt the *Æqui*: For *Numitorius* and *Icilius* had gone thither, and had ſpirited up the ſoldiers to deſert their Generals. With colours flying they marched ſtrait towards *Rome*, and having advice, by the way, of the ſteps taken by the troops on mount *Aventine*, they in like manner, at the inſtigation of *Icilius*, (a man ſkillful in popular affairs) choſe themſelves *ten Military Tribunes*, to govern and conduct them. (What moved *Icilius* to give this counſel was an apprehenſion, that, without ſuch election, the ten Tribunes of the other camp might be thought to have a kind of right to be appointed the *Ten Tribunes of the Commons* in the next Comitia that ſhould be held for naming thoſe Magiſtrates, and he himſelf had a view

to

to be one of the College.) Theſe troops entered the City, and marched through it in the ſame good order, and with the ſame peaceable behaviour, as had been obſerved by the other, whom they preſently after joined. And then the united armies commiſſioned their twenty Military Tribunes to elect two out of their number to be ſupreme over all. The choice fell upon *M. Oppius* and *Sextus Manilius*. *V. of R.* 304. *Bef. J. C.* 448. 3 Decemvirate

The Senate in the mean while, anxious for the Commonweal, ſat every day to conſider of ſome effectual remedy for the preſent evil. (Such deſertions were of dangerous example; and the frontiers were left expoſed to the invaſions of the enemy.) But the time which ſhould have been employed in ſage deliberation, was waſted in ſtrife and wrangling. The Decemvirs were inceſſantly reproached with the murder of *Sicinius*, the luſt of *Appius*, and the miſcarriages in the war. At length it was concluded to ſend *Valerius* and *Horatius* to mount *Aventine*; but then theſe two Senators, finding that their mediation was become neceſſary, proteſted that they would not move a ſtep ſo long as the Decemvirs, whom they called uſurpers, remained Maſters of the Government.

The Decemvirs, on the other hand, declared that they would not reſign their authority till they had propoſed to the People the two laſt Tables of Laws, and had got them paſs'd; and that this was the only term fixed for the expiration of their magiſtracy. Nay, *L. Cornelius*, yet a warm partiſan of the preſent Governours, adviſed againſt entering into any negotiation with the two armies, till they were returned to their former reſpective camps; upon which condition he was for offering the ſoldiers a general pardon, with an exception however to the Authors of the deſertion. *D. Hal.* B. 11.

The ſoldiers on mount *Aventine* receiving accounts from *M. Duilius* (who had been formerly a Tribune) of what paſs'd in the Senate, came to a reſolution to remove their camp to the *Mons Sacer*, a place which would put the Senators in mind of the ſteady reſolution of the *Commons*, and make them ſenſible of the abſolute neceſſity of reſtoring the Tribuneſhip, in order to a re-union. Thither they marched, fortified themſelves there, and obſerved the ſame good diſcipline for which their anceſtors had been ſo much admired. In this decampment they were followed by ſuch numbers of the Citizens, with their wives and children, that *Rome* was in a manner deſerted: "What have we to do, *ſaid they*, in a City where neither chaſtity nor liberty is ſafe." The *Conſcript Fathers* aſtoniſhed as they paſſed to the Senate-houſe to ſee the ſtreets ſo thin of people, and that, except a few old men, there was ſcarce any body in the Forum, came now for the moſt part into the ſentiments of *Horatius* and *Valerius*. They declared that it was madneſs in the Decemvirs to think of retaining their authority, when they had no ſubjects to govern. "What! *ſaid they*, "will you adminiſter juſtice to empty houſes and bare walls? Are "you not aſhamed to ſee that all the citizens in the Forum ſcarce "equal the number of your Lictors? In ſhort, you muſt reſolve either "to have no *Commons*, or to allow them *Tribunes*. They extorted *Livy*, B. 3.

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" from our fore-fathers that *Plebeian* Magiſtracy, of which they had not " then experienced the benefit; and do you imagine that when they have " taſted the ſweets of it, they will ever conſent to part with it, and eſpecially " ſince your Government has not been ſo moderate and gentle, as to make " them feel no want of protection and ſuccour?"

The Decemvirs finding that there was no remedy, promiſed at length to be wholly governed by the Senate; they only deſired that they might not be ſacrificed to the hatred of their enemies, and reminded the *Fathers* that it concerned them nearly not to accuſtom the People to ſhed the blood of *Patricians*.

§. VI. *VALERIUS* and *Horatius* having brought this affair to the point they wanted, repaired to the army, and were received by the ſoldiers as their protectors. The People, by the mouth of *Icilius*, demanded the reſtoration of their Tribunes, their privilege of appeal, and an amneſty for all who had left the camp without permiſſion from their Generals. But firſt of all they required that the Decemvirs ſhould be delivered into their hands, and they loudly threatened to burn them all alive.

Valerius and *Horatius* were not much more favourable to thoſe Magiſtrates than the People themſelves; but they proſecuted the deſign of deſtroying them with more art. At the ſame time that in general terms they exhorted the multitude not to be governed by cruel thoughts, (bidding them remember that they had more occaſion for a ſhield than a ſword) they inſinuated to them, that when they were in poſſeſſion again of their rights, and when their Tribunes, their Laws and Aſſemblies were reſtored to them, they would then have it in their power to do juſtice to themſelves.

The People being ſatisfied that no *Tribunes* whatſoever could have more Zeal for the Intereſt of the Commons than thoſe two Senators, truſted every thing to their Management. *Valerius* and *Horatius* returned immediately to the Senate; and, in the account they gave in public of the demands of the People, omitted their Threats againſt the Decemvirs. They even ſeemed to hint, that the People conſented that every thing which had paſſed under the Decemvirate ſhould be buried in oblivion. The Decemvirs hearing no mention made of their puniſhment, readily yielded to all that was aſked; only *Appius*, cruel by nature, and judging of other men's hatred to him by his to them, ſaid aloud, " I am not ignorant of the " fate I am to expect. The attack is only deferred till my enemies have " got arms in their hands. Nothing but my blood will ſatisfy their ma- " lice. Be it ſo. I am ready nevertheleſs to reſign the Decemvirate, and " I care not how ſoon I do it." Hereupon the Senate paſt a Decree, *That the Decemvirs ſhould inſtantly depoſe themſelves; that the Pontifex* Maximus *ſhould hold the* Comitia *for electing Tribunes, and that no notice ſhould be hereafter taken of the deſertion of the ſoldiers from their Generals, or the retreat of the Citizens to the* Mons Sacer. Then the Decemvirs immediately repaired to the *Forum*, and there publickly laid down their authority, to the great joy of the City. The news of their abdication was preſently carried by *Valerius* and *Horatius* to the Camp. " Return, ſoldiers, *ſaid they*,

" to

"to your country, your Houſhold-Gods, your wives and children; and "may this return be happy to you and to the Commonwealth." The army immediately took up their enſigns, and exulting with joy returned to *Rome*. But before they ſeparated they marched a ſecond time, accompanied by the People, to mount *Aventine*, where they made an election of their Tribunes. *A. Virginius* the father of the hapleſs *Virginia*, *Numitorius* her uncle, and *Icilius* to whom ſhe had been betrothed, were the firſt choſen. *C. Sicinius*, *M. Duilius*, *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *P. Villius*, and *C. Oppius*, were appointed their Collegues. An *Inter-Rex* was afterwards created, who held an Aſſembly by *Centuries*, and, according to the votes of the People, named *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* to the Conſulate.

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Livy, B. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 11.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef *J.C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

§. VII. THE Adminiſtration of theſe Conſuls was wholly popular, and the *Plebeians* obtained from them what they could hardly have hoped from their very Tribunes themſelves. We have already ſeen that the *Patricians* and Senators pretended they were not ſubject to the Decrees of the People convened by *Tribes*. The Commons, on the other hand, maintained that the ſovereignty of the State lying eſſentially in the general Aſſembly of the *Roman* People, all the Citizens of every rank whatſoever ought to be ſubject to it, ſince they had a right to give their votes in it, each in his tribe. This diſpute was often renewed between the two orders in the Republic. The preſent Conſuls taking advantage of the abſolute Authority they had in the Government, got this important affair decided in the People's favour; and by an Act paſſed in an Aſſemby *by Centuries* it was declared, *That all Decrees made in the* Comitia by Tribes *ſhould have the force of Laws with relation to* all *the Citizens.*

The *Lex Valeria* touching Appeals to *the Aſſembly of the People* was confirmed anew, and ſtrengthened with another, forbidding the future creation of any Magiſtrate, from whoſe judgments an appeal ſhould not lie to that Aſſembly, and making it lawful for any perſon to kill the man who ſhould attempt ſuch a creation. To theſe Laws were added a Regulation importing, that the *Senatus-conſulta* which were often ſuppreſſed or altered by the Conſuls, ſhould for the future be tranſmitted to the *Ædiles*, and preſerved in the Temple of *Ceres*.

§. VIII. THOUGH the *Patricians* in general greatly diſliked all theſe Regulations, yet, becauſe hitherto they ſaw no particular perſon of their Party attacked, they made no oppoſition to them. But the Scene quickly changed. The liberty of the People, and the Power of the Tribunes being now firmly re-eſtabliſhed, the latter thought the favourable time come for proſecuting the Decemvirs, and all the accomplices of their tyranny. *Appius* was the firſt accuſed. Upon a Summons from *Virginius* (who was appointed to be the accuſer) he came into the *Forum*, attended by a crowd of young Nobles, who had been his Miniſters and his Guard during his Decemvirate. Their Appearance brought afreſh into the People's minds all the inſtances of his horrible abuſe of power.

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

Then *Virginius* began, "Long ſpeeches, O *Romans*, are for clearing "up of doubtful caſes. I ſhall not waſte your time in expatiating upon "the crimes of a man whoſe cruelty reduced you to the neceſſity of "taking arms to reſcue yourſelves from it: Nor will I ſuffer him to add "to his wicked deeds the impudence of defending them. *Appius*, I ſhall "paſs over the whole ſeries of your flagitious practices during the ſpace "of two years. There is one crime only, from which if you do not in- "ſtantly clear yourſelf, I order you to be led to priſon.

"What have you to ſay for the ſentence you paſſed againſt *Virginia?* "Why did you, contrary to law, refuſe a perſon, whoſe liberty was "brought into diſpute, the poſſeſſion of that liberty till the ſuit was de- "termined?"

Appius had no hope of aſſiſtance either from the Tribunes or the People; nevertheleſs when the Officer laid hold of him to drag him away, he cried out, *I appeal:* The ſound of theſe ſacred words (the guardians of liberty) from a man who had ſo lately violated the laws of liberty cauſed an univerſal ſilence. He then reminded the People of the merit of his anceſtors, and of his own unhappy affection to the *Commons*, when to the great diſpleaſure of the *Senate* he relinquiſhed the Conſulſhip, to make way for the Decemvirate and the eſtabliſhment of the new Laws; Laws which were ſtill in force, while he the Legiſlator himſelf, contrary to the tenor of them, was condemned to Priſon. He added, that as to his merits and demerits, it would appear what they were when his trial ſhould come on; that at preſent he pleaded the common rights of a *Roman* Citizen, and only demanded the time neceſſary for preparing his defence: That if without being heard he was now ſentenced to priſon, he appealed to the Tribunes, and exhorted them not to follow the example of thoſe they hated: That if the Tribunes confeſſed they had come to an agreement among themſelves to aboliſh the right of appeal, he appealed from them to the People, and implored the protection of the Laws juſt made, by joint conſent of Conſuls and Tribunes, to confirm that privilege. "What Citizen, *ſaid he*, can "hope for any benefit from thoſe Laws, if *Appius Claudius* can reap none? "Your conduct with regard to me will make it appear, whether this right "of appeal, of which you ſeem ſo jealous, be only the appearance of a "privilege, a thing ſubject to the cabals and private views of the Tribunes, "or whether it be the real and firm ſupport of liberty."

Livy, B. 3. *D. Hal.* B. 11.

Virginius, in anſwer, ſaid, that *Appius* was the ſingle man who had nothing to do with laws or any ſocial compact, nor ought to have any benefit from them. That having made himſelf perpetual Decemvir, his Tribunal had been the retreat and ſtronghold of all wickedneſs; that regardleſs of Gods and men, and always ſurrounded by hangmen inſtead of Lictors, he had, contrary to all laws and privileges, deſpoiled, ſcourged and murdered his fellow-citizens; that then, turning his mind from ſlaughter to luſt, he had not been aſhamed to tear a *Roman* maid of free condition out of her father's arms, deliver her into the hands of the vile miniſter of his pleaſures, and reduce the father to the cruel extremity of killing his daughter, to preſerve

ſerve her honour: That when the uncle and the perſon to whom ſhe was betrothed were taking up the body of the expiring virgin, he had commanded them both to priſon, being more vexed at the diſappointment of his intended rape than touched with concern for the murder. That ſurely it was but fitting that ſo infamous a wretch ſhould go to that priſon which he himſelf had built, and had inſolently named the *Habitation of the Commons of Rome.* "Appeal therefore, *ſaid he*, as often as you will; unleſs you inſtantly "plead, I order you to jayl as a criminal condemned." *Y. of R.* 204. *Bef. J. C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

The commitment of a *Patrician* of ſuch high rank, ſeemed to many perſons, even among the Commons, an exceſſive ſtretch of *Tribunitian* power; yet no body oppoſed it. *Appius* was that minute led to priſon, and *Virginius* appointed him a day for making his defence.

His uncle, *C. Claudius*, who had always been againſt the Decemvirs, and who had particularly deteſted the pride and inſolence of his nephew, haſtened however to his aid as ſoon as he heard of his diſgrace. It has been already ſaid, that to avoid being an eye-witneſs of the tyrannical Government of the Decemvirs, and of the miſeries of *Rome*, he had retired to *Regillus*. He was no ſooner come back to *Rome*, but he appeared in the Forum in a habit of mourning, and attended by all his relations and friends. He went from citizen to citizen, and beſought each of them in particular not to fix ſuch an ignominy upon the *Claudian* family, nor to ſuffer ſuch a ſhame to themſelves, as that the founder of their laws ſhould lie in a dungeon with villains and robbers; but rather to forgive one of the *Claudii*, for the ſake of ſo many of the name as interceded for him, than out of hatred to one, to reject the prayers of ſo many. He added, that the People having fortunately recovered their liberty by their courage, there was now nothing wanting to the happineſs of the Republic, but the reſtoring of union between the two orders in the State, and that this would be beſt done by clemency. *Livy*, B. 3.

Many of the citizens were moved to pity by the intreaties and interceſſions of *Claudius*. But *Virginius* on the other hand begged them to have compaſſion for him and his daughter, and to have regard to the prayers, not of the *Claudian* family which had tyrannized over them, but of *Virginia*'s relations, three Tribunes, who being created for the ſuccour of the People, ought in their neceſſity to receive ſuccour from them. *Virginius* prevailed.

Appius died in priſon before the day came for his trial; and *Dionyſius* tells us, that tho' the Tribunes gave out that he had ſtrangled himſelf, it was much ſuſpected that he had been diſpatched by their orders. *Livy*, without mentioning a word of the Tribunes, barely relates, that *Appius*, to avoid the infamy of a publick puniſhment, put an end to his own life in priſon.

The trial of *Sp. Oppius*, one of the *Plebeian* Decemvirs, followed next. *Numitorius*, *Virginia*'s uncle (who was now a Tribune) proſecuted him, as an accomplice of *Appius*, whoſe injuſtice in her affair he had not oppoſed, tho' at that time in *Rome*. Nor was this the only crime laid to his charge.

A ve-

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

A veteran, who had ſerved 27 years, and had been eight times honoured with military rewards, ſtripping off his robe, expoſed his ſhoulders, which had been torn with rods by the Decemvirs Lictors; and he offered to ſubmit himſelf to the ſame treatment again, if *Oppius* could aſſign any good reaſon for his cruelty. The accuſed was condemned by the unanimous ſuffrages of the People; he was thrown into priſon, and *Dionyſius* tells us, that he died there the very ſame day. The other eight Decemvirs ſought their ſafety in flight, and baniſhed themſelves. Their effects were confiſcated and ſold, and the produce carried by the Quæſtors into the public treaſury. *Marcus Claudius*, the inſtrument employ'd by *Appius* to get *Virginia* into his power, was condemned to death; but as he laid all the crime upon *Appius*, *Virginius* was contented with his exile, in conſideration that the wretch had acted in compliance with the will of a Magiſtrate from whom he could have no appeal.

Thus was revenge taken for the innocent blood of the unfortunate *Virginia*, whoſe death, (like that of *Lucretia*,) procured liberty to the *Roman* People.

Tho' the puniſhment of the Decemvirs was owned to be juſt; yet the Senate could not help being under ſome Conſternation at the death and exile of ſo many members of their body. Neither was it poſſible to foreſee what bounds the Tribunes, who were ſo cloſely united with the two Conſuls, would put to their revenge: They ſeemed to be ſo many new Decemvirs, who were going to re-eſtabliſh the late tyranny. *Duilius*, who was one of the Tribunes, but more moderate than the reſt, diſpelled the fears of the Senate by this public declaration, "Enough, *ſaid he*, has "been done for the Security of our liberty, and the puniſhment of our "enemies. During the remainder of this year, I will not ſuffer, that any "perſon be proſecuted or impriſoned for paſt faults, which being already "expiated, ought therefore to be no longer remembered."

CHAP. XXX.

§. I. *The Conſuls take the field.* Valerius *defeats the* Æqui *and* Volſci, *and* Horatius *the* Sabines. *Nevertheleſs the Senate, being diſſatisfied with their too popular adminiſtration, and being eſpecially moved by a ſpeech of* C. Claudius, *who inveighs bitterly againſt them, reject their petition for a triumph. Hereupon they apply to the People, and obtain of them, by means of the Tribunes, what the Senate had refuſed.* §. II. *The Tribunes form a deſign of getting themſelves perpetuated in the Tribuneſhip, and* Horatius *and* Valerius *in the Conſulate.* Duilius *diſliking this project of his Collegues contrives to defeat that part of it which related to the Conſuls, by engaging theſe to declare publickly, that they will not* hold over *after their year is expired, though the People ſhould deſire it. He then holds the Aſſembly for electing Tribunes; and by his influence, joined with the Senate's, five new ones are choſen; after which, finding that he cannot prevail with the Tribes*

to

to fill the other five places with new Magiſtrates, he diſmiſſes the Aſſembly, referring the completion of the whole number of ten Tribunes to the five already elected. Theſe five, among thoſe they aſſociate with them in their office, name two Patricians. (Lartius Herminius *and* T. Virginius *are choſen Conſuls*). TREBONIUS ASPER, *one of the* Plebeian *Tribunes, ſhortly after gets a Law paſſed, forbidding the Tribunes the practice of* Cooptation. §. III. *The next year (when* M. Geganius *and* C. Julius *are Conſuls) produces nothing remarkable. But in the ſucceeding Conſulate (of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus *and* Agrippa Furius) *the old diſſentions are renewed; inſomuch that though the* Æqui *and* Volſci, *taking advantage of theſe diſorders, ravage the country to the very gates of* Rome, *the Tribunes oppoſe the neceſſary levies of Troops to repulſe them: But* Quinctius *gets the better of this oppoſition, by a ſpeech he makes to the People. The Conſuls rout the enemy and make a great ſlaughter of them.* §. IV. *The* Roman *People diſhonour themſelves by a judgment they give in a cauſe referred to their arbitration by the cities of* Ardea *and* Aricia.

§. I. AND now the main affair of the Republic was to revenge herſelf of her Enemies abroad, who had taken advantage of her late inteſtine diviſions and anarchy to invade and pillage the *Roman* territory. *Valerius* was appointed to march againſt the united forces of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, and *Horatius* againſt the *Sabines*. But before the Conſuls left *Rome* the two laſt tables of laws, which had not yet been eſtabliſhed in due form, received the proper ſanction, and, being engraven in braſs, were fixed up in the *Forum*. A. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

Each Conſul obtained a compleat victory. Nevertheleſs the Senate being diſſatisfy'd with theſe Magiſtrates, on account of their exceſſive popularity, and the little regard they had ſhewn for the honour or intereſt of their own order (even leſs than the Tribunes) decreed only one day's *ſupplications* (or ſolemn thankſgivings) in the name of both; but the People, of their own motion, prolonged the ceremony all the next day.

In the mean time, the Generals returned and appeared with their legions in the *Campus Marcius*; and hither they ſummoned the Senators. Of this ſeveral of the chief among them very much complained, as if the Senate was held in the midſt of arms, with a view to keep it in awe. The Conſuls hereupon removed the Aſſembly to the *Flaminian Meadows*, and there preſented their petition for a TRIUMPH. Many of the *Fathers* ſtood up and warmly oppoſed their requeſt; but *C. Claudius* eſpecially ſpoke with great bitterneſs on this occaſion. Directing his ſpeech to the Conſuls, *Liv.* B. 3.

" Did you not ſolemnly promiſe us, *ſaid he*, that the abdication of the *D. Hal.* B. 11.
" Decemvirs ſhould be followed by a general pardon? And yet no ſooner
" had we obliged thoſe Magiſtrates to depoſe themſelves, but ſome of
" them were murdered, and others conſtrained to baniſh themſelves from
" their country to ſave their lives. *Appius*, the head of the *Claudian*
" family, the chief of the Decemvirs, was ſtrangled in priſon, without
" the leaſt form of juſtice, and without ſo much as being heard in the

Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J.C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip.

"Aſſembly of the People, left moved to pity by the tears and deſolation "of a family that has deſerved ſo well of the Republic, they ſhould have "overlooked his faults. Our Conſuls, the heads and protectors of the "Senate, they, who ought to have expoſed their very lives for the "preſervation of its dignity, have baſely connived at the murder of the "unfortunate *Appius*, and proſecuted no body for it."

The Senate, exaſperated ſtill more againſt the Conſuls by this diſcourſe of *C. Claudius*, declared them unworthy of the honours they ſued for, and they were given to underſtand that they ought to be well content if they eſcaped puniſhment. *Valerius* and *Horatius*, provoked at ſo ignominious a refuſal, carried their complaints before the Aſſembly of the People, and the Tribune *Icilius* there demanded the TRIUMPH in their behalf. Many Senators went to the *Forum* to prevent the effects of this cabal, and *C. Claudius* was one of them. Though he had always been averſe to the Government of the Decemvirs, yet he could never pardon the two Conſuls for having delivered up his nephew to the fury of the Tribunes. With great vehemence he cried out to the People, that it was over the Senate, and not over the enemy that the Conſuls deſired to triumph; that they ſought a reward for a particular favour done to the Tribune, not for any worthy deed, any real merit; that the Commons had no right whatſoever to beſtow the honours of the TRIUMPH; that this was a prerogative which belonged to the Senate only; and that the Republic would never be free and quiet any longer than while the two Orders in the State forbore to incroach upon the rights and privileges of each other.

Livy, B. 3. But, notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, the People decreed the TRIUMPH to the Conſuls; and that it was afterwards thought a legal one may be well concluded from its having a place in the Capitoline Faſti.

§. II. THE Tribunes did not ſtop here. The power they had in the Commonwealth by their good underſtanding with the two Conſuls, encouraged them to form the deſign of getting themſelves continued in the Tribuneſhip after the expiration of their year; another conſpiracy againſt the public liberty, little different from that of the Decemvirs. But to prevent any ſuſpicion that their aim was to make themſelves ſole maſters of the Government, they were alſo for having the People continue *Valerius* and *Horatius* in the Conſulate.

They alledged that all the Senators had entered into a plot againſt the rights and immunities of the People; and that the new laws would be in great danger of being annulled, if, before they were ſolidly eſtabliſhed, other Conſuls of quite contrary diſpoſitions to thoſe of the preſent ſhould be choſen to the Government.

By good fortune for the Republic, there happened to be one Tribune of ſo much moderation and ability, as to bring this ambitious project to nothing. It was the ſame *Duilius* who had lately put a ſtop to the proſecutions againſt the adherents of the Decemvirs. He repreſented to the two Conſuls, that the People's liberty was gone, if the high Offices of the Republic were truſted above a year in the ſame hands. *Valerius* and *Horatius*

gave him their word, that they would never accept of a continuance in the Conſulate. *Duilius*, to make the more ſure of them, aſked them publickly, and in a full Aſſembly, what reſolution they would take, if the *Roman* People, in conſideration of their good ſervices in the reſtoration of the public liberty, ſhould think fit to continue them in their dignity. Both of them declared, that for the preſervation of the ſame liberty, they would refuſe any prolongation of the ſovereign power, as being contrary to the laws. *Duilius* having got this declaration from them, gave them great praiſes, which were a kind of new tie upon them, and at the ſame time ſerved to prejudice the People againſt the deſigns of the other Tribunes. *Duilius* then held the Aſſembly for chuſing Tribunes; it was his right to preſide in it, and upon this occaſion he acted in concert with the Senate. By means of their credit and the union of their followers, five new Tribunes were quickly choſen, in ſpite of the cabals of the old ones. Theſe latter uſed all their endeavours to get the other five vacant places filled with five of their number; and by their influence and management, they ſo far prevailed, as to hinder any of the other candidates from having the neceſſary number of voices. *Duilius* nevertheleſs carried his point, by referring the nomination of the five Tribunes yet wanting to the five actually choſen, according to the direction of a law, which expreſly provided, that, *If upon a day of election the full number of Tribunes could not be choſen, thoſe who were elected ſhould have power to name their Collegues.* He then diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, depoſed himſelf, and the new Tribunes entered upon the exerciſe of their office. Y. of *R.* 304. Bef. *J. C.* 448. 60 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 3.

Their firſt buſineſs was to name their Collegues, among whom every body was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee *S. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*, both *Patricians*, old Senators, and even Conſulars; which was directly contrary to the inſtitution of the Tribuneſhip, which admitted none but *Plebeians*. There is no accounting for ſo extraordinary an event, unleſs we will look upon thoſe two *Patricians* as deſerters from their order, who had got themſelves adopted into *Plebeian* families to capacitate them to be raiſed to a Magiſtracy which had the greateſt ſhare in the Government. But this is only a conjecture; hiſtory gives us no authority for it. *Livy*, on the contrary, inſinuates that the five firſt Tribunes followed the intentions of the Senate in the choice of their Collegues: And perhaps the Senators foreſeeing what fatal conſequences muſt follow to the public liberty, if the ſame Tribunes were perpetuated in their office, privately joined with *Duilius* to get ſome *Patricians* into the Tribuneſhip, with intent to counterbalance the power of the *Plebeian* Tribunes, and, in the election for the enſuing year, keep them from renewing a propoſal, which was looked upon as a ſtep to the deſtruction of the Public Liberty.

The Conſuls choſen in the room of *Valerius* and *Horatius*, were *Lartius Herminius* and *T. Virginius*. Theſe Magiſtrates being no zealots for either party, their Government was entirely pacific. But *L. Trebonius*, one of the Tribunes, extremely angry at the management of *Duilius*, (in the late election of Tribunes) which had opened a way for *Patricians* into that Y. of *R.* 305. Bef. *J. C.* 447. 61 Conſulſhip.

Y. of *R.* 305. Bef. *J.C.* 447. 61 Conſulſhip. * *Crabbed.*

College, made heavy complaints of it to the People. He gave himſelf entirely up, during the whole year, to croſs the Senate in every thing, whence he acquired the Sirname of * *Aſper*. And in order to prevent, for the future, any Tribunes, (gained over by the Senate) from doing as *Duilius* had done, he propoſed a law which he got paſſed, and which from his name was called *Lex Trebonia*, by which it was ordained, *That whoever ſhould hereafter hold the Comitia for electing* Tribunes of the Commons, *ſhould not diſſolve the Aſſembly till the number of* TEN *Tribunes was compleated by the votes of the People.* This decree took from the Tribunes that were firſt choſen, the right of naming their Collegues, which the *Romans* in thoſe days called *Co-optatio.*

Livy, B. 3.

Y. of *R.* 306. Bef. *J.C.* 446. 62 Conſulſhip.

§. III. *M. GEGANIUS* and *C. Icilius* ſucceeded *Herminius* and *Virginius* in the Conſulate. The People began now to complain, and not without cauſe, that the young *Patricians* treated them injuriouſly; and though the graver and wiſer part of the Senate did not approve of the haughty and outragious behaviour of thoſe youths, yet they would not abandon them to the fury of the Tribunes. They thought it better, ſays *Livy*, if the bounds of equity muſt be tranſgreſſed, and one party muſt over-bear the other, that their own People ſhould have the aſcendant: So difficult a matter is it to act with moderation in the maintenance of liberty, every one, under pretence of *levelling*, exalting himſelf in proportion as he lowers another. While men are endeavouring to get free from the fear of others, they make themſelves be feared; to avoid oppreſſion, they oppreſs; as if there was a neceſſity that we muſt either do injuſtice, or ſuffer it.

The Conſuls found means to quiet the cabals of the Tribunes on this occaſion without employing invectives againſt them, or ſuffering the Majeſty of the Senate to be offended. There was neither contention at home nor war abroad when they reſigned the faſces to * *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Furius*. But this calm did not laſt long. The young Nobles could not forbear inſulting the *Plebeians*, nor theſe ſubmit to be inſulted. The aggreſſors were cited to appear before the People; fierce contentions and ſcuffles always followed. The report of theſe new diſſentions were to the *Æqui* and *Volſci* as the ſignal for taking arms. They aſſembled their forces, fell firſt upon the *Latine* territory, and meeting with no reſiſtance advanced ſo near to *Rome* as to drive off the cattle that were grazing before the *Eſquiline* gate. The Conſuls would have raiſed troops to repulſe theſe invaders, but the People at the inſtigation of their Tribunes refuſed to liſt themſelves. Hereupon the Conſul *Quinctius*, a man illuſtrious by ſeveral victories, reſpected for the purity of his manners, and the wiſdom of his counſels, having convened a general Aſſembly of the People, ſpoke to them to this effect.

Y. of *R.* 307. Bef. *J.C.* 445. 63 Conſulſhip. * 4th time Conſ.

" Though I am not conſcious, O *Romans*, of any crime by me com-
" mitted, it is yet with the utmoſt ſhame and confuſion that I appear
" in your Aſſembly. You have ſeen it—Poſterity will know it—In
" the fourth Conſulſhip of *Titus Quinctius*, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* (ſcarce

" a match

" a match for the *Hernici* alone) came in arms to the very gates of *Rome*, Y. of *R.* 307.
" and went away again unchaſtiſed. The courſe of our manners indeed, Bef. *J. C.* 445.
" and the ſtate of our Affairs have long been ſuch, that I had no reaſon 63 Conſulſhip.
" to preſage much good; but could I have imagined, that ſo great an
" ignominy would have befallen me this year, I would by death or baniſh-
" ment (if all other means had failed) have avoided the ſtation I am now
" in. What? Might *Rome* then have been taken, if thoſe men who were
" at our gates had not wanted courage for the attempt?——*Rome* taken,
" while I was Conſul!——Of honours I had ſufficient—Of life enough—
" more than enough——I ſhould have died in my third Conſulate.

" But who are they that our daſtardly enemies thus deſpiſe? the Conſuls?
" or you, *Romans?* If *we* are in fault, depoſe us, puniſh us yet more ſe-
" verely. If *you* are to blame——may neither Gods nor men puniſh
" *your* faults! only may *you repent.*

" No, *Romans*, the confidence of our enemies is not owing to
" *their* courage, or to their belief of *your* cowardice: They have
" been too often vanquiſhed not to know both themſelves and you. Diſ-
" cord, diſcord is the ruin of this city. The eternal diſputes between the
" Senate and the People are the ſole cauſe of our misfortunes. While we
" will ſet no bounds to our domination, nor you to your liberty; while you
" impatiently endure *Patrician* Magiſtrates, and we *Plebeian*, our ene-
" mies take heart, grow elated and preſumptuous.

" In the name of the immortal Gods, what is it, *Romans*, you would
" have? You deſired Tribunes; for the ſake of peace we granted them.
" You were eager to have Decemvirs; we conſented to their creation.
" You grew weary of theſe Decemvirs; we obliged them to abdicate.
" Your hatred purſued them when reduced to be private men; and we
" ſuffered you to put to death or baniſh *Patricians* of the firſt rank in the
" Republic. You inſiſted upon the reſtoration of the Tribuneſhip; we
" yielded. We quietly ſaw Conſuls of your own faction elected. You
" have the protection of your Tribunes, and the privilege of *appeal:*
" the *Patricians* are ſubjected to the decrees of the *Commons:* under pre-
" tence of equal and impartial laws, you have invaded our rights; and
" we have ſuffered it, and we ſtill ſuffer it. When ſhall we ſee an
" end of diſcord? When ſhall we have one intereſt, and one common
" country? Victorious and triumphant, you ſhew leſs temper than we
" under our defeat. When you are to contend with *us*, you can ſeize the
" *Aventine* hill, you can poſſeſs yourſelves of the *Mons Sacer.* The *ene-*
" *my* is at our gates, the *Æſquiline* is near being taken, and no body ſtirs
" to hinder it. But againſt *us* you are valiant, againſt *us* you can arm
" with all diligence. Come on then, beſiege the Senate-Houſe, make a
" camp of the *Forum*, fill the jails with our chief Nobles; and when you
" have atchieved theſe glorious exploits, *then* at leaſt ſally out at the *Æſqui-*
" *line* gate with the ſame fierce ſpirits againſt the enemy. Does your reſo-
" lution fail you for this? Go then, and behold from our walls your lands
" ravaged, your houſes plundered and in flames, the whole country laid

Y. of R. 307. Bef. J. C. 445. 63 Conſulſhip.

" waſte with fire and ſword. Have you any thing here to repair theſe " damages? Will the Tribunes make up your loſſes to you? They'll " give you words as many as you pleaſe; bring impeachments in abun- " dance againſt the prime men in the State; heap laws upon laws; As- " ſemblies you ſhall have without end: But will any of you return the " richer from thoſe Aſſemblies? Extinguiſh, O *Romans*, theſe fatal di- " viſions; generouſly break this curſed inchantment, which keeps you " buried in a ſcandalous inaction. Open your eyes, and conſider the " management of thoſe ambitious men, who, to make themſelves powerful " in their party, ſtudy nothing but how they may foment diviſion in the " Commonwealth. If you can but ſummon up your former courage, if " you will now march out of *Rome* with your Conſuls, there is no pu- " niſhment you can inflict which I will not ſubmit to, if I do not in a few " days drive thoſe pillagers out of our territory. This terror of war, " (with which you ſeem to be ſo grievouſly ſtruck) ſhall quickly be re- " moved from *Rome* to their own cities."

Never, ſays *Livy*, were the People more pleaſed with the flatter- ing ſpeeches of a Tribune, than they were with the reproachful one of this generous Conſul. The Senate was no leſs charmed with his conduct; the wiſeſt and moſt eminent men of that body declared, that other Conſuls had either betrayed the dignity and rights of the Senate, to win favour with the People, or, by the rough imprudent meaſures they had taken to keep the People under, had only exaſperated them to a higher pitch: But that *Quinctius*, without forgetting the honour of the Senate, had wiſely ſuit- ed his diſcourſe to the times, and had ſhewn that he had nothing at heart but the union of the two orders, and the majeſty of the *Roman* name.

The Conſuls and Tribunes, the Senate and People, concurred unani- mouſly in taking arms. The contention now was, who ſhould appear moſt forward. All the youth offered themſelves in crowds to be inliſted. The levies were quickly made; each cohort choſe its Centurions, and two Senators were placed at the head of it; and all this was done with ſo much diligence and expedition, that that very day the enſigns were brought out of the treaſury by the Quæſtors into the *Campus Martius*, and the army marched ten miles on its way. The next day the Conſuls came in ſight of the enemy, and the day following gave them battle. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* fought with great courage and reſolution, but victory declared for the *Romans*. The firſt advantage gained was by the *Roman* cavalry under *S. Sulpitius*, one of the Conſuls Lieutenants. They put the enemies horſe to the rout, and then falling upon the main body of their infantry, both terrify'd and diſor- dered it. *Quinctius* (who commanded the right wing of the *Romans*) ſoon after forced the *Volſci*, who faced him, to give ground. But *Agrippa Fu- rius* in the left wing met with a more obſtinate reſiſtance from the *Æqui*. Impatient of being leſs ſucceſsful than the other Generals, he ſnatched ſome of the enſigns from the officers who bore them, and threw them into the midſt of the enemies battalions. By this he turned the ſcale in his favour. His ſoldiers by the vigorous effort they made to recover thoſe enſigns, ren-

dered the victory compleat on the ſide of the *Romans*. The Conſuls inſtantly marched to the enemy's camp, entered it without oppoſition, and found there, beſide thoſe effects which the *Æqui* and *Volſci* had carried off, out of the territory of *Rome*, a very rich booty. Y. of *R.* 307. Bef. *J.* C. 445. 36 Conſulſhip.

Livy remarks it, as a thing extraordinary, that the Conſuls at their return, did not demand a triumph, nor the Senate make them the offer of one. He conjectures, that *Quinctius* and *Furius* were aſhamed to aſk, in recompence of one victory, an honour which the Fathers had refuſed to *Valerius* and *Horatius*, for the reward of two; leſt if they ſhould obtain their requeſt, it might be thought that more regard was ſhew'd to perſons than to merit.

§. IV. THIS would have been a glorious year for the Republic, if the *Roman* People had not diſhonoured themſelves by an iniquitous judgment in a cauſe that was referred to their deciſion. They were choſen at this time arbitrators in a diſpute between the inhabitants of *Ardea* * and thoſe of *Aricia*, concerning a large tract of land, to which each of thoſe cities laid claim. The tribes were aſſembled, the cauſe was heard, and the votes were juſt going to be taken, when one *Scaptius*, a *Roman*, a very old man of the meaneſt of the People, deſired to ſpeak. He pretended to have known the diſtrict in queſtion about forty-ſeven years; that it formerly belonged to *Corioli*, and conſequently now to the *Romans*, who, he ſaid, ought therefore to make no ſcruple of ſeizing it. This motion gave the Conſuls a great deal of concern, when they found it favourably liſtened to. They uſed their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the People from taking a ſtep which muſt caſt a blemiſh on the *Roman* probity: But they ſtrove in vain; the People adjudged the territory to themſelves. * In *Latium*.

CHAP. XXXI.

§. I. *The Commons of* Rome *(in the Conſulate of* M. Genucius *and* C. Curtius,*) demand that* Plebeians *may be admitted into the Conſulſhip, and that the law prohibiting* Patricians *and* Plebeians *from inter-marrying may be repealed.* Canuleius *one of the Tribunes, declares to the Senate in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he will conſtantly oppoſe all levies of troops, let the want of them be never ſo preſſing, till theſe conceſſions are made to the People.* §. II. C. Claudius *in a private Aſſembly of the oldeſt Senators, moves to have recourſe to arms and violence, rather than yield to theſe demands. But* T. Quinctius *and the majority of the Aſſembly think it better to comply than come to a rupture with the People.* Claudius *hereupon, to hinder the debaſing of the Conſulſhip, makes this new propoſal, that inſtead of Conſuls, a certain number of* MILITARY TRIBUNES *be choſen partly out of the Senate, and partly from among the Commons; and that theſe new Magiſtrates be inveſted with Conſular power. This project being approved, the Senate is aſſembled, and the Tribunes are called to it, to give their reaſons in behalf of the new laws which they demand.* Canuleius, *inſtead of ſpeaking to the matter in hand, inveighs againſt the Conſuls for holding*

ſecret

ſecret Aſſemblies, from which Horatius *and* Valerius *are excluded. The Conſul* Genucius *gives a ſatisfactory anſwer to this complaint. After* Valerius *and* Horatius *have ſpoken in favour of the People, and* Claudius *againſt them, the Conſul's brother* T. Genucius *makes the propoſal which had been ſuggeſted by* C. Claudius. *In concluſion it is approved by Senate and People, and ſix* MILITARY TRIBUNES (*three of each order*) *are to take the place of two Conſuls.* §. III. *But when the day of election comes, the People will not give their voices to any but* Patricians; *and only three* Military Tribunes *are elected. Theſe are obliged ſoon after to abdicate on account of ſome defect in their inauguration; and two Conſuls* (L. Papirius *and* L. Sempronius) *are elected to govern the Republic the remainder of the year.* §. IV. *Under the ſucceeding adminiſtration of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus (*a fifth time Conſul*) *and* M. Geganius (*a ſecond time*) *the* CENSORSHIP *is eſtabliſhed.*

§. I. BY the late victory ſo ſuddenly obtained over the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, the People became ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and the need which the Senate had of them. This made them carry their [a] pretenſions farther than ever. They grew every day more untractable and more enterprizing. *C. Canuleius*, one of the Tribunes, propoſed, that by a decree of the People that law (in the twelve tables) which forbad *Patricians* to intermarry with *Plebeians*, ſhould be repealed. And, ſoon after, nine of the Tribunes moved, that by a new law *Plebeians* might be elected to the Conſulate. *M. Genucius* and *Caius Curtius*, who were then Conſuls, thought to defeat theſe projects by leading the People into the field. The *Ardeates* had revolted on account of the unjuſt proceeding of the People of *Rome* in their affair, and it was ſaid, that the *Veientes* had begun hoſtilities. There was a rumour alſo, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were preparing to renew the war. Theſe foreign wars were the Senate's uſual expedients. They ordered Troops to be raiſed with the ſame diligence as the laſt year. But then *Canuleius* in the moſt peremptory manner proteſted, that, while he had breath, no levies ſhould be made, unleſs the laws propoſed by him and his Collegues were firſt received. This ſaid, he ſtrait went out of the Senate-Houſe and convened the People. The Conſuls full of indignation inveighed bitterly againſt the Tribunes: They told the *Conſcript Fathers*, that they muſt abſolutely reſolve either to reſign their own authority, or aboliſh that *Plebeian* Magiſtracy. "Our deliberations, *ſaid they*, nay our eſtates, our lives depend on the pleaſure of the Tribunes; they do whatever they will, in thoſe tumultuous aſſemblies, where paſſion and fury have a greater ſway than reaſon and juſtice. And what a deteſtable project is this of *C. Canuleius?* He is for uniting, by a ſhameful mixture, the blood of the illuſtrious

Livy, B. 4.

Y. of *R.* 308. Bef. *J. C.* 444. 64 Conſulſhip.

[a] According to *Tacitus*, (*Annal.* B. 11.) the People obtained this year the right of naming the Quæſtors, a prerogative which the Conſuls had hitherto enjoyed. *Plutarch* attributes the choice of the Quæſtors to the People, from *Poplicola*'s time.

" Nobility with that of the *Plebeians*. If he brings this about, thoſe who A. of R. 308.
" are born of marriages ſo contrary to our laws, will hardly know from Bef. J. C. 444.
" what families they deſcend, what ſacrifices they ought to join in, and 64 Conſulſhip.
" whether they are of the body of the People or *Patricians*. And as if
" it was not enough to confound all diſtinction of birth, and to break thro'
" all rights both divine and human, the Collegues of *Canuleius*, thoſe other
" diſturbers of the public quiet, have the boldneſs to lift their eyes to the
" very Conſulſhip itſelf. We are now juſt on the point of ſeeing that great
" dignity fall a prey to the *Canuleii* and the *Icilii*. But let thoſe new men
" be aſſured, that the Gods, protectors of this Empire, will never ſuffer it;
" and that we ourſelves will rather die a thouſand deaths, than bear ſo
" great an infamy."

While the Conſuls were thus animating the Senate againſt the Tribunes, the Tribunes were incenſing the People againſt the Senate. *Curtius* and *Genucius* repaired to the Aſſembly. " What an inſult upon us, *cried Canuleius*,
" is this! If we are not ſo rich as the *Patricians*, are we not citizens
" of *Rome* as well as they? Inhabitants of the ſame country? Members
" of the ſame community? The nations bordering upon *Rome*, and
" even ſtrangers more remote are admitted not only to marriages with
" us, but to what is of much greater importance, *the freedom of the city*.
" Are *we*, becauſe we are Commoners, to be worſe treated than ſtrangers?
" And when we demand that the People may be free to beſtow their offi-
" ces and dignities on whom they pleaſe, do we aſk any thing unreaſon-
" able or new? Do we claim more than their original inherent right?
" What occaſion then for all this uproar, as if the univerſe was falling to
" ruin? (They were juſt going to lay violent hands upon me in the Senate-
" houſe.) What? muſt this Empire then be unavoidably overturned, muſt
" *Rome* of neceſſity ſink at once, if a *Plebeian*, worthy of the office,
" ſhould be raiſed to the Conſulſhip? The *Patricians*, I am perſuaded,
" if they could, would deprive you of the common light. It certainly
" offends them to ſee that you breath, that you ſpeak, that you have the
" ſhapes of men. Nay, but to make a Commoner a Conſul would be,
" ſay they, a moſt enormous thing. *Numa Pompilius*, however, without
" being ſo much as a *Roman* citizen, was made King of *Rome*. The el-
" der *Tarquin*, by birth not even an *Italian*, was nevertheleſs placed up-
" on the throne. *Servius Tullius*, the ſon of a captive woman (no body
" knows who his father was) obtained the Kingdom as the reward of his
" wiſdom and virtue. In thoſe days no man in whom virtue ſhined con-
" ſpicuous was rejected or deſpiſed on account of his race and deſcent.
" And did the ſtate proſper the leſs for that? Were not thoſe ſtrangers
" the very beſt of all our Kings? And ſuppoſing now that a *Plebeian*
" ſhould have their talents and merit, muſt not he be ſuffered to govern
" us? Muſt we rather chuſe ſuch Governours as the Decemvirs? Thoſe
" excellent Magiſtrates, I think, were moſtly *Patricians*.

" But we find, that upon the abolition of the regal power, no Com-
" moner was choſen to the Conſulate. And what of that? Before *Numa*'s

" time

Y. of *R.* 308. Bef. *C.* 444. 64 Conſulſhip.

" time there were no Pontifices in *Rome*. Before *Servius Tullius*'s days " there was no *Cenſus*, no diviſion of the People into Claſſes and Centuries. " Who ever heard of Conſuls before the expulſion of *Tarquin the Proud?* " Dictators, we all know, are of modern invention; and ſo are the offi- " ces of Tribunes, Ædiles, Quæſtors. Within theſe ten years we have " made Decemvirs, and we have unmade them. Is nothing to be done but " what has been done before? That very law forbidding marriages of *Pa-* " *tricians* with *Plebeians*, is not that a new thing? Was there any ſuch " Law before the Decemvirs enacted it? and a moſt ſhameful one it is in " a free State. Such marriages, it ſeems, will taint the pure blood of " the Nobility. Why, if they think ſo, let them take care to match " their ſiſters and daughters with men of their own ſort. No *Plebeian* will " do violence to the daughter of a *Patrician*. Thoſe are exploits for our " prime Nobles. There is no need to fear that we ſhall force any body " into a contract of marriage. But to make an expreſs Law to prohibit " marriages of *Patricians* with *Plebeians*, what is this, but to ſhew the ut- " moſt contempt of us, and to declare one part of the community to be " impure and unclean? Why don't they lay their wiſe heads together to " hinder rich folks from matching with poor?

" They talk to us of the confuſion there will be in families, if this " Statute ſhould be repealed. I wonder they don't make a Law againſt " a Commoner's living near a Nobleman, or going the ſame road that he " is going, or being preſent at the ſame feaſt, or appearing in the ſame " market-place. They might as well pretend, that theſe things make " confuſion in families, as that inter-marriages will do it. Does not every " body know that the children will be ranked according to the quality of " the father, let him be *Patrician* or *Plebeian?* In ſhort, it is manifeſt " enough, that we have nothing in view but to be treated as men and " citizens; nor can they who oppoſe our demand have any motive to do " it, but the love of domineering.

" I would fain know of you Conſuls and *Patricians*, is the ſovereign " power in the People of *Rome* or in you? I hope you will allow, that " the People can at their pleaſure either make a Law, or repeal one. And " will you then, as ſoon as any Law is propoſed to them, pretend to liſt " them immediately for the war, and hinder them from giving their ſuffrages " by leading them into the field?

" Hear me, Conſuls: Whether the news of the war you talk of be " true, or whether it be only a falſe rumour ſpread abroad for nothing but " a colour to ſend the People out of the City; I declare, as Tribune, that " this People, who have already ſo often ſpilt their blood in our country's " cauſe, are again ready to arm for its defence and its glory, if they may " be reſtored to their natural rights, and you will no longer treat us like " ſtrangers, in our own country. But if you account us unworthy of your " alliance by intermarriages, if you will not ſuffer the entrance to the " chief offices in the State to be open to all perſons of merit indifferently, " but will confine our choice of Magiſtrates to the Senate alone, Talk of

" wars

" wars as much as ever you pleaſe; paint in your ordinary diſcourſes the Y. of *R.* 308.
" league and power of our enemies ten times more dreadful than you do Bef. *J. C.* 444.
" now; I declare that this People whom you ſo much deſpiſe, and to 64 Conſulſhip.
" whom you are nevertheleſs indebted for all your victories, ſhall never
" more inliſt themſelves; not a man of them ſhall take arms, not a man of
" them ſhall expoſe his life for imperious Lords, with whom he can nei-
" ther ſhare the dignities of the ſtate, nor in private life have any alliance by
" marriage."

After long ſpeeches made on both ſides, the Conſuls and Tribunes fell to altercation. *Canuleius* aſked one of the Conſuls what reaſon could be aſſigned, why a *Plebeian* might not attain to the Conſulſhip. " Are you
" then to learn, *replied the Conſul*, that *Plebeians* have no auſpices, and
" cannot take them? Do you not know that this was one of the reaſons
" which induced the Decemvirs to forbid by the laws of the twelve Ta-
" bles all unequal marriages, that the auſpices might be taken only by
" *Patricians*, whoſe birth ſhould be pure and without mixture? So that the
" Prieſthood and the Conſulſhip are equally reſtrained to that order."

This anſwer was ſolid, and built upon the original eſtabliſhment of their religion and laws. But it only ſerved to exaſperate the People, as if by ſuch reaſons it was meant to reproach them, that they were not acceptable to the Gods, and were unworthy, thro' the baſeneſs of their birth, to be initiated into ſacred myſteries.

The fury of the multitude roſe to ſuch a height, that the Senate found it neceſſary to let *Canuleius*'s law concerning marriages paſs, and they hoped that this conceſſion would induce the other Tribunes to give over entirely the purſuit of the law relating to the Conſulſhip, or at leaſt to ſuſpend it till the concluſion of the war: But their hope proved vain: The Tribunes, tho' the alarm from abroad daily increaſed, ſtill oppoſed the muſters, and puſhed their point with the ſame zeal as before: Nay, they all publickly bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oath not to deſiſt from their enterprize, even tho' they ſhould by any arguments be brought to alter their opinion of the reaſonableneſs of it.

§. II. THESE violent proceedings greatly diſtreſs'd the Conſuls. They ſaw plainly that they muſt yield the victory either to the Commons at home, or to the enemy abroad. They held private councils at their own houſes, with the Senators of their party. *C. Claudius* the Decemvir's uncle, and who had received from his anceſtors an hereditary hatred, as it were, to the faction of the People, ſpoke firſt, and gave it as his opinion, that the Senate ſhould rather have recourſe to arms, than yield the dignity of the Conſulſhip to the People; and that without diſtinction they ought to treat as public enemies all perſons, let them be private men or Magiſtrates, who ſhould go about to change the form of the Government. But the two *Quinctii*, who abhorred all thoughts of ſhedding *Roman* blood, put the Senate in mind of the ſolemn engagement they had entered into with the *Commons* to hold the perſons of the Tribunes ſacred and inviolable, and

Y. of *R.* 208. Bef. *J. C* 444. 64 Conſulſhip. they adviſed them rather to yield up part of their prerogatives, than run the hazard of a civil war.

All the reſt of the Aſſembly declared themſelves of his opinion. *C. Claudius* riſing up again: "I yield, *ſaid he*; the ſentiment of ſo many "wiſe and worthy men is not to be contradicted: But ſince you think it "proper to admit *Plebeians* into the Government, let us endeavour to ſa- "tisfy this reſtleſs People, without debaſing the Majeſty of the Conſul- "ſhip. And in order to reconcile two things that ſeem ſo oppoſite, I "propoſe that inſtead of Conſuls, we elect ſuch a number of *Military* "*Tribunes* as ſhall be agreed upon, to be choſen one half out of the Se- "nate, the other from among the *Plebeians*, and that theſe Magi- *D. Hal.* B. 11. "ſtrates be inveſted with Conſular power. The People by this means "will be ſatisfied; and the Conſulate in more favourable times may re- "ſume its ancient Splendor and Majeſty." Great praiſes were given to *Claudius*; and the whole Aſſembly agreed to the propoſal. Then addreſ- ſing his ſpeech to *M. Genucius*, firſt Conſul: "In order to ſucceed in this "deſign, *ſaid he*, I would adviſe you to convene the Senate: ſend for the "Tribunes of the People, and, when the Aſſembly is formed, declare "that you invite all who love their country to ſpeak their minds freely "with relation to the new laws demanded by the People. Then gather "the opinions; and inſtead of beginning with *T. Quinctius*, me, or any "of the ancient Senators, begin with *Valerius* and *Horatius*. When theſe "have delivered their ſentiments, then aſk ours. For my part I ſhall "declare my thoughts freely, and oppoſe the pretenſions of the Tribunes "with all my might, as indeed I think it my duty to do. But if you "are willing to have *Military Tribunes*, let your brother *T. Genucius* make "the motion. He is the fitteſt Perſon to make it; and I can aſſure you, "it will not be in the leaſt ſuſpected if it comes from him."

All approved of this Scheme. The Conſuls ſoon after convened the Senate; and when they had recommended concord and moderation to the Aſſembly, invited the Tribunes to give their reaſons in behalf of the new laws. *Canuleius* inſtead of ſpeaking to the matter in queſtion, ran wholly into bitter complaints againſt the two Conſuls, for holding ſecret Aſſem- blies, from which, *he ſaid*, all the Senators who were friends to the People had been excluded, and particularly *Valerius* and *Horatius*, than whom there were not wiſer men, nor men of more merit in the Republic.

The Conſul *Genucius* replied, that they had indeed aſſembled ſome of the older Senators, but only to conſult with them, whether it would be better in- ſtantly to propoſe the new laws to the Senate, or to defer it till the end of the campaign: That if they did not invite *Valerius* and *Horatius* to that council, it was purely to avoid making the People ſuſpect that theſe Senators had changed their party. "And to convince you, *added Genucius*, that my "Collegue and I are impartial, we ſhall give you this proof of it. Tho' "it be the cuſtom for the Conſuls to aſk the opinions of the oldeſt Senators "firſt, yet, as you do not believe them to be friends to the People, we

"will

" will now change that method, and begin with *Valerius* and *Horatius*." Then addreſſing himſelf to *Valerius* he invited him to declare his opinion. Y. of *R.* 308. Bef. *J. C.* 444. 64 Conſulſhip.

Valerius made a long preamble expatiating upon his own ſervices to the Republic, and upon thoſe of his anceſtors. He then turned his panegyrick upon the People, and recounted their merit. He added, that no city could be called free, where the citizens were not all upon an equality with regard to rights and privileges; and that he ſaw no reaſon why the *Plebeians* ſhould be excluded from the Conſulate. However, he at the ſame time declared, that he thought the conſideration of this affair ought to be deferred to the end of the war; and he exhorted the Tribunes of the People to deſiſt from their oppoſition to the levies which the Conſuls demanded. On the other hand, he exhorted the Conſuls to make it their firſt buſineſs, as ſoon as the war ſhould be happily concluded, to procure a *Senatus-conſultum*, for empowering the Aſſembly of the People to decide upon the affair in queſtion; and he was for having the two parties come immediately to a formal written agreement to do as he adviſed. *Horatius*, whoſe opinion was aſked next, ſpoke much to the ſame effect.

This advice raiſed a murmur in the Aſſembly, for it was not thoroughly liked either by thoſe who were againſt the law, or by thoſe who were for it. The firſt were pleaſed with the motion for poſtponing the affair, but they could not digeſt the propoſal of reſuming it after the end of the war. On the other hand, the favourers of the People, tho' glad to find that thoſe two eminent Senators held the law to be reaſonable, were yet uneaſy at the thoughts of any delay in paſſing the *Senatus-conſultum*.

The Conſuls then aſked the opinion of *C. Claudius*, who was looked upon as the main pillar and ſupport of the *Patrician* faction. He pronounced with great ſpirit a ſtudied harangue againſt theſe new pretenſions of the People. He enumerated all their deviations from the excellent manners and inſtitutions of their forefathers, and concluded againſt ſuffering the new propoſal to be brought into deliberation, either now, or at any time hereafter.

Claudius's ſpeech did not fail to produce a commotion in the Aſſembly. The Conſul *M. Genucius*, to put a ſtop to it, called upon his brother *Titus* to give his opinion. This Senator declared that it was with the greateſt concern he beheld the Commonwealth afflicted with two ſcourges at the ſame time, a foreign war, and domeſtic feuds; that he found there was no avoiding one of two evils, the ſtrengthening of the enemy by a continuation of the inteſtine broils in the Republick, or the hurting of the conſtitution by new conceſſions to the People: That the caſe being ſo, he was of opinion rather to yield up part of the prerogatives of the Nobility to the *Plebeians*, than abandon the territory of *Rome* to be ravaged by ſtrangers. He added, " But ſince the ancient Senators are ſo averſe to the thoughts " of ſeeing the Conſular dignity in the hands of *Plebeians*, a medium may " perhaps be found to ſatisfy both parties. What if we ſhould ſuppreſs for " a time that dignity, and create, in the room of two Conſuls, ſix MILITARY " TRIBUNES, who ſhall have the ſame functions and the ſame authority?

Y. of *R.* 308. Bef. *J.C.* 444. 64 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 4. *D. H.* B. 11. *Zonaras.*

"Let three of the number be *Patricians*, and the other three be *Plebeians*. "Next year the Senate and People may decide in a general Aſſembly "whether they will reſtore the Conſulſhip, or continue to elect Military "Tribunes."

This propoſal (of which *Claudius* was the true author) was approved by plurality of voices. *T. Genucius* had the praiſes both of the Senate and the People for his happy thought; the Senators were glad to have excluded the *Plebeians* from a dignity which they hoped to re-eſtabliſh with all its prerogatives in more favourable times; and the People, without diſturbing themſelves about an empty Name, could not contain their joy at ſeeing themſelves at length admitted to ſhare in the government of the Commonwealth.

§. III. SOME days after, an Aſſembly was held for the election of theſe new Magiſtrates. Several of the chief *Plebeians*, and eſpecially thoſe who had been Tribunes, appeared in the *Forum* cloathed in white, and ſollicited the People for their voices; but the multitude, ſatisfied with having it in their power to raiſe *Plebeians* to the Government, would give their votes to none but *Patricians*, ſo that only three Military Tribunes were choſen, *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, *L. Attilius*, and *T. Cecilius* or *Clelius*[a]. "Where, "adds *Livy*, ſhall we now find in any one man, that moderation, that equity, that greatneſs of ſoul, which were then univerſally "conſpicuous in a whole People?" *Dionyſius*, on the contrary, imputes their behaviour on this occaſion, to nothing but that levity ſo natural to the multitude, in all ages and ſtations.

Y. of *R.* 309. Bef. *J.C.* 443. 1 Mil. Trib. *D. Hal. ibid.*

But theſe new Magiſtrates were obliged to abdicate within three months after their election, upon account that *C. Curtius*, who had preſided at it, gave notice, that in taking the *Auſpices*, (a ceremony which always preceded the elections of the curule Magiſtrates,) the due forms had not been ſtrictly obſerved. The *Romans* were very ſcrupulous in the leaſt circumſtances that concerned their religion; but perhaps the *Patricians* created this ſcruple only with a view to reſtore the Conſular Office. The Military Tribunes had no ſooner reſigned their authority, but an *Inter-rex* was named, that the Commonwealth might not remain without a Head. The main queſtion now was, whether Conſuls or Military Tribunes ſhould be appointed to the Government: The Senators failed not to declare for the former; the People at firſt for the latter: But as they knew themſelves reſolved to chuſe none but *Patrician* Governours, they ſoon grew indifferent; and the Tribunes themſelves choſe rather to proceed to an election where they could not be candidates, than to one where they were ſure to ſuffer the diſgrace of being rejected as unworthy. And thus by the joint conſent of the Senate and People, the[b] *Inter-rex* appointed Conſuls, for the remaining part of the year. *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atrati-*

Livy, B. 4.

[a] *Livy* makes the firſt Military Tribunes to take place in the year 310. The Faſt. Cap. in 309.

[b] *D. Hal.* ſays, that the Aſſembly of the People choſe theſe Conſuls.

nus,

nus, brother to one of thoſe *Patricians* who had abdicated the Military Tribuneſhip, were the perſons named. Y. of *R.* 309. Bef. *J. C.* 443. 65 Conſulſhip.

Nothing conſiderable happened during the Government of the late Military Tribunes, or during the preſent Conſulſhip. The union between the two orders in the Republick kept the neighbouring powers quiet; and even the *Ardeates* ſubmitted, and renewed their alliance with *Rome*. The Senate gave them good words concerning the reſtitution of their lands in due time; but they could not reverſe a decree of the People.

§. IV. IN the following Conſulate of *M. Geganius* and * *T. Quinctius*, the CENSORSHIP was erected. This new dignity, which at firſt ſeemed of but ſmall importance, became in time, by the power annexed to it, the pinnacle of honour, and the moſt formidable Magiſtracy in the Republic. Y. of *R.* 310. Bef. *J. C.* 442. 66 Conſulſhip. * 5th time Conſ.

As the ſpirit of conqueſt was what chiefly prevailed in this nation, King *Servius Tullius*, in order to have a ſure ſupply of men and money, decreed, as has been already ſhewn, that every five years an enumeration ſhould be made of all the *Roman* citizens, with an exact valuation of every man's wealth. The Prince or Magiſtrate by this means could know immediately how many inhabitants *Rome* had, that were capable of bearing arms, and what contributions might be raiſed for the expence of war.

But the Conſuls, (almoſt continually employ'd in foreign wars) not having had leiſure in more than ſeventeen years to make that enumeration (which was called the *Cenſus*,) it was propoſed for the eaſe of the Conſuls, that two Magiſtrates ſhould be created, who, with the title of CENSORS, ſhould every five years take that general review of the whole *Roman* People.

The Tribunes, tho' always upon their guard againſt every thing offered by the Senate, did not oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of this new Magiſtracy. Nay they did not ſo much as demand that the *Plebeians* ſhould be allow'd a ſhare in it. The reaſon of this might be, that they thought the powers and prerogatives of the Cenſorſhip would be inconſiderable, or that the *Commons* gained a ſufficient advantage by the diminution that was made of the Conſular authority, the conſtant object of their envy and emulation.

Papirius and *Sempronius*, the Conſuls of the preceding year, were the firſt Cenſors; and this dignity was unanimouſly conferr'd upon them, to make them amends for the ſhort duration of their Conſulate, which they did not enter upon till after the abdication of the *Military Tribunes*. *Livy*, B. 3.

While the Conſuls performed the Cenſorial functions, their whole buſineſs in that article had been to take an exact account of the names, eſtates, ages, and conditions of all the maſters of families, and the names and ages of their children and ſlaves. But as men generally ſtudy how to enlarge their own authority, the Cenſorſhip was no ſooner diſmembered from the Conſulſhip, and made a diſtinct Magiſtracy, than the Cenſors began to take upon them the reformation of manners. The Senators and Knights in proceſs of time became ſubject to their cenſure as much as the meaneſt of the People.

When

V. of *R.* 310. Bef. *J. C.* 442. 66 Conſulſhip.

When the Cenſors made their general review, the citizens of all ranks trembled at the ſight of their tribunal; the Senator, through fear of being *expelled* the Senate; the Knight, with apprehenſion of being *deprived of the horſe* which the Republic kept for him; and the Commoner, with dread of being *removed* from a higher tribe to a lower, or quite *diſabled* from giving his vote in the Aſſemblies, or condemned to pay a fine. So that this wholſome terror was the ſupport of the ſumptuary laws, the bond of concord, and as it were the guardian of modeſty and virtue [a].

[a] After the ſecond *Punic* war the Cenſors were always created out of ſuch perſons as had been Conſuls, though it ſometimes happened otherwiſe before. Their ſtation came in time to be reckoned more honourable than the Conſulſhip, though their authority in matters of State was not ſo conſiderable: And the badges of the two offices were the ſame, only that the Cenſors were not allowed the Lictors to walk before them, as the Conſuls were.

The Cenſorſhip continued no longer than to the time of the Emperors, who performed the ſame duty at their pleaſure: And the *Flavian* family, *i. e. Veſpaſian* and his ſons took a pride (as Mr. *Walker* * obſerves) to be called Cenſors, and put this among their other titles upon their coin. *Decius*, the Emperor, entered on a deſign of reſtoring the honour to a particular Magiſtrate, as heretofore, but without any ſucceſs †. *Kenn. Antiq.* P. 2. B. 3. Ch. 7.

* Of Coins and Medals.

† Vide Trebell. Poll. in Decio.

CHAP. XXXII.

§. I. *The* Romans *put an end to a civil war among the* Ardeates. §. II. *The next year's Conſuls*, M. Fabius *and* Poſthumius Æbutius, *make the* Ardeates *ſome amends for the wrongs the* Romans *had done them on occaſion of their conteſt with the* Aricians. *This year proves a year of peace, as does alſo the following year, when the Government is in the hands of* C. Furius *and* M. Papirius. §. III. *But in the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Proculus Geganius *and* L. Menenius, *a* Roman *Knight named* Sp. Mælius *aſpires to the ſovereign power. Being a rich corn-merchant, he during a dearth of proviſions wins the meaner ſort of people by a free diſtribution of corn, and ſome of their Tribunes by money. He cauſes great quantities of Arms to be brought into his houſe by night. His deſigns are diſcovered by* Minucius, *Superintendant of proviſions, in the Conſulate of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus (*now a ſixth time Conſul*) *and* Agrippa Menenius. Quinctius *on this occaſion names his brother* Quinctius Cincinnatus *Dictator, who appoints* Servilius Ahala *to be his General of the Horſe.* Mælius *being ſummoned to appear before the Dictator's Tribunal, and not obeying, is ſlain by* Servilius. *Three of the Tribunes, provoked at this action, ſtir up the People to mutiny; and the* Patricians, *to pacify them, conſent to the creation of Military Tribunes for the next year.*

§. I. WHILE the Conſuls were thus removing from themſelves ſome part of the burden which had been annexed to their office, a neighbouring city found them new employment abroad. The *Ardeates* were involved in a civil war, occaſioned

caſioned by a diſpute between two private citizens of *Ardea*, one of a noble family, the other of a *Plebeian*, who had both fallen in love with the ſame young woman. She herſelf was *Plebeian*, and her guardians were for giving her to a man of her own rank; but her mother, an ambitious widow, was fond of matching her with a man nobly born. It became a par.y quarrel, and roſe to ſuch a height, that the *Plebeians* left the City in great numbers, encamped on a hill in the neighbourhood, and from thence ſent out parties that pillaged and laid waſte the lands of the Nobility. The mutineers were joined by the *Volſci*, and having choſe themſelves a Commander, named *Cluilius*, laid ſiege to *Ardea*. The Nobles applied to the *Romans*. The Senate ſent an Army to their relief, under the command of the Conſul *Geganius*, who inveſted the beſiegers, reduced them to ſurrender their arms, and made them paſs under the yoke. Y. of *R.* 310. Bef. *J. C.* 442. 66 Conſulſhip.

But though *Geganius* returned to *Rome* with all the glory of a Conqueror, his triumph being attended with uncommon pomp and ſolemnity, yet his Collegue *Titus Quinctius*, who had continued in *Rome*, was for his admirable conduct in the civil government, and his impartiality in the adminiſtration of juſtice, more eſteemed and reſpected than he. No body ever knew better than *Quinctius* how to temper ſeverity with mildneſs. The Senators thought him ſometimes too ſevere to the People, and yet the People were perfectly ſatisfied with his goodneſs to them. It is eaſy to imagine, that during ſuch a wiſe adminiſtration, the People did not think of changing the form of Government, and creating Military Tribunes. *Livy*, B. 4.

§. II. *M. FABIUS* and *Poſthumus Æbutius*, being choſen Conſuls for the new year, made it their buſineſs to bury in oblivion the remains of that infamy which the *Roman* People had brought upon themſelves by the unjuſt judgment formerly paſſed in relation to the *Ardeates*. They prevailed on the Senate to paſs a decree for ſending a colony of *Romans* to *Ardea*, to defend and re-people the city, much depopulated by the civil war. It was agreed, but ſecretly, for fear of the Tribunes, that no lands, except thoſe formerly in diſpute, ſhould be divided among the new colony, and even of thoſe only a ſmall part, and that the reſt ſhould be reſtored to the *Ardeates*. This was in reality a diſannulling of the judgment of the People by an act of power. And accordingly *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Clælius* and *M. Æbutius*, the Commiſſioners for making the diſtribution, were (after a faithful diſcharge of their truſt) cited to appear before the People. But theſe three *Patricians* avoided the proſecution, by declaring themſelves Citizens of *Ardea*, and continuing there. Y. of *R.* 311. Bef. *J. C.* 441. 67 Conſulſhip.

The new year of *C. Furius* and *M. Papirius* was as peaceful as the foregoing; not but that ſome Tribunes of the Commons, always reſtleſs, endeavoured to revive the pretenſions of the People, relating to the partition of the lands: They even threatned, according to their old cuſtom, to oppoſe the raiſing of ſoldiers: But as there were no wars then to be carried on, this menace was fruitleſs and deſpiſed. Y. of *R.* 312. Bef. *J. C.* 440 68 Conſulſhip.

§. III. ALL.

Y. of *R.* 313. Bef. *J. C.* 439. 69 Conſulſhip.

§. III. ALL was quiet, when the next year, in the Conſulate of *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Menenius*, there happened a dreadful famine, which occaſioned ſeditions, by means whereof a private man had like to have got poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power. The Senate imputed this ſcarcity of corn to the lazineſs and negligence of the *Plebeians*, who intoxicated with the ſeditious harangues of the Tribunes, were always ſauntering in the Forum, and inſtead of cultivating their lands, waſted their time in idle reaſonings about ſtate affairs. On the other hand the multitude (who always grumble at thoſe who are at the helm,) imputed the dearth intirely to the want of care in the Conſuls. At length the People, with the Senate's approbation, appointed *L. Minucius*, an active, prudent man, to be principal Purveyor and Superintendant of proviſions. *Minucius* ſent his agents into the neighbouring countries all round to buy corn; but with little ſucceſs. A *Roman* Knight, whoſe name was *Sp. Mælius*, one of the richeſt private men in the Commonwealth, had been beforehand with him at the markets in *Hetruria*, and had bought up moſt of the grain in that Province.

Mælius, yet more ambitious than rich, flattered himſelf, that in ſo general a calamity the People would ſell their liberty at an eaſy rate. Corn was every day diſtributed by his order among the meaner people and the poor; and by an extraordinary liberality (ever ſuſpected, and eſpecially in a Commonwealth) he made all thoſe his creatures whom he fed at his own expence. His houſe quickly became the place of refuge for the poor, the idle, thoſe who had ruined themſelves by debauchery, and ſuch as being deſtitute of all notions of honour or religion, would gladly ſee the Government quite ſubverted, provided they could but any way better their own circumſtances in the change.

Y. of *R.* 314. Bef. *J. C.* 438. 70 Conſulſhip. * 6th time Conſ.

During this public calamity new Conſuls were choſen, * *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Agrippa Menenius*; but *Minucius* was continued in his office. His commiſſion frequently obliging him, either by himſelf or his agents, to have ſome intercourſe with the emiſſaries of *Mælius*, he found out, that this ambitious Knight under cover of that liberality, which drew crowds of People to his gate, formed Aſſemblies in his houſe; nay *Minucius* got information, that great quantities of arms were often carried thither by night.

He afterwards learnt that there was a conſpiracy laid to change the form of the Government; that *Mælius* aſpired to the Royalty; that the People were to take arms in his favour; and that even ſome Tribunes had conſented to ſell the publick liberty.

Minucius, having diſcovered the whole ſecret of this conſpiracy, immediately gave an account of it to the Senate. Heavy reproaches were thrown upon the Conſuls of the preceding year, and on thoſe of the preſent, for that ſo important a diſcovery ſhould be firſt made by the Purveyor General, whereas the Conſuls ought not only to have been acquainted with *Mælius*'s wicked deſigns more early, but before this time to have puniſhed him. *Quinctius* replied, that as to the latter, the Conſuls were unjuſtly blamed; that they wanted neither courage nor reſolution to puniſh ſo horrid an attempt;

but that every body knew the Conſular Authority was in a manner annihilated by the exceſſive Power uſurped by the Tribunes; that an appeal to the People would put a ſtop to all proceedings againſt the guilty; and that, if ever the buſineſs was brought before a general Aſſembly, *Mælius* would infallibly eſcape from juſtice, by the favour of the multitude, who were devoted to him; that, in the preſent danger the Republick ſtood in need of a Magiſtrate, not only firm and reſolute, but above the laws; and that therefore he would name to the Dictatorſhip his brother *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, a man whoſe prudence and ſteady courage were anſwerable to that ſupreme authority. *Cincinnatus* would have declined the office, on account of his great age, being now paſt fourſcore; but the Conſuls and the whole Senate declaring that no man was ſo fit for it as he, and inſiſting upon his charging himſelf with the care of the commonwealth in this critical juncture, he at length acquieſced, praying to the Gods, that the public weal might not ſuffer through his infirmities. Y. of *R.* 314. Bef. *J. C.* 438. 70 Conſulſhip.

He named *Servilius Ahala* to be his General of the Horſe, and the next day placed guards in all parts of the city, as if ſome foreign enemy had been at the gates of *Rome*. This precaution ſurpriſed all who knew nothing of the conſpiracy; every body enquired the reaſon of ſo ſtrange a novelty, and why a Dictator ſhould be named in the midſt of Peace. But *Mælius* plainly ſaw, that the power of that ſupreme Magiſtrate was wholly bent againſt him; and therefore, to ſtrengthen himſelf by the aſſiſtance of the multitude, he was now more liberal and bountiful than ever.

The Dictator, finding that nothing but a ſtroke of authority could cruſh ſo dangerous a plot, cauſed his Tribunal to be carried into the Forum, and aſcended it guarded by his Lictors armed with their axes. He then ſent *Servilius*, his Maſter of the Horſe, to cite *Mælius* to appear before him. *Mælius*, ſurprized, and in doubt what courſe to take, delayed to obey, and ſought to make his eſcape. *Servilius* commanded a Lictor to arreſt him; which the Lictor having done, *Mælius* cried out, that the Senate wanted to deſtroy him only out of jealouſy, and becauſe he had conſecrated his eſtate to the relief of the poor; he implored the aſſiſtance of the multitude, and conjured his friends not to ſuffer him to be murdered in their preſence. The People hereupon, encouraging one another, reſcued him out of the Lictor's hands. *Mælius* threw himſelf into the crowd, to eſcape; but *Servilius* purſued him, overtook him, and with a ſtroke of his ſword killed him out-right. Then, all ſprinkled with the blood of the ſlain, he preſented himſelf before the Dictator; "*Mælius (ſaid he)* refuſed to "obey your Summons, and endeavoured to raiſe a rebellion; he has by "this hand received his due puniſhment." *'Twas greatly done*, replied the generous old man, *you have ſaved the liberty of the Commonwealth.*

He then convened a general Aſſembly of the People, laid before them the crimes of *Mælius*, and pronounced that he was juſtly ſlain. The Knight's houſe, by the Dictator's order, was raſed to the ground. Prodigious quantities of corn were found there, which *Minucius* ſelling

Y. of *R.* 314. Bef. *J.C.* 438. 70 Conſulſhip. to the People at low rates, they made no oppoſition to a Decree which ordered a ſtatue to be erected to his honour, as the reward of his vigilance. But three of the *Tribunes*, who were doubtleſs the confidents and accomplices of *Mælius*, could never forgive either *Minucius* or *Servilius* the death of that ambitious Corn-merchant; they made loud complaints of the murder; and the Tribunes in general were ſo much provoked againſt the Senate, that they obſtinately oppoſed the election of Conſuls: The *Patricians*, to avoid a tumult, were forced to conſent that *Military Tribunes* ſhould be choſen to the Government, for the next year.

Some *Tribunes of the Commons* flattered themſelves, that they ſhould have a great ſway in this election; but notwithſtanding all their cabals, the People, contented with being allowed to ſtand candidates, gave their votes to *Patricians* only. *Mamercus Æmilius*, *Julius Iulus*, and *L. Quinctius*, the ſon of the Dictator who had juſt taken off *Mælius*, were the perſons elected.

Y. of *R.* 315. Bef. *J.C.* 437. 2 Mil. Trib.

CHAP. XXXIII.

§. I. Fidenæ *revolts from the* Romans, *and puts itſelf under the protection of* Tolumnius, *King of the* Veientes. *The* Romans *prepare for war, and thinking it adviſeable to have Conſuls to conduct it,* M. Geganius (*a third time*) *and* L. Sergius *are choſen; but theſe ſoon reſign the care of the war to a Dictator,* Mamercus Æmilius, *who defeats the enemy in a pitched battle, wherein* Cornelius Coſſus *a legionary Tribune kills* Tolumnius *and ſtrips him of his armour.* §. II. *In the following Conſulate of* M. Cornelius *and* L. Papirius, *a Tribune named* Sp. Mælius, *commences a proſecution againſt* Servilius *and* Minucius, *for the death of* Mælius *the corn-merchant. The hiſtorians are not agreed about the iſſue of it.* §. III. *The* Veientes *and* Fidenates *renew the war during the Conſulate of* Julius Iulus *and* L. Virginius, *when the* Romans *are ſorely diſtreſſed by a plague.* Q. Servilius Priſcus *being named Dictator, routs the enemy and takes* Fidenæ. *It is uncertain what Magiſtrates were choſen to govern the Republic, the next year, but whoever they were, they reſigned their authority to* Mamercus Æmilius, *who is again named to the Dictatorſhip, upon a rumour that all* Hetruria *is preparing for war. This rumour proves groundleſs.* Æmilius, *through zeal for the public liberty, gets a law paſſed reſtraining the office of Cenſor to* 18 *months duration. He then reſigns the Dictatorſhip.* C. Furius *and* M. Geganius, *the Cenſors, in revenge deprive him of the common privileges of a citizen.* Æmilius *nevertheleſs protects thoſe his bitter enemies from the fury of the populace, who are ready to murder them.* §. IV. *The Senate is obliged to humour the People, by ſuffering* Military Tribunes *to be created for the next year. However none but* Patricians *are choſen. Nothing memorable happens during*

ring their adminiſtration, but a plague, which ceaſes in the following year, when the Republic is again governed by Military Tribunes *all* Patricians. *The rich* Plebeians *complain of the poorer ſort for their having conſtantly refuſed to elect any of* them *to that Magiſtracy. A Law is paſſed, forbidding thoſe who ſtand for offices to wear garments of an extraordinary whiteneſs: The Senate, fearing leſt ſome of the chief* Plebeians *ſhould get into the* Military Tribuneſhip, *determine if poſſible to reſtore the Conſulſhip (from which* Plebeians *are excluded.) A war with the* Æqui *favours this deſign.* T. Quinctius *(ſon of* Lucius*) and* C. Julius *are choſen Conſuls; but theſe diſagreeing, through jealouſy, the Senate judge it neceſſary to have a Dictator. The Conſuls refuſe to name one. The Senators provoked hereat raſhly apply to the Tribunes to interpoſe in the affair. The Tribunes threaten the Conſuls to have them carried to priſon if they don't comply.* Poſthumius Tubertus *is named Dictator. He defeats the enemy, and returns triumphant to* Rome. §. V. *The* Æqui *in the following Conſulate of* C. Papirius *and* L. Julius *obtain a truce for eight years. (A regulation is made, that fines ſhall for the future be paid in money inſtead of cattle.) The* Romans *continue in peace during this and the ſucceeding Conſulate of* L. Sergius *(a ſecond time Conſul) and* Hoſtus Lucretius. *The next year, when* T. Quinctius *(a ſecond time) and* A. Cornelius Coſſus *are Conſuls,* Rome *is afflicted by a famine and a plague, which occaſions the People to have recourſe to foreign ſuperſtitions, but theſe are ſoon prohibited.* §. VI. *The* Veientes *in the following Conſulate of* L. Papirius *(a ſecond time Conſul) and* Servilius Ahala, *make incurſions on the* Roman *lands. Diſputes ariſing between the Senate and People about the prerogative of proclaiming this war, the* Romans *do not take the field 'till the next year, when the People prevail to have* Military Tribunes *in the Government, but they are all* Patricians. *Theſe not acting in concert are defeated by the enemy; whereupon* Mamercus Æmilius *(who had been degraded by the Cenſors) is a third time raiſed to the Dictatorſhip. He gives the* Veientes *a total overthrow, and takes their camp, as alſo* Fidenæ, *which had again revolted from the* Romans.

§. I. THE tranquillity of the new adminiſtration was diſturbed by the defection of *Fidenæ*, a city about five miles diſtant from *Rome*, on the ſide of *Sabinia*. It had been originally founded either by the *Hetrurians* or *Albans*, and had been a *Roman* colony ever ſince *Romulus*'s time. The *Fidenates* had frequently revolted; and now again, throwing off the yoke, they put themſelves under the protection of *Tolumnius*, King of the *Veientes*. Nor did the *Fidenates* ſtop at rebellion only, but they murdered four Ambaſſadors whom the *Romans* ſent to them to aſk the reaſon of their conduct. It was eaſily foreſeen, that ſo enormous a proceeding muſt be followed by a bloody war, and this determined the Republic to chuſe Conſuls rather than Military Tribunes, for the enſuing year. Y. of *R.* 315. Bef. *J.C.* 437. 2 Mil. Trib.

Y. of *R.* 316. Bef. *J. C.* 436. 71 Conſulſhip. *M. Geganius* (a third time) and *L. Sergius* were elected. It fell to the latter to conduct the war. But though he gained ſome advantage over the enemy, it coſt the *Romans* dear, and they did not think fit to continue at the head of the army a General, who was ſo prodigal of *Roman* blood. The Senate ordered a Dictator to be created, and *Mamercus Æmilius* was nominated by the Conſuls. The very report of the election of a General whoſe merit was ſuperior to his employment abated the confidence of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*, who durſt not appear in the field, 'till they were joined by the *Faliſci*. The Dictator defeated theſe confederates in a pitched battle. *Tolumnius* was ſlain in the action by *Cornelius Coſſus*, a legionary Tribune, who ſtripped him of his Armour and royal robes. And theſe ſpoils, called *opima ſpolia*, *Cornelius* afterwards carried on his ſhoulders in the Dictator's triumph, and then depoſited them in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. They were the ſecond of the ſort known in *Rome*. The firſt were born by *Romulus*, who killed King *Acron* in ſingle combat.

Livy, B. 4.

Y. of *R.* 317. Bef. *J. C.* 435. 72 Conſulſhip. §. II. IN the following year (of the Conſuls, *M. Cornelius* and *L. Papirius*) one *Sp. Mælius*, a Tribune of the People, and a relation of the famous Corn-merchant, cited *Minucius* and *Servilius Ahala* to anſwer for what they had done againſt his kinſman; *Minucius* for having brought a falſe accuſation againſt him, and *Servilius* for having put to death a *Roman* Citizen, before condemnation.

Livy, B. 4. If we may credit ſome Hiſtorians, theſe proſecutions were fruitleſs, and the Tribune only brought himſelf into contempt by them: But others, and the greater number, relate that *Servilius* was condemned to baniſhment, and afterwards recalled. As for *Minucius*, we do not find that he ſuffered any thing from the reſentment of the proſecutor.

§. III. THE chief concern of the *Romans*, at this time, was to preſerve themſelves from the plague, with which they were grievouſly afflicted.

Y. of *R.* 318. Bef. *J. C.* 434. 73 Conſulſhip. * A third time. And it raged with greater fury, in the following Conſulſhip of * *Julius Iulus* and *L. Virginius*. While *Rome* was in this diſtreſs, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* came and encamped almoſt cloſe to the city, on the ſide of the gate *Collina*. The Senate, being terrify'd at ſo near an approach of the enemy, thought it neceſſary to nominate a Dictator; and the Conſuls pitched upon *Quintus Servilius Priſcus*, who commanded all thoſe, whoſe health would permit them, to march out of the city. Upon this the enemy immediately retired: But *Servilius* came up with them near *Nomentum*, routed them, and afterwards took the city of *Fidenæ* by ſap. However, this being looked upon as a civil war, becauſe *Fidenæ* was a *Roman* Colony, the General was not granted a triumph, tho' he probably aſſumed then the name of *Fidenas*. This ſucceſs was followed by a Cenſus of the *Roman* People, which, after the eſtabliſhment of the Cenſors, never failed to be renewed every five years.

Faſt. Cap. *Livy*, B. 4.

It is not agreed, whether *Rome* in the beginning of the year 319 was governed by the former Conſuls, *Julius Iulus* and *L. Virginius*, or by new ones, *M. Manlius* and *Q. Sulpicius*, or by three Military Tribunes.

Y. of *R.* 319. Bef. *J. C.* 433. 74 Conſulſhip.

But

But be that as it will, it is certain that theſe Tribunes or Conſuls were ſo little concerned in the events of the year, that they were ſoon forgotten. A rumour being ſpread abroad, that all the nations of *Hetruria* were to take arms in favour of the *Veientes*, *Mamercus Æmilius*, a man illuſtrious both in peace and war, was raiſed a ſecond time to the Dictatorſhip, a dignity in which he had before acquired great glory againſt the ſame enemies. But the news of this dreadful league proving falſe, and *Æmilius* finding himſelf deceived in his hopes of ſignalizing his ſecond Dictatorſhip by a new victory, reſolved however to leave ſome monument of his zeal for the public liberty. He obſerved to the People in a general Aſſembly, that their Anceſtors, in order to preſerve their freedom, had eſtabliſhed in the Republic no Officer whoſe authority was to laſt above a year; but that this wiſe precaution had not been remembered in the late creation of Cenſors, who were allowed a five years Magiſtracy; that it was a grievous thing to be ſubject five years (a great portion of a man's life) to the cenſure of the ſame perſons: And that a Law therefore ought to be made for ſhortening the duration of that office to eighteen months. Y. of *R.* 319. Bef. *J. C.* 433. 74 Conſulſhip.

This diſcourſe was received with great applauſe, eſpecially by the People, and the next day the Law, with their approbation, was paſſed and publiſhed in form. Then *Æmilius*, "To convince you, *Romans*, that I am "in earneſt, when I expreſs ſo great a diſlike to Magiſtracies of long conti- "nuance, I now reſign my own." The multitude with acclamations of joy, and with expreſſions of the greateſt eſteem and affection, conducted him back to his houſe. But *C. Furius* and *M. Geganius*, the preſent Cenſors, ſhewed a moſt extravagant reſentment of the injury which they pretended was done them, by this abridging of the duration of the Cenſorſhip. *Æmilius* had no ſooner abdicated his authority, but in vertue of the power belonging to their office, they ſtruck his name out of the roll of his Tribe, took from him, as from a ſcandalous wretch, the privilege of voting, and loaded him with a tribute eight times greater than he uſed to pay. But this perſecution, inſtead of diſhonouring him, gave him a new luſtre; all the ſhame fell upon the perſecutors. The Senators themſelves, notwithſtanding they diſliked the new law, were yet more diſpleaſed with the ſevere and arbitrary conduct of the Cenſors; making this natural reflection, that tho' they might themſelves be for a time poſſeſſed of the ſame power, they ſhould probably be much longer ſubject to it. And, as for the People, full of indignation, they would have torn *Furius* and *Geganius* to pieces, if *Æmilius* had not been ſo generous as to ſave them. *Livy*, B. 4.

§. IV. THE Tribunes of the Commons, by renewing their ordinary harangues againſt the electing of Conſuls, prevailed to have Military Tribunes choſen for the next year; nevertheleſs in ſpite of all their intereſt and intrigues, the People ſtill prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Nobility, as to their capacity for government, and the command of armies, gave their voices again to three *Patricians*, *M. Fabius*, *M. Foſlius*, and *L. Sergius*. Nothing remarkable happened in their year except a plague, which ceaſed in the following year of *L. Pinarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius*. And then 3 Mil. Trib. Y. of *R.* 320. Bef. *J. C.* 432.

ambition.

Y. of *R.* 321. Bef. *J. C.* 431. 4 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 4.

ambition raiſed ſome freſh diſturbances at *Rome*. The wealthy *Plebeians* complained of the inferior ſort, as not well enough affected to their intereſts, having never choſen any but *Patricians* to be Military Tribunes, notwithſtanding the law, which allowed them to chuſe three *Plebeians* to that dignity. They met at the houſes of the Tribunes of the Commons, to conſult upon this matter; and there they came to this concluſion, that the neglect which had been ſhewn them was owing to the various arts uſed by the Nobles to gain the People's favour in elections, and it was reſolved, to propoſe a law, forbidding any pretenders to the ſuperior offices to go about, as had been the cuſtom, in garments of an extraordinary whiteneſs, (whence they were called Candidates) to ſollicit the People's votes: A matter which, as *Livy* tells us, would in his days have been thought of ſmall moment, and ſcarce worthy of a ſerious debate, but which at this time raiſed a very warm contention between the two parties. The Tribunes prevailed, the law was paſſed, and the preſent animoſity of the People againſt the Patricians gave reaſon to believe that the former would no longer refuſe their voices to the chief *Plebeians* for the Military Tribuneſhip. The Senate to avert this danger turned their thoughts to get Conſuls choſen for the next year. The formidable preparations which the *Æqui* and *Volſci* made for war at this time favoured the deſign. As there were no *Plebeians* who had ever commanded armies, and none but old Captains and the chief men of the Senate were fit for that employment, the People were indifferent, whether Conſuls or Military Tribunes were choſen this year. Thus the Senate being left maſters of the election, the Conſulſhip

Y. of *R.* 322. Bef. *J. C.* 430. 75 Conſulſhip.

was reſtored, and *T. Quinctius*, the ſon of *Lucius*, and *C. Julius Mento* attained that dignity. A better choice could not have been made, with reſpect either to birth or capacity in the art of war: But jealouſy and diviſion ariſing between them, it is ſaid [a] they were beaten near the *Algidus*. The Senate, to prevent the Conſequences of their defeat, reſolved to have recourſe to a Dictator. But the two Conſuls, on whom the nomination of him depended, though they differed in all other reſpects, united to croſs the Senators in this particular. They were probably offended at the diffidence ſhewn of their abilities; but whatever was the cauſe of their noncompliance with the Senate's deſire, they continued obſtinate in their determination, 'till expreſſes upon expreſſes bringing accounts of the miſchievous progreſs of the enemies arms, *Q. Servilius Priſcus*, a Conſular perſon, turning to the Tribunes of the People who were then in Senate, exhorted them to interpoſe their authority, and oblige the Conſuls to name a Dictator. Thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates joyfully laid hold of ſo fair an occaſion to extend their power, and having withdrawn a while to conſult, returned with this declaration, *That it was the pleaſure of the Tribunes, that the Conſuls ſhould obey the Senate, or be led to priſon, if they perſiſted in their diſobe-*

[a] *Livy* ſpeaks doubtfully, and ſeems here to be much in the dark. He gives no account of what became of the Conſuls army after the defeat; nor how the Generals came to be ſo ſuddenly in the Senate-houſe after it.

dience.

dience. Hereupon the two Magiſtrates ſubmitted, upbraiding the Senators however, that it was by them the Conſular authority was betray'd and ſubjected to the yoke of the Tribunitian power. The Conſcript Fathers indeed ſeem to have been ſo much exaſperated againſt the two Magiſtrates, and ſo intent upon vanquiſhing their obſtinacy, as not to be duly ſenſible of the breach they made in their own authority. After ſome diſpute between the Conſuls about the perſon who ſhould be Dictator, they drew lots for the privilege of nominating. It fell to *T. Quinctius*; and he named his father-in-law *Poſthumius Tubertus*, who appointed *L. Julius Iulus* to his General of the Horſe. Y. of *R.* 322. Bef. *J. C.* 430. 75 Conſulſhip.

Poſthumius was an old Captain, of great valour and experience, but naturally harſh and ſevere. The knowledge of his temper and the power of life and death, which the Dictatorſhip gave him, made all who were ſummoned run obediently to range themſelves under his enſigns. He ſoon marched againſt the enemy, defeated them in a bloody engagement, took their camp, and then, having led back his army to *Rome*, and had the honours of a TRIUMPH, laid down the Dictatorſhip.

§. V. THE next year, in which *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius* were Conſuls, the *Æqui* being humbled by former loſſes, deſired to enter into alliance with the Republic, on the ſame foot with the *Latines* and *Hernici*. But their Envoys perceiving that the *Romans* were not inclined to an union, upon any other terms, than a ſubmiſſion at diſcretion, they propoſed only a truce, which was granted for eight years. The *Volſci* at this time quarrel'd among themſelves, and from diſputes and reproaches came to ſeditions and battles. By this means *Rome* was left in perfect tranquillity, and nothing remarkable was done there during the preſent Conſulſhip, but the ſettling, by a law, the value of the oxen and ſheep, paid by way of fines for diſobedience to Magiſtrates; and the fines were ordered to be paid in money for the future, each ox valued at 100 Aſſes of braſs, and each ſheep at 10. The Tribunes were the firſt projectors of this new regulation; but the Conſuls, having notice of the deſign, propoſed the law themſelves, by which they gained the favour of the People. Y. of *R.* 323. Bef. *J. C.* 429. 76 Conſulſhip.

L. Sergius and *Hoſtus Lucretius* paſſed their Conſulſhip in greater inaction than their Predeceſſors. The Republic enjoy'd a profound peace. But the next year when *T. Quinctius* (a ſecond time) and *Cornelius Coſſus* were raiſed to the Conſulate, a calamity more grievous than war fell upon *Rome*, and almoſt upon all *Italy*. An extream drought occaſioned a famine, which was followed by a dreadful plague, that ſpared neither man nor beaſt. The *Romans*, naturally ſuperſtitious, having in vain exhauſted all the virtue of medicine, had recourſe to ſupernatural aids. A foreign worſhip was introduced into the city; the temples and the very ſtreets were crowded with people, ſacrificing to Deities unknown: And they were not aſhamed, in order to conjure away the diſtemper, to apply to charms, and all thoſe idle ſuperſtitions, which the weakneſs of man has invented. The Senate, who were well apprized of the danger of innovations in religion, ordered the *Ædiles* to put a ſtop to this diſorder; and it was forbid Y. of *R.* 324. Y. of *R.* 325. *Liv.* B. 4.

by

by a public edict, to practiſe any ceremony not legally admitted into the Commonwealth.

§. VI. THE *Veientes* after their defeat near *Nomentum*, in the year 318, had obtained a truce for 8 years, but before this time was expired, they had ravaged the lands of the Republic. The Senate therefore in the Conſulſhip of *L.* * *Papirius* and *Servilius Ahala* thought it proper to revenge this injury. The only queſtion was in what manner war ſhould be declared againſt them. The Senate pretended that their Decree would be ſufficient: On the other hand the People urged that to determine affairs of peace and war was their peculiar province. This was not diſputed, but the Senators alledged that the queſtion at preſent was not about a new war, but about a war already begun, and only ſuſpended by a truce. The Tribunes carried their point by threatening to hinder the levies, if the Conſuls did not apply themſelves to the People to obtain a declaration of war againſt the *Veientes*. Theſe diſputes produced theſe two effects, they delay'd the vengeance of the *Romans*, and made the People inſiſt upon having the government of the Republic placed the next year in the hands of Military Tribunes, and not of Conſuls.

Y. of *R.* 326. Bef. *J.C.* 426. 79 Conſulſhip. * A ſecond time.

Four *Patricians* were choſen, *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, *M. Poſthumius* and *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, and they took their employments by lot. *Coſſus* ſtay'd at *Rome*, the other three marched againſt the *Veientes*. But theſe Generals not acting in concert, when they came to an engagement with the enemy, the *Roman* army was routed. However, it happened very fortunately, that the nearneſs of the camp ſaved the troops from ſlaughter, and their diſgrace was greater than their loſs. But as it had not been uſual for them to ſuffer any diſgrace, the whole city was in conſternation at the news of this ſhameful action. The People demanded to have the Generals depoſed, and at the ſame time to have a Dictator named. A difficulty aroſe in relation to this laſt demand. It had been the prerogative of the Conſuls to nominate a Dictator, and there were no Conſuls now in being. The Augurs being conſulted thereupon, declared that *Coſſus* who had had no ſhare in the late diſaſter, might lawfully name a Dictator. Accordingly he named *Mamercus Æmilius*, that great man who had been in the ſame poſt twice before, and whom the Cenſors had degraded, and ſunk to a level with the loweſt of the People. *Æmilius* appointed *Coſſus* to be his General of the Horſe.

Y. of *R.* 327. Bef. *J.C.* 425. 5 Mil. Trib.

In the mean time the inhabitants of *Fidenæ* maſſacred the *Roman* colony there, and revolted a ſeventh time to the *Veientes*, who paſſed the *Tyber*, and encamped near the city. The Dictator with his infantry attack'd them furiouſly; but his left wing was a while amazed and terrified by the enemy's new manner of fighting. The *Fidenates* opened one of the gates of their city, and ſent out ſome ſoldiers with lighted torches in their hands, and dreſſed in habits like thoſe uſually given the furies. Theſe ran like mad enthuſiaſts thro' the *Roman* battalions, and threatened them with fire and ſword at the ſame time. But the Dictator upbraided his men with cowardice, "What, *ſaid he*, are you as much afraid of ſmoke as a ſwarm

Florus, B. 1. c. 12.

" of bees? Make uſe of your ſwords to wreſt theſe torches out of the ene- Y. of *R.* 327.
" mies hands, and then go and ſet fire to their city with them." The Bef. *J.C.*425.
Romans recovered their courage, and *Coſſus* with his cavalry falling upon 5 Mil. Trib.
the enemy at the ſame time, the latter were entirely defeated: Both *Fidenæ* and the camp of the *Veientes* were taken and plundered, and the priſoners were partly diſtributed by lot to the *Roman* Officers, and the reſt ſold for the benefit of the public. This glorious expedition being finiſhed in ſixteen days, *Æmilius* led back his troops to *Rome*, had the honours of a triumph, and then laid down his Dictatorſhip, leaving it a queſtion, whether his bravery or his moderation were the greater.

CHAP. XXXIV.

§. I. Military Tribunes *are choſen to the Government the two following years; but the choice falls only on* Patricians. *The Tribunes of the Commons uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade the People from this preference of the Nobles to them, in the elections. The Senate to counterplot them, before the new elections come on, contrive to ſend away the principal of the* Plebeians *into the field againſt the* Volſci. *In their abſence* Appius Claudius (*ſon of the Decemvir*) *one of the* Military Tribunes, *holds an Aſſembly for electing Conſuls, and* C. Sempronius *and* Q. Fabius *are choſen.* §. II. Sempronius *brings the whole* Roman *army into danger of being cut to pieces by the* Volſci. *An Officer of horſe named* Tempanius, *by his bravery and prudence, prevents the defeat of the* Romans. *He arrives at* Rome *before the Conſul, and gives teſtimony in favour of his conduct.* §. III. *The People condemn* Poſthumius (*one of thoſe Military Tribunes, who by their diſunion had loſt a battle in the year* 327,) *in a fine.* Tempanius *is made one of the Tribunes of the Commons. His General* Sempronius *being proſecuted by the People for his miſconduct, he takes his part, and engages the Tribune* Hortenſius, *the accuſer, to drop the proſecution.*

§. I. THE two following years were ſpent in making truces with Y. of *R.* 328.
the *Veientes* and *Æqui*, and in other negotiations, and in ce- Bef. *J.C.*424.
lebrating the great games of the Circus. The Govern- Y. of *R.* 329.
ment was in each of theſe years committed to four *Military* Bef. *J.C.*423.
Tribunes. The Tribunes of the Commons prevailed ſo far, but they had ſtill the mortification to ſee *Patricians* only elected.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the rage and indignation of theſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates. They reproached the People with ingratitude. They told them plainly that great recompences were neceſſary to encourage men to great

A. SEMPRONIUS, L. FURIUS, L. QUINCTIUS, L. HORATIUS.	Y. of *R.* 328.	AP. CLAUDIUS, SP. NAUTIUS, L. SERGIUS, SEX. JULIUS.	Y. of *R.* 329.

Y. of *R.* 329. Bef. *J. C.* 423. actions, and that for their parts they would throw up all care of the *Plebeian* intereſt, if their zeal and labours were never to be rewarded with honours. That it was much better to repeal the law which qualified *Plebeians* for the Tribuneſhip, than to ſee it thus rendered fruitleſs in all the elections by the cabals of the *Patricians*; and that it would be leſs ſhame to the Commons to be wholly excluded from the privilege of ſtanding candidates, than to be always rejected as incapable or unworthy.

Theſe diſcourſes, often repeated, made an impreſſion upon the multitude; and at the ſame time the richeſt and moſt eminent men of the *Plebeians* gave out, that if they could once be choſen to the Government, they would not fail to get the public lands divided among the citizens, procure the eſtabliſhment of new colonies, and cauſe a tax to be laid upon the landed men to provide pay for the ſoldiers in time of war: In a word, they forgot nothing that might engage the People to raiſe them to the dignity of Military Tribunes.

The *Patrician* Magiſtrates who were then in poſſeſſion of that dignity, to avoid the ſhame of having *Plebeians* for their ſucceſſors, privately agreed with the Senate to lead out of *Rome* (under pretence of making an incurſion upon the lands of the *Volſci*, who, they gave out, were preparing with all diligence for war,) the chief of the People, and eſpecially thoſe who aſpired to the Military Tribuneſhip; and during the abſence of the army to proceed to an election of Conſuls. Three of the Military Tribunes took the field, leaving *Appius* (the Decemvir's ſon) their Collegue, to guard the city, and preſide at the intended election. *Appius* was a young man bold and enterpriſing, and had been educated from his very cradle in an hereditary averſion to the People's power. No ſooner were the Tribunes, with great numbers of the *Plebeians* gone into the field, but, laying hold of the opportunity, he, purſuant to a decree of the Senate, held the Comitia for electing Conſuls. *C. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *C. Fabius Vibulanus* were choſen: And the People and their Tribunes at their return found the election too ſtrongly ſettled to think of reverſing it. They afterwards ſhewed their reſentment, by proſecuting one of the Conſuls as a criminal, on account of the ill ſucceſs he had in the war againſt the *Volſci*.

Y. of *R.* 330. Bef. *J. C.* 422. 80 Conſulſhip.

§. II. THIS warlike People, who had long fought with the *Romans* for empire and dominion, did this year make, as it were, a laſt effort to avoid receiving the yoke of their old enemies. They raiſed a great number of troops, made choice of able Captains, and omitted none of thoſe wiſe precautions, which may be looked upon as the ſureſt preſages of good ſucceſs. *Rome* ſent againſt them her firſt Conſul *Sempronius*, a man full of courage, familiar with the ſoldiers, and therefore greatly beloved by them; but who was himſelf more a ſoldier than a Captain, and ſeemed to think that valour alone was ſufficient to ſupply all the duties of a General. The two armies ſoon came in view of each other. *Sempronius* deſpiſed enemies whom the *Romans* had ſo often vanquiſhed; and, as if he had been ſure of winning the victory with only his infantry, left his horſe in a place where he could receive no manner of aſſiſtance from them. The fight began

gan with equal fury on both ſides. The *Romans* advanced daringly, and charged the enemy with their uſual valour. But as they fought with more fire than order, and as the *Volſci*, drawn together in firm and cloſe battalions, defended themſelves with great courage, victory began to declare for the ſide where there was moſt diſcipline. The *Volſci*, led by an experienced General, preſs'd on briſkly and broke the legions. The *Romans*, inſtead of attacking, thought now only how to avoid the attack of the enemy. They gave back, and loſt ground apace. The Conſul perceiving it, haſted to the place where there was moſt danger. He fought with his own hand, and tried to animate his ſoldiers by his example and reproaches, but in vain. He called and he threatened; no body gave attention to his orders. At length all the legions fell into confuſion, and the battle had been quite loſt, but for the valour and prudence of *Sex. Tempanius*, an old Captain of horſe. V. of R. 330. Bef. J. C. 422. 80 Conſulſhip.

Sempronius, who, as was ſaid before, had flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to defeat the enemy with only his foot, had left his horſe in a place hemm'd in with bogs, where it was impoſſible for them to fight. *Tempanius* obſerving the diſorder the legions were put into, leaped to the ground, and addreſſing himſelf to his companions, *Follow my lance*, ſaid he, *as if it were a ſtandard; and let us ſhew the enemy, that as well on foot as on horſeback, nothing can withſtand us.* The whole body of horſe diſmounted after his example, and followed him. *Tempanius*, at the head of them, marched ſtrait againſt the enemy and reſtored the fight. The legions at the ſight of this ſuccour reſumed courage, and returned to the charge with freſh fury. The General of the *Volſci* could not conceive whence this new body of infantry ſhould come. But as he found himſelf preſs'd by them, he ſent orders to his troops to open their ranks, and give paſſage to the ſoldiers which *Tempanius* commanded, and then to cloſe again, in order to ſeparate them from the *Roman* legions. The *Volſci* did as they were ordered. *Tempanius* and his men, carried on by the heat of their courage, and imagining they were following victory, and a routed enemy, ruſhed ſtill forwards: But it was not long before they found themſelves cut off from the *Roman* main body by ſome of the enemy's battalions that ſtood now in cloſe array. *Tempanius* did his utmoſt to force his way thro' them, and rejoin the Conſul; but he could not break their order. In this extremity he ſpied an eminence, of which he preſently took poſſeſſion. *Val. Max.* B. 3. c. 2.

A part of the *Volſcian* troops immediately attacked him, believing it impoſſible for him to make a long reſiſtance: But TEMPANIUS throwing his men into a ring, defended himſelf with invincible bravery; and this diverſion ſaved the *Roman* army. The Conſul, however, at the head of the legions ſtrove in vain to join *Tempanius*. The *Volſci*, though they loſt abundance of men in this laſt conflict, kept their ground every where; nor could the *Romans* break one of their battalions. They fought till it was night, without either of the Generals being able to perceive on which ſide lay the advantage; and nothing but want of light parted the two armies.

Y. of *R.* 330. Bef. *J. C.* 422. 80 Conſulſhip. Both armies, believing themſelves loſers, equally feared to renew the fight the next morning; nay the terror in both was ſo great, that they haſtily quitted their camps in the night, leaving many of their wounded, and a great part of their baggage behind them, and retired to the mountains that were neareſt to them.

Livy, B. 4. *Tempanius* continued to be inveſted till after midnight; but then the aſſailants receiving notice that their main army had abandoned their camp, fled likewiſe in a fright. The *Roman*, who doubted not but the *Volſci* would attack him again as ſoon as ever the darkneſs was diſpelled, was very much ſurprized when at day-break he ſaw neither friends nor enemies. He could not imagine what was become of two great armies, who, not many hours before, had ſtretched over the whole plain. He went down with a few of his companions, and took a view, firſt of the *Volſcian* camp; not a man was to be ſeen in it, except thoſe of the wounded who had not been able to follow the main body of the army. Then calling down all his ſoldiers from the hill, he entered the *Roman* camp, and there found the like ſolitude. Not knowing to what place the Conſul was retired with his troops, and fearing the return of the *Volſci*, upon the firſt diſcovery of their error, he took up the wounded *Romans*, and marched ſtrait to *Rome*. Some runaways from the battle had got to the city before him; and, becauſe they had ſeen him and his followers cut off from the main army and ſurrounded by the enemy, they had given out, that the whole body of cavalry was cut to pieces. The return therefore of theſe brave men occaſioned an exceſſive ſurprize and joy.

It happened that the People were actually aſſembled when *Tempanius* arrived at *Rome*. The Tribunes of the Commons thought this to be a favourable opportunity of humbling a Conſul. They obliged *Tempanius* to appear in the Aſſembly before he ſet foot in his own houſe; and *Cn. Juliüs*, one of thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, aſked him aloud whether he thought *Sempronius* was fit to command the armies of the *Roman* People, or in the laſt engagement had diſpoſed his troops like an experienced General; what was become of him ſince the battle, and where the army was that he commanded? He added, *I expect that you anſwer directly, and without any evaſions, to all theſe particulars. Inform us what is become of our legions; whether they abandoned you, or you deſerted them; and laſtly, whether we are vanquiſhed or victorious?* *Tempanius*, far from ſeeking to make his own advantage of *Sempronius*'s diſgrace, anſwered, That it did not become a private Officer to pretend to judge of the capacity of his General: That the People had given their opinion of it when they choſe him Conſul: That he had ſeen him fight at the head of the legions with invincible bravery, and expoſe his own perſon in all the places where there was moſt danger: That the great diſtance between them after their ſeparation, and the confuſion which always happens in ſo obſtinate a fight, had kept him from knowing every thing that paſſed where the Conſul was engaged; but that he could however aſſure them, by what had appeared to him upon a view of the field of battle, that the *Volſci* had not loſt fewer men than the *Romans*. He added, That as upon his ſeparation from the main

body of the legions, he had been ſo fortunate as to get poſſeſſion of an eminence, on which, notwithſtanding all the aſſaults of the enemy, he had preſerved thoſe that were truſted to his command; ſo he preſumed the Conſul, in that general diſorder, had gained the mountains, and there intrenched himſelf. *Tempanius* then deſired leave to retire, in order to get the wounds dreſſed which he had received in the fight. The whole Aſſembly gave yet greater praiſes to the diſcretion and modeſty of his anſwer, than to the valour and good conduct with which he had fought againſt the enemies of his country.

§. III. HOWEVER the People were ſo much out of humour with their Generals, that they haſtened the condemnation of *Poſthumius*, one of the three Military Tribunes, who by their diſunion had loſt a battle in the year 327. The Tribunes of the People had in the beginning of the preſent year cited both him and his Collegue *T. Quinctius* (the third was dead) to anſwer for their miſconduct; but the proſecution had been ſuſpended by the apprehenſion of a war with the *Volſci*. *Poſthumius* was now condemned to pay a large fine; but *Quinctius* was univerſally acquitted by the Tribes, on account of his own ſignal ſervices, as well as thoſe of his father *Cincinnatus*, and his uncle *Capitolinus*.

Y. of *R.* 331. Bef. *J. C.* 421. 8 Mil. Trib. * *Livy*, B. 4.

As for *Tempanius*, the People, in reward of his ſervices, choſe him ſome time after to the Tribuneſhip, together with three other Officers, who like him had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war. In this poſt he gave new proofs of the generoſity of his ſoul. For *L. Hortenſius*, one of the Tribunes, having cited *Sempronius*, after the year of his Conſulate was expired, to anſwer before the Aſſembly of the People for his conduct in the laſt battle, *Tempanius* and his three Collegues above-mentioned generouſly made themſelves his advocates, and intreated *Hortenſius* not to perſecute a brave General, who had been only unfortunate on that occaſion. *Hortenſius* believing that theſe Tribunes intended to interpoſe their authority in favour of the accuſed, anſwered; *But if I ſhew you that this* Patrician, *whoſe valour you ſo highly praiſe, was the only cauſe of our defeat, will you oppoſe the juſtice he deſerves? Will you deſtroy the power of the Tribuneſhip; and turn againſt the People themſelves the very authority which you hold only from their favour?* *Tempanius* and his Collegues replied with great moderation, that they owned the People to have an abſolute Power over all who bore the name of *Roman* Citizens; and that they would never make a wrong uſe of the truſt which was repoſed in them: But that if the *intreaties* they made in behalf of their General, who had been to *them* a father, could not prevail, they would *change their habit* as he had done. "Nay (*cried* "*Hortenſius*) but that ſhall never be; the *Roman* People ſhall not ſee "their Tribunes in mourning. I have done. I have nothing farther to "ſay againſt a man who by his behaviour in command could make him-"ſelf ſo dear to his ſoldiers." And thus he dropt the impeachment.

* L. MANLIUS VULSO, Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA, | | L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, L. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

§. I. *The next year, in the Conſulate of* T. Quinctius Capitolinus *and* Numerius Fabius, *new diſſentions ariſe in the Republic, on occaſion of a propoſal to add two Quæſtors to the two already eſtabliſhed. The Tribunes inſiſt, that of the four one half ſhall be always* Plebeians. *The Senate oppoſe this, but are willing to leave the People free in their choice. The Tribunes not content, proteſt, by way of revenge, againſt holding the Comitia for electing Conſuls. The two parties come at length to this compromiſe, that Military Tribunes ſhall be elected to the government, and that the People ſhall be free to chuſe* Patricians *or* Plebeians *to the Quæſtorſhip. Notwithſtanding all that the Tribunes of the Commons can do, the People chuſe not only the Military Tribunes but the Quæſtors too out of the* Patricians *only. The Tribunes of the Commons, to vent their rage, renew the proſecution againſt* Sempronius (*whoſe kinſman* A. Sempronius, *one of the new Military Tribunes, had preſided in the Aſſembly for chuſing Quæſtors*) *and they get him fined.* §. II. *The following ſix years to the year of* Rome 340 *the State is governed by Military Tribunes. In* 334 *a conſpiracy of the ſlaves is diſcovered and prevented. In* 335 *the* Romans *have a war with the* Labicani *and* Æqui *united. The three Military Tribunes quarrel about the command of the army, one of the three being to ſtay in the city.* Q. Servilius, *formerly Dictator, the father of one of them, orders his ſon to remain at* Rome. *The other two take the field, and command alternately. The* Roman *army is routed. Young* Servilius *names his father to the Dictatorſhip. This great man in eight days recovers the affairs of the Republic, and then reſigns his office. The year* 336 *is a year of peace. In* 337 *the Tribunes revive the old quarrel about the diſtribution of the conquered lands.* Appius's *advice to the Senate, to raiſe a diviſion among thoſe Magiſtrates is followed with ſucceſs. Six of them ſide with the* Patricians. *The like good-underſtanding is maintained the next year* (338) *between the Nobles and ſome of the Tribunes.* §. III. *But in* 339 *the affair of the* AGRARIAN LAW *is revived.* Poſthumius, *one of the* Military Tribunes *and General of the army, having promiſed the ſoldiers the plunder of* Bola *taken from the* Æqui, *afterwards breaks his word with them.* Sextius, *one of the* Tribunes of the Commons, *to make the ſoldiers amends, propoſes that a colony of them ſhall be ſettled at* Bola, *and its territory divided among them.* Poſthumius (*who had been called to* Rome *to oppoſe* Sextius's *proceedings*) *threatens that it ſhall be the worſe for his men if any ſuch ſtep be made in their favour. The Tribune takes advantage of this proud and imprudent menace to incenſe the People againſt the General; and a report of it being made in the camp, the ſoldiers mutiny and wound one of the Quæſtors; and* Poſthumius, *at his return to the camp, attempting to puniſh the guilty, is ſtoned by the ſoldiers. The Senate, fearing leſt the People, in order to ſcreen the murderers, ſhould chuſe* Plebeian *Mili-*

tary Tribunes for the next year (340) *uſe all their endeavours to get Conſuls elected, and they prevail. The faſces are transferr'd to* A. Cornelius Coſſus *and* L. Furius Medullinus, *who ſhew great moderation and prudence in the proſecution of the criminals.* §. IV. *Nothing very memorable, except a plague and famine, happens in the three following Conſulates. But in the year* 344, *when* Cn. Cornelius *and* L. Furius (*a ſecond time*) *are Conſuls, three Tribunes of the name of* Icilius *prevail with the People to chuſe three of the four Quæſtors out of the* Plebeians. *The Senate is likewiſe forced to conſent to the chuſing of* Military Tribunes *for the next year, but find means to diſappoint the* Icilii *in their expectation of being raiſed to that dignity. Three* Patricians *are choſen. Theſe being ordered by the Senate to name a Dictator, on occaſion of a war with the* Volſci, *two of them refuſe. The Senate hereupon has recourſe, as formerly, to the Tribunes; but theſe return a diſdainful anſwer, and will not meddle in the diſpute.* Servilius Ahala, *the third Military Tribune, names* P. Cornelius *Dictator, who quickly puts an end to the war.* Servilius's *two Collegues in anger againſt the Senate propoſe* Military Tribunes *at the next election: However* Patricians *are choſen, and ſo likewiſe the next year. The Tribunes of the Commons, provoked to the utmoſt, revenge themſelves by oppoſing the levies for a war with the* Veientes, *who had inſulted the* Roman *Ambaſſadors; and they make the old affair of the* Agrarian Law *their pretence. The Senate get the better of this oppoſition, by decreeing that the infantry ſhall hereafter have* PAY *out of the public treaſury during the ſervice. The People joyfully confirm this Decree, and readily offer themſelves to be inliſted.*

§. I. THE affection which four *Tribunes of the Commons* had ſhewed to a *Patrician*, and the compliance of *Hortenſius* with their deſires in his favour, ſeemed to promiſe a better underſtanding and more union between the Senate and People than there had been of late: But the very next year, in the Conſulate of *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* and *Fabius Vibulanus*, new diſſentions aroſe with relation to the Quæſtorſhip. The inſtitution of this Office is aſcribed to *Poplicola*, who left the choice of the Quæſtors to the People. Their buſineſs was to collect the taxes, defray the expences of war, and keep exact accounts of their receipts and diſburſements of the public money, of which they were the treaſurers, and for which they were accountable. And laſtly, the *Roman* eagles were depoſited with them, and they delivered them out at the Conſuls command when the *Romans* marched into the field. To this time, only two of theſe Officers had been annually choſen, who never ſtirred from *Rome*. The Conſuls propoſed that two others ſhould now be added, to attend the Generals in the field, take account of the ſpoils won from the enemy, ſell the booty, and above all, provide for the ſubſiſtence of the army. The Senate and the People at firſt ſeem'd equally to approve of this propoſal, and the former readily conſented, that in the election of Quæſtors, as in that of Military Tribunes, the

Y. of *R.* 332. Bef. *C.* 420. 81 Conſulſhip.

Y. of *R.* 332. Bef. *J.C.* 420. 81 Conſulſhip. the *Roman* People, if they thought fit, ſhould chuſe as many *Plebeians* as *Patricians*. But the Tribunes demanding that two of thoſe Magiſtrates ſhould always indiſpenſably be *Plebeians*, the Senate, rather than ſubmit to this, broke the deſign of the Conſuls. The Tribunes, in revenge, renewed the propoſal of the *diviſion of the lands*; nor would they ſuffer the preſent Conſuls to hold the Comitia for electing new ones, but inſiſted on having Military Tribunes for the next year. The Senate were now more than ever concerned to hinder this, leſt if *Plebeians* were choſen to the Government, the *Agrarian* law ſhould take place. The obſtinacy of the two parties in holding to their demands, threw the Republic into a kind of anarchy: For the Tribunes ſometimes even oppoſed the Senate's meeting to name an *Inter-rex*; but they conſtantly hindered this Officer's holding any Aſſembly for the chuſing of Conſuls. At length *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, being *Inter-rex*, by expoſtulations and ſoft perſuaſion, brought each of the parties to yield ſomething of its pretenſions, in order to a reconcilement. The Senate agreed to the chuſing of *Military Tribunes* inſtead of *Conſuls*; and the Tribunes of the Commons conſented, that in the election of the four Quæſtors, the People ſhould give their votes as they pleaſed, either to *Patricians* or *Plebeians*; and thus the diſpute ended.

Y. of *R.* 333. Bef. *J.C.* 419. 9 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 4. The Aſſembly for the election of *Military Tribunes* was held firſt; and notwithſtanding all the credit and intrigues of the Tribunes of the People, four *Patricians* were choſen, *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Sp. Furius Medullinus*, *M. Manlius*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, couſin to the Conſul of the ſame name: The latter was pitched upon to preſide in the election of Quæſtors. *Antiſtius* and *Pompilius*, two Tribunes of the Commons, aſked the Quæſtorſhip, the firſt for his ſon, the ſecond for his brother. But in ſpite of all their cabals, and ſeditious harangues, none but *Patricians* were promoted to that dignity; the People had not power to deny it to men whoſe fathers and anceſtors had been honoured with the Conſulſhip. The two Tribunes, enraged almoſt to madneſs at this preference, and the ſhame of a refuſal, cried out that it was impoſſible the People could have had ſo little regard to the intreaties and recommendation of their own Magiſtrates: That there muſt infallibly have been ſome deceit in the ſcrutiny, and that *A. Sempronius*, who had gathered the votes, ought to be called to an account for it. But as he was a man of known probity, and his innocence and the dignity with which he was then inveſted, ſet him above their reach, they turned all their fury againſt *C. Sempronius*, his relation, before ſpoken of, and revived the proſecution againſt him (for his ill conduct in the laſt battle,) which *Hortenſius*, at the requeſt of *Tempanius*, had dropped. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-ſeven days. During this interval, *Sempronius* conſtantly attended the Senate, and being reſolved not to loſe his character there, by a timorous behaviour, zealouſly oppoſed the requeſt of the Tribunes, concerning the partition of the lands; and he behaved himſelf with the ſame ſteadineſs on his tryal: But notwithſtanding all the ſollicitations of the Senate in his favour, he was fined 15000 pence.

§. II. IN

§. II. IN the following Military Tribuneſhip of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*, a plot was formed by the ſlaves, to ſet fire to the city, and ſeize the Capitol; but this ſecret was revealed by ſome of the conſpirators, and the miſchief prevented. Soon after, *Labicum**, a city included in the *Latine* confederacy, gave the *Romans* ſome reaſons to ſuſpect her fidelity. And the next year (in which the Republic was governed by three Military Tribunes only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*) produced the entire revolt of the *Labicani*, who joined the *Æqui*, pillaged the territory of *Tuſculum*, and encamped with their new allies under the *Algidus*. It was ordered by the Senate that two of the Military Tribunes ſhould take the field, and the third continue to govern the city. Upon this a conteſt aroſe between the three, no one of them being willing to ſtay at home. The Senate was offended at theſe diſputes; and *Q. Servilius Fidenas*, formerly Dictator, put an end to them by his paternal authority, commanding his ſon *C. Servilius*, one of the three Governors, to ſtay in *Rome*. But the two Generals agreed no better in the field than they had done in the city; each was for fighting the enemy his own way; they deſpiſed each other, and the troops were divided into two parties. When the news of this diſcord came to *Rome*, *Q. Servilius* apprehended the conſequences of it, and adviſed his ſon to raiſe more troops to be in readineſs at all events: And the advice proved ſerviceable. For the two Generals having at length agreed to command the troops alternately each his day, *Sergius* ſoon after imprudently hazarded a battle, and by a ſtratagem of the enemy, who deſignedly gave ground to draw him into an ambuſh, was entirely defeated. He took refuge with his broken troops in *Tuſculum*. Upon this news the Senate ordered a Dictator to be created; and young *Servilius* nominated his father, who appointed his ſon General of the Horſe. The father and ſon left *Rome* at the head of a new army (that which had fled to *Tuſculum* being recalled) and encamped within two miles of the enemy. The Dictator being there informed that they were grown negligent and preſumptuous, he marched with haſte to attack them, routed them, inveſted *Labicum*, their place of retreat, and took it by aſſault. And all this being done in eight days, he returned to *Rome*, and immediately laid down his office.

Y. of *R.* 334. Bef. *J. C.* 418. 10 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 4.

* 15 miles from *Rome*.

Y. of *R.* 335. Bef. *J. C.* 417. 11 Mil. Trib.

The ſucceeding Military Tribunes, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*, gained no other glory but that of preſerving the Republic in the ſame tranquillity in which they found it.

Livy, B. 4. Y. of *R.* 336. Bef. *J. C.* 416. 12 Mil. Trib.

But the next year, (when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, governed the Commonwealth) *Sp. Mæcilius* a fourth time Tribune of the People, and *Metilius* now Tribune a third time, in order to perpetuate themſelves in the Tribuneſhip, and procure to themſelves a kind of empire for life, renewed the propoſal of *the diviſion of the lands* conquered from the neighbours and enemies of *Rome*. This was the common bait with which the moſt ſeditious Tribunes uſed to lure the People. *Rome*, as we have formerly obſerved, being built upon ground originally belonging to the city of *Alba*, had ſcarce any territory but what had

Y. of *R.* 337. Bef. *J. C.* 415. 13 Mil. Trib.

Y. of *R.* 337. Bef. *J. C.* 415. 13 Mil. Trib.

been ſince won ſword in hand. The *Patricians*, and thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in the Government, under pretence of buying or renting parcels of it, had got into poſſeſſion of large tracts to which they had no juſt title. Long preſcription ſo concealed theſe uſurpations, that it was no eaſy matter to diſcover the old boundaries which ſeparated what belonged to the Public, from the parcels let or ſold to private men. Yet the Tribunes were for making the enquiry, reſuming what lands the occupiers could not prove a good title to, and making an equal diſtribution of them between the Nobles and Commons. This project threw the chief families of the Republic into great conſternation; and the Senators met ſeveral times to concert meaſures for defeating it. *Appius Claudius*, the youngeſt of them, is ſaid to have ſpoken to this effect, That it had been a conſtant tradition in his family, that a relief againſt the tyranny of the Tribunes was to be found no where but in their own College. That the beſt way to fruſtrate the deſigns of *Mœcilius* and *Metilius*, was to engage ſome one of their Collegues to oppoſe them: That it would be no difficult matter for the Nobles by condeſcenſions and careſſes to gain over thoſe who were but newly come into Office, made no figure, and were perhaps jealous of the authority aſſumed by the two leading Tribunes. And he exhorted the *Fathers* to try the experiment.

This advice was unanimouſly approved, and *Appius* was highly praiſed for having thus ſhewn that he did not degenerate from the virtue of his anceſtors. The chief men of the Senate immediately applied themſelves to gain ſome of the Tribunes; and by intreaties and remonſtrances, they ſucceeded ſo well, that of the ten they won over ſix to oppoſe the promulgation of the law. *Mœcilius* and his Collegue reproached them as traytors, enemies to the People, and ſlaves to the Senate: But it was all in vain, they were forced to deſiſt from their enterprize.

Y. of *R.* 338. Bef. *J. C.* 414. 14 Mil. Trib.

The Senate, by means of a good intelligence with the majority of the Tribunes, remained the directors of affairs the following year alſo. *L. Sextius*, one of the College, to make his court to the People, having propoſed to ſend a colony to *Bola*, a little town which they had lately taken from the *Æqui*, the other Tribunes oppoſed it, and declared that during their Tribuneſhip, they would never ſuffer any new law to be offered, that was not firſt approved of by the Senate. But this influence of the *Conſcript Fathers* in the Tribunitian College did not laſt long: The affair of the *Agrarian Law* was revived the next year.

Y. of *R.* 339. Bef. *J. C.* 413. 15 Mil. Trib.

§. III. THE *Æqui* having retaken *Bola*, *P. Poſthumius Regillenſis*, one of the Military Tribunes, a good ſoldier, but an imperious, obſtinate, wrong-headed man, was ſent with an army to recover it. After ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy in the field, he inveſted that place. Before he

CORNELIUS COSSUS, QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, VALERIUS VOLUSUS, RABIUS VIBULANUS.	Y. of *R.* 338.	Q. FABIUS, CN. CORNELIUS, P. POSTHUMIUS, L. VALERIUS.	Y. of *R.* 339.

led

led his troops to the aſſault, he promiſed them for their encouragement, that if they took the town, they ſhould have the plunder. The place was won, but the General who naturally hated the *Plebeians*, of whom the greateſt part of his army conſiſted, broke his word, and ſold all for the Public treaſury. Y. of *R.* 339. Bef. *J. C.* 413. 15 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 4.

Sextius, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, ſoon after brought on anew the affair of the *conquered lands*. *Poſthumius* was hereupon ſent for to *Rome* to aſſiſt his Collegues in oppoſing the Tribunes enterprize. When he was come, he in full Aſſembly of the People dropt an expreſſion, that ſhewed him to have neither wit, diſcretion, nor honour. *Sextius* having propoſed to the Aſſembly to paſs a decree for dividing the city and territory of *Bola* among the ſoldiers who had made the conqueſt, affirming that they had the beſt right to the benefit of it, *Poſthumius* haſtily cried out, *Wo be to my men, if any ſuch thing be done.* So proud and unjuſt a ſaying, offended the Senators no leſs than the multitude: *Sextius*, bold and eloquent, took advantage of the general diſcontent, and directing his ſpeech to the People: "Do you hear, *ſaid he*, how *Poſthumius* threatens his ſoldiers as if they "were ſo many ſlaves? And yet this brute of a man you think more wor- "thy of the *Military Tribuneſhip*, than any of us whoſe whole ſtudy is to "procure you lands, and houſes, and a comfortable retreat in your old "age, and to defend you upon all occaſions againſt ſuch proud and cruel "adverſaries. Can you then have any reaſon to wonder, that of late ſo "few of your Tribunes ſhew much zeal for your intereſts? What have we "to expect from you? Honours? You beſtow them upon your enemies. "*Poſthumius*'s words have indeed ſhock'd you, filled you with horror. "But what then? If you were juſt now to go to an election, you would "prefer this cruel threatener to your beſt friends, to thoſe who have no- "thing at heart but your welfare."

This Diſcourſe did not fail to inflame the People; but when the threats of *Poſthumius* were reported in the camp, they occaſioned ſuch a commotion and murmuring in the army, as came little ſhort of downright ſedition. *P. Seſtius*, one of the Quæſtors, having in the abſence of his General ordered a Lictor to ſeize a ſoldier who was more mutinous than the reſt, his fellow-ſoldiers not only reſcued him, but one of them gave the Quæſtor a ſevere blow with a ſtone. *Poſthumius*, informed of this tumult, haſtened to the camp, but he exaſperated the troops more than ever by the ſtrictneſs of his enquiries, and the cruelty of his puniſhments. He commanded the moſt guilty of the mutineers to be put to death *under the hurdle*, a kind of execution which has been before mentioned. The manner of it was this. The criminal was laid at his length in a ſhallow water, under an hurdle, upon which they heaped ſtones, and ſo preſſed him down 'till he was drowned. But it was in vain that the General now paſſed this ſentence againſt the ſeditious: The reſt of the ſoldiers tore them out of the hands of the executioners, and ſet them at liberty. *Poſthumius*, tranſported with rage, came down from his Tribunal, and, preceded by his Lictors, broke through the preſs, in order to lay hold on the criminals; but he found no *Zonaras*, B. 7. *Livy*, B. 4. *Flor.* B. 1.

Y. of *R.* 339. Bef. *J. C.* 413. 15 Mil. Trib. reſpect remaining among the ſoldiers, either for his orders or his perſon; they oppoſed force with force, and being urged to fury, ſtoned him to death. This was the firſt inſtance of a *Roman* General ſlain by his troops, from the foundation of *Rome*.

When the news of the tragical end of *Poſthumius* came to *Rome*, his Collegues, who reſided in the city, zealous to revenge his death upon the rebellious ſoldiers, decreed, with the Senate's approbation, that informations ſhould be taken concerning it: But the Tribunes of the People interpoſed. This conteſt depended upon another. The Conſcript Fathers thought it of the utmoſt importance to avoid an election of Military Tribunes for the next year, leſt the Commons, to ſkreen the guilty ſoldiers, ſhould chuſe Governors out of the *Plebeians*. They would therefore have made a Decree, that Conſuls ſhould be choſen in the next Comitia. The paſſing of this Decree was oppoſed by the Tribunes of the People, and the contention laſted ſo long, that the Republick fell into an *Inter-regnum*. In the end, the Senate carried their point. *Fabius Vibulanus*, being *Inter-rex*, aſſembled the Comitia by Centuries, and they choſe *M. Cornelius Coſſus* and *L. Furius Medullinus* Conſuls. Theſe were both good natured men; and therefore, as it was thought proper not to be too rigorous in puniſhing the ſoldiers who had murdered their General, they were unanimouſly appointed by the Senate and People to enquire into the crime. It was neceſſary to make examples; but this was done with moderation; and thoſe few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the Lictors. The Conſuls thought it more adviſeable to ſuppoſe the army in general to be innocent, than to drive them into an open revolt by too ſtrict an examination.

Y. of *R.* 340. Bef. *J. C.* 412. 82 Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 4. It had been happy if the Senate and Conſuls had, to ſo prudent a management, added the partition of the Territory of *Bola* among the People: They had indeed no plauſible pretence not to do it, there being as yet no private occupiers of it to be diſturbed in their poſſeſſions. And this would have been the moſt effectual way to ſilence the factious complaints of the Tribunes, and abate the ardour of the People for the diviſion of the public lands before conquered. But the Commons now ſaw with indignation, that the ſecret deſign of the Senate and Nobility was to keep them always in poverty, as well for their own intereſt, as to make them more ſubmiſſive and dependent. Before it be long we ſhall ſee them proſecute their pretenſions with more fury than ever.

In the mean time the Conſul *Furius* marched againſt the *Volſci*, who had pillaged the territory of the *Hernici*. At his approach the enemy diſappeared; and he took from them *Ferentinum*, which he gave to the *Hernici*, with the lands about it, to compenſate their loſſes.

§. IV. THE Tribunes made no oppoſition to the election of Conſuls for the next year; and *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius* were choſen. But *L. Icilius*, a Tribune, began to reſume the affair of the conquered lands with immoderate heat. A plague that raged in the city put a ſtop to his career. This calamity was of courſe followed by a ſcarcity of proviſions: For the citizens being alſo the huſbandmen, the lands were left untill'd while the diſtemper prevailed;

Y. of *R.* 341. Bef. *J. C.* 411. 83 Conſulſhip.

vailed; and the loſs of one harveſt was ſufficient to reduce *Rome* to extreme want.

The famine was ſeverely felt in the ſucceeding Conſulſhip of *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautius*; however, care was taken to get corn from *Hetruria* and *Sicily*; and *Rome* by extraordinary good fortune continued this year without commotions at home or abroad. Y. of *R.* 342. Bef. *J. C.* 410. 84 Conſulſhip.

The plague and famine no ſooner ceaſed, but the *Æqui* renewed their incurſions upon the territories of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, faithful allies of *Rome*. *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius* were now Conſuls. It fell to the latter to conduct the war; but when he would have levied troops, the Tribune *Mænius* oppoſed it upon the old pretence of the *Agrarian Law*. In the mean time the *Æqui* inſulted the *Romans*, and took from them the fort of * *Carventum*. This diſgrace not only increaſed the hatred of the Nobles to *Mænius*, but induced the other nine Tribunes to aſſiſt the Conſul in making the levies and puniſhing thoſe perſons who refuſed to ſerve. Y. of *R.* 343. Bef. *J. C.* 409. 85 Conſulſhip. * In *Latium*.

The *Romans* recovered the fort, and found in it a conſiderable booty which the enemy had laid up there; but *Valerius* being diſſatisfy'd with his men on account of their backwardneſs to inliſt themſelves for the war, he ſold all, and put the money into the Quæſtor's hands.

It was the cuſtom in the triumphal proceſſion for the ſoldiers to chant ſatyrical verſes on the victor who enjoy'd that honour. In *Valerius*'s *Ovation* they did ſomething particular, and by way of revenge they divided themſelves into two choirs, and while one made the air reſound with ſongs againſt their General, the other ſang verſes in praiſe of *Mænius*; and every time his name was repeated the people in the ſtreets clapped their hands and made acclamations that even drowned the noiſy muſick of the ſoldiers.

This behaviour of the citizens alarmed the Senate, and obliged them to beſtir themſelves, to hinder an election of Military Tribunes for the next year, leſt *Mænius* ſhould be choſen for one. The *Fathers* prevailed; Conſuls were elected; and the choice fell upon *Cn. Cornelius* and * *L. Furius*. Y. of *R.* 344. Bef. *J. C.* 408. 86 Conſulſhip. * A 2d time.

Under their adminiſtration three Tribunes, of the name of *Icilius*, all three kinſmen, and of a family in which to hate the *Patricians* was hereditary, undertook to deprive them of the Quæſtorſhip, which hitherto had never been out of their order, though *Plebeians* were qualified to ſtand for it. The *Icilii* talked much of glorious projects they had formed in favour of the Commons; but at the ſame time declared that they would not ſtir one ſtep towards the execution of them, unleſs the People would aſſume ſo much courage at leaſt as to raiſe ſome of their own body to the Quæſtorſhip. The multitude, poſſeſſed with hopes of the mighty advantages they were to reap from the zeal of their preſent Tribunes, gave their votes in the election of Quæſtors to *Q. Silius*, *P. Ælius*, and *P. Pupius*, all three *Plebeians*; and of the *Patricians* who put up for that dignity none but *Cæſo Fabius Ambuſtus* could obtain it. *Livy*, B. 4.

The Tribunes of the People, elated with this victory over the Nobility, flattered themſelves, that the Quæſtorſhip would now open them a way to the

Y. of *R.* 344. Bef. *J.C.* 408. 86 Conſulſhip. the Military Tribuneſhip, the Conſulate, and the Triumph. They would not hear therefore of an election of Conſuls for the next year; they oppoſed the publication of a Decree of the Senate for that purpoſe; they cried out, that it was high time for the *Plebeians* to have their ſhare in the Government. The diſputes on this head grew warm, when, luckily for the *Icilii*, news came that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were again in motion. The Tribunes oppoſed the levies, which, in purſuance of a *Senatus-conſultum*, the Conſuls would have made. Two of the *Icilii* conſtantly attended upon the new Magiſtrates, each watching his man, to hinder him from raiſing troops, or holding the Comitia for chuſing new Conſuls. The buſineſs of the third *Icilius* was to manage the People, and let them looſe, or reſtrain them, as he judged proper. Things were at this paſs, when further news was brought that the *Æqui* had retaken the fortreſs of *Carventum*. This gave the Tribunes a farther advantage, the want of an army being now more preſſing. In ſhort, the Senate were forced to yield that Military Tribunes ſhould be elected; but to diſappoint the *Icilii*, they annexed this proviſo to their decree, *That none of the preſent* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE *ſhould be choſen to the* MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP, *or continued in their Office the next year.*

The levies now went on without oppoſition. The Conſuls marched to recover *Carventum*, but they loſt a great deal of time before it, and were forced to raiſe the ſiege at laſt. They took however *Verrugo* from the *Volſci*.

The *Icilii* when they ſaw themſelves excluded from the ſupreme Magiſtracy, were probably indifferent whether any other *Plebeian* obtained it or not. Nay, perhaps they would have been mortified to ſee that great dignity in any other *Plebeian* family, before their own had been honoured with it. Be that as it will, no conſiderable *Plebeian* appeared as a candidate. The Senate had the art to engage ſome *Plebeians* of no credit or worth to ſtand in competition with *Patricians* of the firſt rank and diſtinction. The People, diſguſted with the meanneſs of the pretenders of

Y. of *R.* 345. Bef. *J.C.* 407. 16 Mil. Trib. their own order, gave all their voices to the Nobles, and *C. Julius Iulus*, *Corn. Coſſus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala* were declared Military Tribunes; but they did not long enjoy that ſovereign dignity. The *Volſci* having ſet on foot a very formidable army, the Senate, according to cuſtom, reſolved to ſend a Dictator againſt them. As the abſolute authority of that Magiſtrate in a manner ſwallowed up the power of all the inferiour Officers, *Julius* and *Cornelius* oppoſed his nomination, alledging that they did not want courage and experience to command an army, and that it was unjuſt to deprive them of a dignity which they had ſo lately obtained by all the votes of their fellow-citizens.

The Senate, exaſperated at their refuſal to name a Dictator, had recourſe to the *Tribunes of the People*, as they had done before upon the like occaſion. But the Tribunes of this year obſerved a different conduct from their predeceſſors. Overjoy'd to ſee this diſſention between the Military Tribunes and the Senate, they anſwered, with a ſcornful raillery, "That for their "parts they could give no help in the affair; that they were only *Plebei-*

" *ans*, not citizens, nor even to be reckoned in the number of men ; that Y. of *R.* 345.
" if ever the honours and dignities of the Republic were made com- Bef. *J.C.*407.
" mon to them with the *Patricians*, they ſhould then take care that no 16 Mil. Trib.
" proud Magiſtrate diſobeyed the decrees of the Senate ; but that in the
" mean time the *Patricians* themſelves, as they had thrown off all reſpect
" for Laws and Magiſtrates, might alſo, if they pleaſed, aſſume the power
" and functions of the *Tribunes*, and do their own buſineſs as they could."

The conteſts drawing to no end, and the enemy ſtill advancing towards the frontier, *Servilius Ahala*, the third Military Tribune, declared publickly, that the good of his country was more dear to him than the friendſhip of his Collegues ; and that if they would not chuſe a Dictator, he would take upon him to name one himſelf : And accordingly, being ſupported by the whole Senate, he named to that higheſt Magiſtracy *P. Cornelius Rutilus*, who afterwards appointed *Servilius* to be General of the Horſe. *Livy*, B. 4.

The war was of no long continuance ; the *Volſci* were defeated near the city of *Antium*, their territory plundered, and a great number of priſoners taken. After this expedition the Dictator laid down his authority, and the Military Tribunes reſumed theirs. *Julius* and *Cornelius Coſſus*, diſcontented with the Senate for having hindered them of the glory they hoped to have acquired in this war, inſtead of propoſing an election of Conſuls for the enſuing year, appointed an Aſſembly for chuſing Military Tribunes. The *Conſcript Fathers*, alarmed to ſee their intereſt thus betrayed, by men of their own order, and fearing leſt the People ſhould at length give the government of the State either to their Tribunes, or to ſome other of the principal *Plebeians*, obliged the moſt illuſtrious members of their own body, and ſuch as were moſt agreeable to the People for their moderation and valour, to ſtand candidates : And, notwithſtanding all the brigues of the Tribunes of the Commons, *C. Valerius*, **C. Servilius*, *L. Furius*, Y. of *R.* 346.
and † *Fabius Vibulanus*, all eminent *Patricians*, were choſen to the Mili- Bef. *J.C.*406.
tary Tribuneſhip. 17 Mil. Trib.
* A 2d time.
† A 3d time.

The truce with the *Veientes* being at this time expired, the *Romans* ſent Heralds to them to renew their demand of ſatisfaction of damages formerly ſuſtained. Theſe Heralds meeting on the road ſome Envoys going from *Veii* to *Rome*, conſented, at their requeſt, to proceed no farther, till the latter had been heard by the Senate. The *Veientan* Miniſters obtained of the *Conſcript Fathers* to deſiſt from their demands, till ſome civil broils which were then at *Veii* ſhould be quieted ; a conduct which *Livy* remarks as an inſtance of great generoſity in the *Roman* Senate, who, had they conſulted nothing but their own intereſt, could not have had a more favourable occaſion of falling upon a rival State.

The ſame year the *Volſci* retook *Verrugo* from the *Romans*, and put the garriſon to the ſword, the Senate being dilatory in ſending ſuccours to it. However the Military Tribunes revenged this loſs ; they ſurprized the *Volſcian* troops when ſcattered about the country to plunder, and cut them to pieces.

The

Y. of *R.* 347. Bef *J.C.* 405. 18 Mil. Trib. * A 2d time.

The Senate kept their aſcendant in the election of Magiſtrates for the next year, and procured the Military Tribuneſhip for *C. Cornelius*, * *L. Valerius*, *Cn. Cornelius* and *Fabius Ambuſtus*, all *Patricians*, and of the beſt families in the Commonwealth.

During their adminiſtration, the *Veientes* having inſulted the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, and driven them from *Veii* with contempt, the Senate ordered a declaration of war againſt them to be immediately propoſed to the People. The younger ſort among the *Roman* ſoldiers, upon the firſt rumour of this deſign, began to murmur at it. *We have loſt*, ſaid they, *a great many men of late; not a year paſſes without ſome battle; the war with the* Volſci *is not yet ended; and ſhall we be ſo mad as to enter upon a new war againſt powerful neighbours that may engage all* Hetruria *in their cauſe?*

The Tribunes did not fail to encourage them in this oppoſition to the Government. "In truth, *ſaid they*, the chief war you have to ſuſtain is "that which the Senate has ſo long carried on againſt the *Roman* People. "They ſend you into the field only to be ſlaughtered, or elſe to keep you "at a diſtance from *Rome*, for fear you ſhould renew your juſt pretenſi- "ons to the public lands, or by your free ſuffrages raiſe ſome of your "own body to the chief dignities of the State."

Whenever the Tribunes met with any of the veteran ſoldiers, they took them by the hand, entered into familiar diſcourſe with them, enquired how many years they had ſerved, and, making them ſhew their ſcars, pleaſantly aſked them, whether they had room for any more wounds, or could ſpare any more blood for the ſervice of the Commonwealth. By theſe and other arts of management, in which the Tribunes were indefatigable, they made the Commons utterly averſe from a war with the *Veientes*. However it was agreed, that three of the Military Tribunes ſhould lead an army againſt the *Volſci*. At the approach of it the enemy diſappeared; and left their country open to be pillaged. The *Roman* Generals hereupon divided their forces into three bodies, and made incurſions into it on different ſides. *Fabius* laid ſiege to *Anxur* (afterwards called *Terracina*) a wealthy city, and having taken it by aſſault, divided the ſpoil equally among the ſoldiers of all the three armies, telling his own men, that the troops of his Collegues, by hindering ſuccours from coming to the relief of the place, had contributed to the taking of it as much as if they had been preſent in the action. This generoſity (not uſual of late) to the ſoldiers paved the way for a reconciliation between the People and Nobles. And this was entirely accompliſhed by a Decree of Senate, ſoon after paſſed, *That for the future the* Roman *infantry ſhould be maintained in the field at the public expence.* Hitherto all the citizens had uſed to go to war at their own coſt and charges; and oftentimes when the campaign was too long, the lands, eſpecially thoſe of the poorer *Plebeians*, lay fallow. This occaſioned borrowing, exorbitant uſury, complaints and ſeditions. The Senate, to prevent theſe diſorders, decreed of themſelves, and without being importuned by the People or their Tribunes, that for the future the ſoldiers ſhould have PAY out of the public

publick money; and that, to furniſh this expence, a new tax ſhould be raiſed, from which no Citizen whatſoever ſhould be exempt. V. of *R.* 347. Bef. *J. C.* 405. 18 Mil. Trib.

Upon the firſt news of this *Senatus-conſultum*, the People were tranſported with joy; they ran in crowds from all parts to the Senate-houſe, took the Senators by the hand as they came out, and told them that now indeed it appeared that they were juſtly called *Fathers*; and they proteſted they were ready to ſpill the very laſt drop of their blood for their country, which they now looked upon as a mother tender and generous to all her children.

In this univerſal gladneſs, the Tribunes of the People were remarkable for their gloomy and envious countenances. Union always hindered them from making a figure in the State. They gave out that the Senate beſtowed largeſſes at a very cheap rate; that the People muſt be very blind if they did not perceive that this their pay would come out of their own pockets; nay, that it was not juſt to make thoſe Citizens who had always ſerved at their own charge, and had compleated the time of their ſervice, contribute to the ſupport of the new ſoldiers who ſucceeded them in the armies; and they proclaimed that they would protect all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay the tax. Theſe declarations made ſome impreſſion upon the People, but the Senators nevertheleſs went on with their undertaking, and began the contribution themſelves, paying their own contingents fairly, according to the real value of their eſtates; and their example was followed by the chief men among the *Plebeians*.

As, in thoſe days, there was no ſilver money, carts loaded with weighty pieces of braſs were every day ſeen going to the Treaſury with the contributions of the rich: The poorer ſort, pleaſed with this ſight, and animated by the commendations given by the Nobles and the ſoldiers to thoſe of the Commons who ſubmitted to the impoſt, liſtened no longer to the declamations of their Tribunes, but ran every one eagerly to pay the Tribute according to his proportion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

§. I. *The* Romans *inveſt* Veii. *In the two firſt years of the ſiege (which laſted ten) there is little action. The third year,* (350 *of* Rome) *the Tribunes of the Commons make a ſtir about the hardſhip the ſoldiers ſuffer by being detained in the camp all the winter.* Appius Claudius, *one of the Military Tribunes, aſſembles the People and inveighs againſt the Tribunes for their ſeditious behaviour. His harangue has little effect; but a loſs which the beſiegers ſuſtain before the place, animates the* Plebeians *with a zeal to puſh on the ſiege with vigour. The Senate for the firſt time allow* PAY *to* THE HORSE. §. II. *The year following,* Sergius *and* Virginius (*two of the* Military Tribunes) *having the conduct of the ſiege, quarrel and divide the troops between them. The* Faliſci *and* Capenates (*People of* Hetruria,) *come to the aſſiſtance of the* Veientes, *and fall upon one ſide of* Sergius's *camp, while the beſieged ſally out and attack the other.* Virginius

ginius *refuſes to aſſiſt his Collegue; the troops of the latter are routed. Hereupon the two Generals are both recalled. All the Military Tribunes of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are choſen. The Tribunes of the Commons raiſe ſuch diſturbances at* Rome *about the levies, that in the election of thoſe Magiſtrates the People cannot agree in the choice of more than eight. The majority of theſe eight name two more, in defiance of the* Trebonian Law. C. Trebonius, *one of the preſent Tribunes, draws the hatred of the People upon three of his Collegues on this account, but they artfully divert it from themſelves by turning it againſt* Sergius *and* Virginius *(the Generals of the laſt war) who are both fined for miſconduct.* §. III. *The Tribunes renew the domeſtic broils: But all is quieted by the chuſing of ſome* Plebeians *into the Military Tribuneſhip. At the next elections the Comitia chuſe five* Plebeians *to that dignity, and only one* Patrician. *The arms of the Republic proſper, but there happens a great mortality among men and cattle. To avert this evil the ceremony of the* Lectiſternium *is obſerved.* §. IV. *The Senate take advantage of the People's fears and ſuperſtition, to get the Military Tribuneſhip for* Patricians *only; pretending that the Gods were angry at the choice, which had been made of* Plebeians *to that Magiſtracy. The lake of* Alba *overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, and an old* Veientan *ſoldier having delivered a propheſy, that* Veii *ſhould not be taken before the water of that lake was all run out, Deputies are ſent from* Rome *to conſult the Oracle of* Delphos. *Theſe return the next year with an anſwer agreeable to the old man's prophecy. Canals are made to drain the lake. Some defect being diſcovered in the inauguration of the preſent Military Tribunes, they all abdicate, and ſix new ones are choſen all* Plebeians. *Their adminiſtration not being proſperous,* Camillus *is named Dictator.* §. V. *He takes* Veii *by ſap.*

§. I. THE Senate's view in allotting funds for the payment of the troops, was not only to eaſe the People, but alſo to enable themſelves to carry on the war farther, and maintain it longer. Before this regulation they did not ſo properly make war as incurſions, which were generally terminated by one battle. Theſe expeditions rarely laſted above twenty or thirty days, the ſoldiers, for want of pay, not being able to keep the field for a longer time together. But now when the Senate found themſelves in a condition to maintain an army abroad as long as they pleaſed, they began to form great deſigns; and, all oppoſition to a war with the *Veientes* being over, they reſolved to beſiege *Veii* itſelf, one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Italy*, the bulwark of *Hetruria*, and which yielded to *Rome* neither in the valour nor in the wealth of its inhabitants.

Y. of *R.* 348. Bef. *J. C.* 404. 19 Mil. Trib.

The ſiege was begun in the year 348 of *Rome*, when the *Romans*, for the firſt time, choſe ſix [a] Military Tribunes. The State of *Hetruria* held a

[a] C. JULIUS IULUS, a ſecond time,
M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS,
T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS,
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a ſecond time,
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS,
A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.

general council, to debate whether they ſhould unite their forces in the defence of the *Veientes* or not; but came to no agreement upon this head.

The next year, when *Rome* was again governed by ſix [b] Military Tribunes, the ſiege was carried on with leſs vigour than in the beginning, part of the *Roman* forces being called away to a war with the *Volſci*. Y. of *R.* 349. Bef. *J. C.* 403. 20 Mil. Trib.

Livy tells us, that the year following the Republic choſe eight Military Tribunes, among whom he reckons *M. Furius Camillus* and *M. Poſthumius Albinus*; but in this he ſeems to have been miſtaken: For, beſide that the electing of eight was illegal, according to the Capitoline Faſti thoſe two Senators were Cenſors this year, and there were but ſix [c] ſupreme Governors, of whom *Appius Claudius*, grandſon of the Decemvir, was one. Y. of *R.* 350. Bef. *J. C.* 402. 21 Mil. Trib.

Happily for the *Romans*, the *Veientes* at this time choſe themſelves a King; a proceeding which ſo diſpleaſed the other States of *Hetruria*, who not only abhorred all Regal Government, but had a particular diſlike to the perſon of this King, that they came to a reſolution to refuſe their aſſiſtance to the beſieged.

We may judge of the ſtrength of *Veii* by the length of the ſiege, which laſted ten whole years with various ſucceſs; though perhaps this might be chiefly owing to the frequent changing of the Generals who commanded the *Roman* armies. Doubtleſs theſe changes hindered the *Romans* from making a ſwifter progreſs in conqueſt. Had they been conſtantly governed by ſome one of thoſe illuſtrious Dictators who were their laſt refuge in caſes of extreme danger, they had ſoon been Maſters of *Italy*: But ſuch is the uſual conduct of a Republic, jealous of her liberty; ſhe checks the rapidity of her victorious Generals, leſt ſhe herſelf ſhould become a part of their conqueſts. It was at this ſiege that the *Romans* are thought to have firſt invented thoſe lines of circumvallation and contravallation, which have been ſince ſo much in uſe; at leaſt this is the firſt time they are mentioned in *Roman* antiquity. *Livy*, B. 5.

The Military Tribunes conſidering that *Veii* could not be taken but after a long ſiege, and then rather by famine than force, formed a deſign of keeping the army in the field all winter, and they began to erect wooden barracks for the men. The ſoldiers made no oppoſition to it, chuſing rather to live in the camp at the public expence, than in *Rome* at their own: But the Tribunes of the Commons had no ſooner heard of this, than they immediately made it a pretence to raiſe an outcry againſt the Senate. They ſaid in every Aſſembly, that indeed they always feared the gifts of the Senate concealed ſome fatal poiſon; that this new pay was only a bait which the *Patricians* had made uſe of to deceive the People: That it was in truth the price of their liberty: That the Military Tribunes, in detaining *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

[b] P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS,
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a third time,
CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a ſecond time,
C. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time,
K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS,
M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.

[c] M'ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a ſecond time,
M. FURIUS FUSUS,
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS,
L. JULIUS IULUS,
M. QUINCTILIUS VARUS,
L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.

Y. of *R.* 350. Bef. *J. C.* 402. 21 Mil. Trib.

the ſoldiers in the camp during winter, had viſibly no other end, but to deprive the People's party of their votes: That the Senate and *Patricians* would now reign deſpotically in all the Aſſemblies: But that they ought to be made ſenſible, that they governed men who were free; and that it was but fitting the poor Citizen who daily expoſed his life in the defence of his country ſhould at the end of every campaign enjoy a little reſt, and have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his houſe, his wife, and his children, and of giving his voice in the election of the Magiſtrates.

Appius, whom the other *Military Tribunes* had left at *Rome* to oppoſe the Meaſures of the *Tribunes of the People*, being informed of theſe ſeditious ſpeeches, called an Aſſembly, and in a long harangue reproached the Tribunes, That they ſtudied nothing but to hinder all union between the two Orders in the State: That they ſought employment like knaviſh phyſicians: That their deſire was to have the State always diſeaſed, that they might ever be buſy in the cure: That they ſeemed determined to like nothing which the Senate did, let it be ever ſo advantageous to the People: That as Maſters did not ſuffer their ſlaves to have any intercourſe with the neighbours, leſt they ſhould be either well or ill uſed by them, ſo the Tribunes for the ſame reaſon could not endure that the Commons ſhould have any intercourſe with the Nobles, and were enraged to ſee that the Senate had ſhewn ſo much tenderneſs for the ſoldiers as to allot them pay.

He added, "Either we ſhould not have undertaken this ſiege, or we "ſhould continue it. Shall we abandon our camp, the forts we have "erected, our towers, our mantelets and our gabions; and ſo have all "the ſame works to begin again the next ſummer? And who will promiſe "your Tribunes, who give you ſuch wholeſome advice, that all *Hetruria* "will not be at length prevailed upon by the *Veientes* to arm and come "to their aſſiſtance, if we raiſe the blockade, and give them opportunity "to renew their ſollicitations. They may perhaps diſplace that Governour "who is ſo diſagreeable to the *Hetrurian* States, or he may perhaps for the "ſake of his country reſign his authority. The ſcene would be much "changed if thoſe States ſhould all unite againſt us. Who can aſſure "you, that the *Veientes* thus ſtrengthened, will not next year invade and "pillage our territory? And what a contempt will it bring upon the Re"public, if the nations bordering upon *Rome*, and now jealous of her "greatneſs, ſhall find that your Generals, fettered by new laws of your "Tribunes, are unable to finiſh a ſiege, or keep the field a moment after the "fine weather is over? Whereas, on the other hand, nothing will make "the *Roman* People more formidable, than their ſhewing that no ſeverity "of the ſeaſons is able to put a ſtop to their enterprizes; and that they "are firmly reſolved to conquer, or die at the foot of the enemies ram"parts?

The People, prejudiced by their Tribunes, gave no great heed to *Appius*'s remonſtrance; but a loſs which the *Romans* ſuffered at the ſiege, brought about what his prudent diſcourſe could not effect. The *Veientes*, in a ſally, ſurprized the beſiegers, ſlew a great number of them, ſet fire to

to their machines, and ruined moſt of their works. This news, inſtead of depreſſing the ſpirits of the *Romans*, inſpired them with new ardor for the continuation of the ſiege. The richer citizens, whoſe wealth qualified them to be in the firſt claſs among the *Roman* Knights, but who had not yet received horſes from the Republic, which was the neceſſary ceremony to make a man a knight, offered to mount themſelves at their own expence. The People after their example cried out, they were ready to march to ſupply the places of the ſoldiers that were loſt, and they promiſed never to leave the camp till the city was taken. The Senate gave great praiſes to all. It was reſolved to allow pay to as many voluntiers as would go to the ſiege; and now alſo, for the firſt time, it was ſettled, that the cavalry in general ſhould receive pay out of the public treaſury. Y. of *R.* 350. Bef. *J.C.* 402. 21 Mil. Trib.

The zeal of the People for carrying on the ſiege ſtopped the mouths of the Tribunes for a while. But a ſecond defeat before *Veii* furniſhed them with a fair occaſion of renewing their invectives againſt the Senate.

The *Capenates* and *Faliſci*, nations of *Hetruria*, neareſt to the *Veientes*, and conſequently moſt concerned in their preſervation, armed privately, and joining their troops ſurprized and attacked the *Romans*. *L. Virginius*, and *M.* * *Sergius* [a], both Military Tribunes, commanded at this ſiege. The jealouſy, ſo common between perſons in equal authority, had ſet them at variance: Each had a body of troops under his command, and had as it were a ſeparate camp. The *Capenates* and *Faliſci* attacked that of *Sergius* on one ſide, at the ſame time that the beſieged made a ſally and attacked the other. The *Roman* ſoldiers thinking they had all the forces of *Hetruria* to deal with, were diſmay'd, fought faintly, and rather to defend their own lives, than with hopes to vanquiſh the enemy. It was not long before they gave ground, fell into diſorder, and ran away. *Virginius* could have ſaved his Collegues troops; his own were ranged in order of battle: But the animoſity between the two Generals was ſo great, that *Sergius* choſe rather to periſh, than to aſk the aſſiſtance of *Virginius*; and *Virginius*, on the other hand, would not give him any ſuccour unleſs he would ſend and beg it. The enemy profited by this diviſion: *Sergius*'s army fled in diſorder to *Rome*, which was but ſix leagues diſtant from the camp, and the General went thither himſelf, not ſo much to juſtify his own conduct, as to ſet forth the blackneſs of that of his Collegue. Y. of *R.* 351. Bef. *J.C.* 401. 22 Mil. Trib. * A ſecond time.

The Senate hereupon ſent orders to *Virginius* to leave his army under the command of his Lieutenants, and repair immediately to *Rome*, to anſwer to the complaints which *Sergius* preferred againſt him. The diſpute was managed with great acrimony, and the two Military Tribunes ran into invectives againſt each other before the Senate. Each had his friends there who took his part. The Conſcript Fathers, to quiet the matter, thought it adviſable to make a decree, that all the Military Tribunes of that year ſhould lay down their dignity, and the People imme-

[a] The other four were,

C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a third time, | Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS,
Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS, | A. MANLIUS VULSO, a ſecond time.

diately

Y. of *R.* 351. Bef. *J.C.* 401. 22 Mil. Trib.

diately proceed to a new election of Magistrates, who should enter on their office on the *Calends of October*. The four who had been in no fault acquiesced; but the two, on whose account this decree was proposed, begged of the Senate that they might not be so disgraced; and when they found that their intreaties were not regarded, they protested against the *Senatus-consultum*, declaring that they would not resign their authority before the *Ides of December*, the due time for its expiration.

The Tribunes of the People, who much against their will had been for some time quiet, laid hold of this occasion to break out and make a figure. They threatned the two Generals to send them to prison, if they did not obey the Senate's orders. *Servilius Ahala*, one of the Military Tribunes, full of Indignation at the haughty manner in which these *Plebeian* Magistrates treated his Collegues: "As for your threats, *said he*, "I should not be displeased with an opportunity of shewing, that you "have as little courage to execute them as you have right to utter them. "But the decrees of the Senate ought to be obeyed; and if my Collegues "are refractory to its commands, I shall name a Dictator, who will be "able, without your interposition, to force them to quit their office."

Virginius and *Sergius*, finding it fruitless to resist any longer, abdicated their Magistracy, and the People proceeded to a new election.

Y. of *R.* 352. Bef. *J.C.* 400. 23 Mil. Trib.

* A fourth time. † A third time. § A second time. ‖ A second time.

L. * *Valerius*, *L. Julius*, *M.* † *Æmilius*, *Cn.* § *Cornelius*, *Cæso* ‖ *Fabius*, and *Furius Camillus* were chosen Military Tribunes. And these new Governours had work enough upon their hands. They were to begin anew the siege of *Veii*, to keep the *Falisci* and *Capenates* in awe, and to recover *Anxur*, which the *Volsci* had taken the last year. Besides, the Tribunes of the Commons kindled fresh broils, when the armies came to be raised. They

Livy, B. 5.

dissuaded the old soldiers, who were to stay in the city to guard it, from paying taxes, pretending they were exempted from that burden by being inlisted. And the disturbances occasioned by their seditious harangues, the levies, and collecting the tribute, were so great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new *Tribunes of the People*. Two were still wanting. The *Patricians* at first endeavoured to get them supplied out of their body, but in vain. They then caball'd to strike at the *Trebonian Law*; and in the end prevailed to get two persons added to the eight, by the appointment of the majority of those eight. This was in effect to abrogate the *Trebonian Law*; and it was sufficiently revenged by one *C. Trebonius*, now Tribune of the Commons. He told the People that their interests were betray'd; and he brought an odium upon those of his Collegues, who had ventured, of their own authority, to appoint two Tribunes. The people were especially exasperated against three of the eight, *P. Curiatius*, *M. Metilius*, and *M. Minutius*: But these diverted the hatred of the public from themselves, by turning it against *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the two Generals of the last year. They persuaded the People to cite them before their Tribunal, and they forgot nothing upon this occasion, that might inflame the minds of the Multitude, not only against the two persons accused, but also against the whole body of the *Patricians*.

They

They repreſented with as much art as malice, that the ſole aim of that Order was to diminiſh the number of the People, to weaken its power, to hinder its Aſſemblies, or at leaſt to defer the convening of them. That the late misfortune ought not to be looked upon as one of thoſe common miſchances which may happen to the very greateſt Captains, but that it was contrived in conſequence of this ſecret deſign laid to deſtroy the People: That the Generals, after ſeveral campaigns ſpent in the ſiege or blockade of *Veii*, had ſuffered their gabions to be burnt, their forts to be taken, and all their works to be ruined, only to prolong the war: That, after this, *Sergius*'s camp was ſold to the enemy: That this General, rather than deſire aid of his Collegue, had choſe to let his ſoldiers be cut to pieces; and that *Virginius* beheld this rout of the legions as a victory, which, without his drawing his ſword, delivered him and his party from ſo many enemies as there were *Plebeians* in thoſe troops: That, after ſo infamous an action, the Senate yet fancied they could impoſe upon the People, by obliging the two Generals to quit the command of their armies: But that the People ought to ſhew by a ſevere puniſhment of the criminals, that they were not to be deceived by ſo groſs an artifice: And that, to prevent the ill deſigns of the Nobility for the future, they ſhould fill the Military Tribunate with worthy *Plebeians*, who would be watchful for the defence of their country, and eſpecially for the preſervation of the *Commons*. Y. of *R.* 352. Bef. *J. C.* 400. 23 Mil. Trib.

Sergius in vain alledged in his excuſe, the ordinary chance of war, the terror that was ſpread through his army, and the treachery of his Collegue, who in a manner had given him up to the enemy: He was condemned to pay a great fine, as was alſo *Virginius*, though he pleaded that it was unjuſt to puniſh him for the faults of another. *Livy*, B. 5. c. 12.

This proſecution had the deſigned effect, the People were ſo intent upon it, that they forgot the *Trebonian Law*, and their quarrel with the three Tribunes.

Rome at this time received good news from all parts, where the war was carrying on: But this did not put a ſtop to domeſtic ſeditions. The *Tribunes of the People* preferred two laws, the firſt requiring a partition of the lands, the ſecond excuſing the People from any more contributions towards the ſoldiers pay: And in fact they would not ſuffer them to pay the taxes; ſo that the legions being deprived of their ſubſiſtence, were ripe for a ſedition.

But all this buſtle ended in getting *Plebeians* into the Military Tribuneſhip. At leaſt one *Plebeian* was choſen to that dignity in the new election. His name was *P. Licinius Calvus*. The other five were *P. Mælius*, *P. Mænius*, *Sp. Furius*, *L. Titinius* and *L. Publilius*. It is to be remarked, that *Licinius*, though a *Plebeian*, was already an old Senator: Ever ſince the year 263, the conſiderable Commoners had begun to be admitted into the Senate. The Tribunes of the People were ſo much rejoiced to ſee a *Plebeian* in the ſupreme magiſtracy, that they ceaſed their oppoſition to the tax; the ſoldiers received their pay again, their courage was revived, they took *Anxur* from the *Volſci*, and carried on the ſiege of *Veii* with perſeverance; though they ſuffered much from the ſevere cold of the winter. *Licinius* *Livy*, B. 5. Y. of *R.* 353. Bef. *J. C.* 399. 24 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 5.

Y. of *R.* 354. Bef. *J.C.* 398. 25 Mil. Trib.

Licinius having filled his place with univerſal approbation, the Centuries now choſe five Military Tribunes out of the *Plebeians*, and only *M. Veturius* out of the *Patricians*. The five were, *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *Volero Publilius*. The three armies of the laſt year joined together, to haſten the reduction of *Veii*. The *Faliſci* and *Capenates* came to its relief, but were entirely defeated by the *Romans*. So complete a victory made the adminiſtration of the *Plebeian* Military Tribunes glorious in the eyes of the People; but it was not perfectly happy. The extreme cold of the weather changed on a ſudden to exceſſive heat; and this occaſioned a mortality both among men and cattle. The *Sybilline* books being conſulted upon this occaſion, the Duumvirs pretended to find there a ſort of expiation never before uſed in *Rome*. It was called the *Lectiſternium*. The Statues of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune* were taken down from their niches, and laid on three beds placed about a table, on which magnificent repaſts were ſerved up to thoſe Deities for eight days together. Theſe public ceremonies were imitated in private families. Every one kept open houſe for friends, ſtrangers, and even enemies. All proceſſes, diſputes, and animoſities were ſuſpended; nay the priſoners were releaſed from their chains, to partake of the publick rejoicings, and it was a point of Religion not to confine them again after the feſtival was over.

Livy, B. 5.

§. IV. THE *Patricians* taking advantage of this diſpoſition of men's minds, turned theſe misfortunes of the Republic into a religious myſtery. They aſcribed them to the wrath of the Gods, who, they ſaid, were diſpleaſed, becauſe in the laſt elections ſufficient regard had not been ſhewed to the Nobility, who alone had inſpection over the ſacrifices. Theſe reaſons, much more powerful than all the harangues of the Tribunes, prevailed with the Multitude. Every body looked upon the misfortunes of the Republic as the infallible interpreters of the will of the Gods; and for fear of provoking them more, they failed not to reſtore the Military Tribuneſhip to the *Patrician* order.

Y. of *R.* 355. Bef. *J.C.* 397. 26 Mil. Trib. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

* A fifth time. † A third time. § A ſecond time, ‖ A ſecond time. ‖* A ſecond time.

L. * *Valerius*, *L.* † *Furius*, *M. Valerius*, 2. § *Servilius*, 2. ‖ *Sulpitius*, and the famous ‖* *Camillus* were choſen to be the ſix heads of the Republick. This year the *Romans* were aſtoniſhed with a prodigy. It happened to be a dry ſummer, and there was little water in the rivers, fountains, or marſhes: But the lake of *Alba*, which ſeldom roſe ſo high as to the foot of the rocks with which it was quite ſurrounded, ſwelled on a ſudden to ſuch a height as to reach the very tops of thoſe rocks. This ſtrange accident was much diſcourſed of in the camp; and as in long ſieges the ſoldiers of the different parties ſometimes become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their ſeveral poſts. One day when they were ſcoffing at one another in relation to the ſiege, an old ſoldier of the *Veientes* cry'd out in an enthuſiaſtic manner, "*Veii* ſhall never be taken, 'till all the water "is run out of the lake of *Alba*." A *Roman* Centinel, who heard him, and who had great faith in divination, aſked who the old man was; and underſtanding that he was a Diviner, he by a ſtratagem made him his priſoner,

Livy, B. 5. *Val. Max.* B. 1. c. 6.

The Triclinium *of the Ancients.*

and carried him before the *Roman* General, who ſent him to the Senate. The old man declared to the Fathers, that what he had ſaid was agreeable to an ancient tradition, written in ſome prophetic books in his country, and that, if the *Romans* could draw the water out of the lake, *Veii* would be taken: But he adviſed them to have eſpecial care, that the drains which ſhould be made to carry it off, did not convey it to the ſea. Though the Senate were unwilling to truſt to the bare word of the diviner, yet they thought the matter of ſuch importance, as to ſend a deputation of three *Patricians* to *Delphos* to conſult the Oracle upon it.

Before the return of the Deputies, ſix new Military Tribunes were cho- Y. of *R.* 356.
ſen, all *Patricians*. The *Romans*, while the ſiege of *Veii* was carrying on, Bef. *J. C.* 396.
were obliged this year not only to make head againſt the *Volſci*, *Faliſci*, 27 Mil. Trib.
and *Capenates*, but againſt new enemies from *Hetruria*, who had com- *Livy*, B. 5.
mitted hoſtilities in the *Roman* territory. Theſe were the *Tarquinienſes*. *A. Poſthumius* and *L. Julius*, who were left in *Rome*, demanded leave to raiſe troops to diſperſe them; and the Tribunes of the People retarding the levies, they put themſelves at the head of a ſmall number of voluntiers, and fetching a great compaſs about, ſurprized the *Tarquinienſes*, as they were returning home, made a great ſlaughter of them, and recovered the booty they had ſeized.

* *L. Julius Iulus*, 2d time.
L. Furius, 4th time.
L. Sergius.
A. Poſthumius.
A. Manlius, 3d time.
P. Cornelius, 2d time.

In the mean time the three *Patricians* returned from *Delphos*; and to the ſurprize of the Senate and People, the anſwer of the *Pythoneſs* was perfectly agreeable to the prediction and advice of the old diviner, who was thereupon made the miniſter to appoint proper ſacrifices to render the Gods propitious. Then the *Romans* ſent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields, by trenches. This fine work ſubſiſts to this day, and the water of the lake *Albano*, which runs along *Caſtel Gandolpho*, paſſes through it. But the Oracle had likewiſe directed to re-eſtabliſh the neglected ceremonies of religion, and to begin thoſe again which had not been regularly performed. The firſt was interpreted of the neglect of the *Feriæ Latinæ*; and they were therefore renewed. And as to the ſecond it was diſcovered, that the election of the preſent Military Tribunes had been defective, with regard to the Auguries; whereupon they all abdicated, and after a ſhort *inter-regnum* were ſucceeded by ſix new ones, all **Plebeians*. Their adminiſtration was not proſperous. *Atinius* and *Genucius*, two of them, marched with ſome troops to oppoſe an inundation of *Hetrurians*, who, not by order, but by permiſſion of their Governors, were coming to attack the *Roman* intrenchments before *Veii*: The Tribunes fell into an ambuſh; *Genucius* was killed; and *Atinius*, tho' he rallied his men and retreated, durſt not any more face the enemy in the open field. This news ſo terrified the army before *Veii*, that it was with difficulty hindered from

Plut. Life of *Cam.*
Kircher, B. 3. Vet. Lat.
Livy, B. 5.
Y. of *R.* 357.
Bef. *J. C.* 395.
28 Mil. Trib.
P. Licinius.
L. Atinius, 2d time.
P. Mælius, 2d time.
L. Titinius, 2d time.
P. Mænius, 2d time.
C. Genucius, 2d time.

[a] *Livy* tells us, that old *Licinius Calvus*, the firſt Commoner ever raiſed to the Military Tribuneſhip, was now a ſecond time named to that dignity by the majority of the *Prerogative Tribe*, i. e. of the Tribe to whoſe lot it fell to vote firſt; but at his requeſt, pleading age and infirmities, the People choſe his ſon in his ſtead. From this paſſage in *Livy*, it appears that the Comitia by Centuries had already begun to change their form and the order eſtabliſhed by *Servius Tullius*, in voting. See p. 93 and 94.

Y. of *R.* 357. Bef. *J. C.* 395. 28 Mil. Trib.

diſperſing. *Rome*, in a yet greater conſternation, had recourſe, as in the moſt preſſing and general calamities, to a Dictator. *M. Furius Camillus* was raiſed to this ſupreme dignity; which he owed only to the need wherein the Republic thought ſhe ſtood of ſo great a Captain: A time when ſuperior merit, without canvaſing or intriguing, naturally gets into its right place. It had already been obſerved, that in all the employments wherein *Camillus* had Collegues, his great valour and extraordinary capacity had gained him the honour of the whole command, as if he had governed in chief; and it was afterwards remark'd, that, during his Dictatorſhips, he ruled with ſo much gentleneſs and moderation, that the Officers who obeyed his orders, thought they ſhared in his authority. He named for General of the Horſe *P. Cornelius Scipio*; and having firſt puniſhed the deſerters who on the late alarm had fled from the camp, he raiſed a numerous body of troops. The People ſtrove who ſhould firſt liſt themſelves under his banners; every body was for going to the wars with a General whom victory had never deſerted. Nay the allies, of their own accord, ſent to offer him a ſtrong ſupply of their choiceſt youth. The Dictator immediately repaired to the camp before *Veii*, reſtored the military diſcipline, which of late had been very much ſlackened, inveſted the place more ſtraitly, ſtrengthened his lines by ſeveral additional forts, and forbad his men to ſkirmiſh with the enemy without leave. He then marched againſt the *Faliſci* and the *Capenates*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle; and after this victory, which left him the country open, he returned to the ſiege, and puſhed it on with great vigour.

Plut. in vit. Cam.

The beſieged defended themſelves with no leſs courage than before; ſo that *Camillus*, fearing he ſhould not carry by aſſault or open force a town which had a whole army for its garriſon, had recourſe to mines and ſapping. His pioneers whom he divided into ſix companies, relieved one another; and the work continually advancing without interruption, was ſoon finiſhed, without being diſcovered by the beſieged. A paſſage under ground was open'd to the very caſtle. The Dictator then thinking himſelf ſure of conqueſt, ſent to the *Conſcript Fathers*, to know how they would have the ſpoils of the city diſpoſed of. The queſtion was debated in the Senate. *Appius Claudius* was for having the rich plunder of *Veii* made a fund for the payment of the troops: But old *Licinius* thought that this would be a foundation of endleſs murmurs and ſeditions, and propoſed that the ſpoils ſhould be divided between the army and thoſe of the citizens who ſhould be in the camp when the town was taken. This advice prevailed, and a decree was made, giving leave to as many as would to go to the camp, and take their ſhare of the booty. Accordingly, vaſt numbers well armed flocked thither, and joined the Dictator's troops in the attack. Before *Camillus* began the aſſault, he made the following prayer: *O* Pythian Apollo, *accompliſh thy prediction, ſince it is by thy inſpiration, and under thy guidance, that I am going to aſſault the city of* Veii! *I ſolemnly vow to give thee the tenth part of the ſpoil which ſhall be taken in it. And do thou,* O Juno, *Queen of the Gods who now reſideſt in* Veii, *follow us to* Rome, *and come and dwell in a city which ſhall be devoted to thee. Thou ſhalt there be placed in a tem-*

a temple worthy of thy Majeſty. Then the ſignal being given thoſe who were employ'd in the attack of the walls made a general aſſault, while the ſoldiers in the mine ſallied out and ſpread themſelves in ſeveral bodies thro' the town. One fell upon the rear of thoſe who were defending the walls, another broke down the gates; and the whole *Roman* army ruſhed into the place, putting all to the ſword who did not ſurrender their arms. The Dictator, when he beheld the value and quantity of the ſpoil found in the city, is ſaid to have cried out in a ſurprize; *O great Gods, if you in Heaven feel any envy at my fortune, and that of the* Roman *People, let the effects of it be all diverted from* Rome *and fall but lightly on my head!* This ſaid, he turned about to the right, as was cuſtomary, and by ſome chance fell flat upon the ground. The company preſent were affrighted at the accident: But *Camillus* riſing immediately, ſaid, *My prayer has been heard, I have eſcaped after this great proſperity, with a very ſlight misfortune.* The next day the priſoners of free condition were ſold to the beſt bidder; and all the money ariſing from thence was put into the public treaſury. But tho' this was the only part of the ſpoil, from which the public had any benefit, the People murmured at it, and inveighed both againſt the Senate and the Dictator. His next care was to tranſport the image of *Juno* to *Rome.* It was placed on the hill *Aventinus*, in a temple dedicated by *Camillus* himſelf. Such was the fate of the famous city of *Veii*, after a ten years ſiege; it was at once deſpoiled of its riches, its inhabitants, and its gods.

Y. of *R.* 357. Bef. *J. C.* 395. 28 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 5.

Plut. Life of *Cam.* and *Livy*, B. 5.

CHAP. XXXVII.

§. I. *The People are much diſpleaſed with* Camillus *on account of ſome ſingularities in the pomp of his triumph; but much more for demanding back from them a tenth part of the ſpoil of* Veii, *to diſcharge a vow, which he had made to* Apollo *juſt before the aſſault, and which he had afterwards forgot. The* Roman *Ladies contribute their jewels to make a golden vaſe for* Apollo. §. II. *The next year (the Republic being under the Government of ſix Military Tribunes, all* Patricians) Sicinius Dentatus, *a Tribune of the Commons, propoſes that half of the Senators, Knights, and People of* Rome *ſhould remove to* Veii, *and ſettle there. After much ſtruggle* Camillus *and the other Senators bring this project to nothing.* §. III. Camillus *is choſen one of the ſix Military Tribunes for the year following, and to him is committed the conduct of the war againſt the* Faliſci. *He beſieges* Falerii *their capital city. A ſchool-maſter to whom the ſons of the chief inhabitants of the place are committed for education, betrays his truſt, and puts all the children into the hands of* Camillus. *The* Roman *deteſting both the treachery and the traytor, makes the boys whip him back again into the town. The* Faliſci *moved by this generous action, ſubmit to the* Romans, *who grant them peace on the condition only of paying the expences of the campaign. During this tranſaction, two of* Camillus's *Collegues gain a victory over the* Æqui. §. IV. *The People, when the*

time comes for electing their Tribunes, chuſe to the ſame office thoſe of the old ones who had appeared for the propoſal of removing half the People to Veii. *On the other hand, the* Patricians *get Conſular Government reſtored.* L. Lucretius *and* Servius Sulpicius *are elected Conſuls.* Sicinius *the Tribune, author of the project of going to* Veii, *gets two of his late Collegues fined for having oppoſed it. This project is debated in an Aſſembly of the People, and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The Senate decree ſeven acres of the lands of* Veii *to every freeman of* Rome. §. V. L. Valerius *and* M. Manlius *are choſen Conſuls for the next year. The* Volſinienſes, *a People of* Hetruria, *take arms againſt* Rome. *The Conſuls being ſeized with a contagious diſtemper, reſign the Faſces to ſix Military Tribunes. The proſperous ſtate of* Rome *at this time.*

Y. of *R.* 357. Bef. *J.C.* 395. 28 Mil. Trib.

§. I. THE length of the ſiege, the dangers attending it, the uncertainty of ſucceſs, all theſe made the news of the taking of *Veii* be received at *Rome* with the utmoſt tranſport of joy. All the temples were filled with *Roman* Ladies, and four days were ſet apart for a public thankſgiving to the Gods; which had never before been practiſed in the Republic upon the greateſt ſucceſs. The very triumph of the Dictator had ſomething new and ſingular in it. *Camillus* appeared in a ſtately chariot drawn by four horſes all milk white, and he had coloured his face with vermilion.

Plin. B. 33.

White horſes ſince the expulſion of the Kings, had been allowed only to *Jupiter* and the *Sun*; and it was with vermilion the ſtatues of the Gods were commonly painted. In the midſt therefore of the praiſes which the People gave the Dictator, they could not without a ſecret indignation behold him affecting a pomp, which in a manner put him upon a level with the Gods. This vanity much diminiſhed the eſteem and affection of the multitude for him; and he had not long reſigned his Dictatorſhip, before he became perfectly odious to them. His piety was partly the occaſion of it. *Camillus* juſt before the aſſault upon *Veii* had made a vow, as we have before obſerved, to conſecrate the tenth part of the booty to *Apollo*; but when the city was won, amid the hurry and confuſion of the plundering he remembered not his vow. And when it returned to his mind, there could no eaſy means be found to make the ſoldiers give back the ſpoil. In this perplexity the Senate proclaimed, that all who had any fear of the Gods, ſhould themſelves compute the value of their booty, and bring the tenth part of that value to the Quæſtors, in order to make an offering to the God worthy the piety and majeſty of the *Roman* People.

Liv. B. 5.

This contribution exacted at a wrong time, irritated the People againſt *Camillus*; and their Tribunes gladly ſeized ſo favourable an occaſion of inveighing againſt him. His vow, they ſaid, was to give *Apollo* the tenth of the *enemy's* ſpoils, but that he performed it by tithing the *citizens*.

In the mean time, it was propoſed to buy ſuch a vaſe of gold with the produce of what was brought to the Quæſtors, as might ſhew *Greece* the magni-

magnificence of the *Roman* Republic. But it happened there was little gold to be found in the city, except in the toys of the Ladies. Theſe therefore unanimouſly contributed their jewels, and a vaſe with two handles was made of them, weighing eight talents; and three Senators were ſent to *Delphos* with it. In return for the Ladies generoſity, the Republic granted them theſe two favours: That they ſhould be at liberty to ride in chariots at the public games; and that funeral orations ſhould be made for illuſtrious women, as for great men. Y. of *R.* 357. Bef. *J.C.* 395. 28 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 5. and *Servius* upon *Virgil.*

§. II. AND now the centuries choſe ſix new Military Tribunes, all *Patricians*. During their Government the *Æqui* and *Volſci* ſued for peace, and it was granted. Nevertheleſs, the Senate thought proper to plant a colony of 3000 *Romans* among them, and every *Roman* was to have three acres and a half of land: But when the time came for thoſe to enrol their names, who were to form the colony, they ſhewed a repugnance to quit their native city, and murmured that they had not ſome of the lands of *Veii* given them. Nay *Sicinius Dentatus*, Tribune of the People, propoſed to make a ſecond *Rome* of the city of *Veii*, by ſending thither one half of the Senate, Knights, and People. He repreſented its ſituation, ſtrength, magnificence of its buildings, and its territory more extenſive and fruitful, than that of *Rome* herſelf: And he added, that the *Romans* might the more eaſily by this means preſerve their conqueſts. The People always fond of novelties received this propoſal with great demonſtrations of joy. The affair, according to cuſtom, was carried firſt before the Senate. The *Fathers*, and eſpecially *Camillus*, oppoſed it ſtrenuouſly. They did not think it poſſible that two ſuch powerful cities ſhould long continue in peace with one another, and form but one Republic. They rather feared that they would by degrees become two different ſtates, which after a deſtructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies; and they therefore proteſted that they would ſooner die in the preſence of the *Roman* People, than conſent to ſo unreaſonable a law. *Camillus* loudly declared that he look'd upon the preſent diſpoſition of the multitude as a judicial madneſs from Heaven, by way of puniſhment for their refuſing to perform in its full extent the vow he had made to *Apollo*. "The People, *ſaid he*, ſeem rather to have given an "alms to the God, than to have offered him a tenth of the ſpoil." Y. of *R.* 358. Bef. *J.C.* 394. 29 Mil. Trib. *P. Cornelius Coſſus.* *P. Cornelius Scipio.* *M. Valerius*, 2d time. *K. Fabius*, 3d time. *L. Furius*, 5th time. *Q. Servilius*, 2d time. *Livy*, B. 5.

§. III. BUT while the *Romans* were thus embroiled at home, their arms were victorious abroad. The *Capenates* ſubmitted to the Republic, ſo that ſhe had now no war upon her hands but that with the *Faliſci*. This war was committed to the conduct of *Camillus*, who notwithſtanding his oppoſition to *Sicinius*'s motion, was choſen a third time Military Tribune: His five Collegues were all *Patricians*. He took the field with a numerous army, and reſolved to beſiege *Falerii*, the capital city of the enemy. His main deſign was to keep the mutinous populace, of which his army conſiſted, a good while at a diſtance from *Rome*, by protracting the ſiege. The enemy for ſome time did not appear to defend their lands, but kept themſelves ſhut up in *Falerii*, 'till the devaſtations made by the *Romans*, in the territory Y. of *R.* 359. Bef. *J.C.* 393. 30 Mil. Trib. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.* *M. Furius Camillus*, 3d time. *L. Furius*, 6th time. *C. Æmilius.* *Sp. Poſthumius.* *P. Cornelius Scipio*, 2d time. *L. Valerius Poplicola.*

Y. of *R.* 359. Bef. *J. C.* 393. 30 Mil. Trib. territory about it, provoked them at length to come out: However they did not venture far from the town, and encamped in a place ſo ſtrong by nature, that they thought it needed no other fortifications. *Camillus* nevertheleſs attacked them there, defeated them, and took their camp. The whole ſpoil he put into the Quæſtors hands; and the ſoldiers murmured in vain; for ſince the troops received pay, he reſolved to teach them to conquer upon nobler motives than the hopes of plunder. After this victory *Camillus* inveſted *Falerii* and ſurrounded it with lines, but at ſo great a diſtance from the walls, that there was more than ſufficient room for the beſieged to take the air without danger.

Plut. Life of *Cam.* The *Faliſci* had brought from *Greece* the cuſtom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to inſtruct them in all ſorts of polite learning, take them out a walking with him, and ſee them perform the exerciſes proper for their age. The children had uſed often to walk with their maſter without the walls of the city, before the ſiege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet, and at ſuch a diſtance, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue the practice. But the preſent ſchoolmaſter proved a traytor. At firſt he led the youth only along the walls, then a little farther, and at length took his opportunity, and brought them through the *Roman* camp, quite to the General's tent. *Camillus* was ſtruck with horror at the treachery, ordered his Lictors to ſtrip the villain, tie his hands behind him, and then furniſh the youth with rods, to whip him back again into the city. A little before, the *Faliſci* had proteſted they would rather undergo the fate of the *Veientes*, than imitate the cowardiſe of the *Capenates*: But now they ardently deſired peace with *Rome*; ſo great an impreſſion did the probity of *Camillus* make upon them. The General ſent their Deputies to *Rome*; where they addreſſed the Senate in the following manner. "*Rome* has juſt now gained a victory "over us, which cannot be ſhameful to us in the ſight either of Gods or "Men. We ſubmit to you out of a perſuaſion that we cannot live more "happy than under the laws of a Republic, in which juſtice and probity reign. The *Romans* and *Faliſci* are this day giving two great examples to poſterity; you, in preferring juſtice to victory; we, in rather yielding to the charms of virtue, than the force of arms." The *Conſcript Fathers* left to *Camillus* the terms of the peace; the treaty was not to be made with the *Faliſci*, as with a conquered People, but as with a nation that voluntarily ſubmitted to the dominion of the Republic. He demanded therefore nothing of them, but the expences of the preſent campaign, and then led back his army to *Rome*, where his ſoldiers increaſed the number of his enemies; for they had pleaſed themſelves with the hopes of plundering *Falerii*.

Plut. & *Liv.* B. 5.

While *Camillus* was thus employed, *Æmilius* and *Poſthumius*, two of his Colleagues, had united their forces, and defeated the *Æqui* in a pitched battle. After the victory, *Poſthumius* made incurſions into the enemy's country, while *Æmilius* continued at *Verrugo*. But as the former was returning from his expedition, and his troops marching without precaution,

precaution, they were ſuddenly attacked by the *Æqui* and routed. *Poſthumius* rallied them upon an eminence, and there upbraided them with cowardiſe; upon which they cried out, "lead us to the enemy, we will "oblige ourſelves under the ſevereſt penalties to make ourſelves maſters of "their camp." The *Æqui* were ſtill in the plain below the eminence on which the *Romans* were poſted. The latter began the attack by moon-light, but had little ſucceſs 'till day appeared. Then the General put his men in mind of their promiſe; and nothing could ſtand before them. In the mean time, the ſhouts of the combatants were heard at *Verrugo*, where the troops of *Æmilius* believing *Poſthumius*'s camp to be beſieged, took a fright, diſperſed and fled for refuge to *Tuſculum*. Thence a report was carried to *Rome*, that *Poſthumius* was killed, and his army defeated. But the People were ſoon undeceived by a letter, crowned with laurel, from the General to the Senate, with an account of his victory. Y. of *R.* 359. Bef. *J. C.* 393. 30 Mil. Trib.

§. IV. THUS the arms of the Republic proſpered abroad; but new diſturbances were raiſed at home. When the Time came for electing Tribunes of the People, the Commons were for continuing thoſe of the old ones who had propoſed the law for going to *Veii*; and the *Patricians* were for having thoſe only re-elected who had oppoſed it. The former prevailed in the Comitia by Tribes. The promoters of the law were re-choſen, and the oppoſers excluded: Upon which the *Patricians* in revenge reſolved if poſſible to reſtore the conſular Government; and they carried their point in the Comitia by Centuries. *L. Lucretius Flavus* and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus* were choſen Conſuls. Y. of *R.* 360. Bef. *J. C.* 392. 87 Conſulſhip.

Under the new adminiſtration *Sicinius* the Tribune renewed his intrigues with more zeal than ever, to get the Law paſſed for removing the half of the People and of the Senate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, the two Tribunes of the People for the laſt year, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition to the law, were cited to appear before the tribes; and notwithſtanding all that the Senate could do to protect them, they were fined 10000 Aſſes of braſs. The whole Senate were offended at this ſentence, and eſpecially *Camillus*, who never ceaſed declaiming againſt *Sicinius*'s law. He adviſed the Conſcript Fathers to appear in the Comitium (when the Tribes aſſembled to determine the affair) as men prepared to defend their Temples, their Altars, their Houſhold-Gods, and their Country. He added, "Were I at liberty, to "conſult my own glory, at the expence of my country's honour, what "could flatter my ambition more, than to ſee a city, which I have "conquered, inhabited by *Romans*, who would be ſo many witneſſes of my glory? But it would be fatal to you to re-people a city "whoſe Gods have deſerted it, and ſhameful to prefer a conquered territory to your own victorious country."

The Senators, with the principal of the Nobility, old and young, being moved by theſe remonſtrances, went all to the place where the People were aſſembled, and mixing with the crowd, conjured them with tears in their eyes not to abandon that auguſt city, to which the Gods had made

Y. of *R.* 360. Bef. *J.C.* 392. 87 Conſulſhip. ſuch glorious promiſes, and which was one day to be miſtreſs of the whole world. They then pointed to the Capitol and Sanctuaries, "Can you poſſibly reſolve, *ſaid they to the* Plebeians, to leave *Jupiter*, *Veſta*, *Romulus* "and the other guardian Deities of *Rome*, to follow a *Sicinnius*, who by "this fatal diviſion ſeeks only the ruin of the Commonwealth?" In a word, the *Patricians*, by tears, intreaties, and the more powerful arguments drawn from Religion, prevailed to have the law rejected, though it was only by a majority of one Tribe. And now the Nobility were ſo well pleaſed with the People, that the Senate, at the requeſt of the Conſuls, made a decree the next morning, whereby they aſſigned ſeven acres of the lands of *Veii*, not only to every father of a family, but to every ſingle perſon of free condition, that the former might be enabled to educate their children, and the latter be induced to marry.

§. V. ON the other hand the People delighted with this liberality made no oppoſition to the election of Conſuls for the next year. *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus* were the perſons choſen; and they began their year by performing a vow made by *Camillus*, when Dictator, to celebrate the great games. (Of theſe there were two ſorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of *September*, in honour to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the other were called votive or extraordinary, had no fixed day appointed for them, and were celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* only.)

Y. of *R.* 361. Bef. *J.C.* 391. 88 Conſulſhip. Faſt. Cap. *Cic.* in Ver. 2.

As faſt as the Republic enlarged her dominions, ſhe drew upon herſelf new enemies unknown before. The *Volſinienſes*, one of the twelve *Hetrurian* nations, alarmed at the fate of *Veii* and *Falerii*, declared againſt *Rome*; and being join'd by the *Salpinates*, committed hoſtilities; but a contagious diſtemper made the *Romans* ſuſpend their revenge. The two Conſuls being ſeized by it, ſo as to be incapable of exerciſing their offices, and the People imagining from this accident, that they had been inauſpiciouſly choſen, the Senate ordered them to reſign. Upon this an *Interregnum* enſued, during which the Republic was governed by three Preſidents, *Camillus*, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Valerius Potitus*, (not the Conſuls) who ſucceeded each other for ſome days. The laſt held an Aſſembly for the election of ſix Military Tribunes; which ſort of Government was now re-eſtabliſhed, that, in caſe the contagion ſhould laſt, and ſome of the ſupreme Magiſtrates be infected by it, there might yet be others in a condition to take care of the public welfare.

By a Cenſus taken this year the number of Citizens able to bear arms appeared to be 152583; the troops, ſince their receiving pay, were more obedient than formerly to their commanders, who kept them in the field ſummer and winter: They had never had a General more capable of undertaking and executing great deſigns, than *Camillus*; and the reduction of *Veii* had much augmented their taſte for conqueſt: The *Roman* territory was now extended above fifty miles beyond the *Tyber*: The People ſeemed to be diſpoſed to peace at home, and to be perfectly reconciled to the Senate. This unuſual proſperity was interrupted by the *Gauls*; a memorable event, which is next to be related.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

§. I. *A malicious accuſation is brought againſt* Camillus, *for having taken to his own uſe ſome part of the ſpoil of* Veii. *To avoid the diſgrace of a condemnation, he baniſhes himſelf.* §. II. *Shortly after,* Cluſium *in* Hetruria *being beſieged by the* Gauls *under King* Brennus, *the Inhabitants implore the aſſiſtance of the* Romans. *Three brothers of the name of* Fabius *are ſent Ambaſſadors from* Rome *to mediate a peace between the contending powers.* Brennus *gives them a haughty reception. The* Fabii *young and indiſcreet, having entered the town, put themſelves at the head of the* Cluſians, *and make a ſally with them againſt the beſiegers.* Q. Fabius *with his own hand kills one of their Captains.* Brennus *provoked at this breach of the law of nations, raiſes the ſiege, and marches ſtrait towards* Rome. *He ſends a Herald, and demands that the Ambaſſadors be delivered up to him. The* Romans, *inſtead of complying with this demand, chuſe the* Fabii *to the Military Tribuneſhip, and place them at the head of the army which is to act againſt the* Gauls. §. III. Brennus *gives the* Romans *a total overthrow on the banks of the* Allia. *The fourth day after the Battle, he enters* Rome, *the gates of it being left open, moſt of the Citizens fled, and the Senate with all they were capable to bear away retired into the Capitol.* Brennus *finds about* 80 *venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to death, ſitting in the* Forum *in robes and chairs of ſtate. They are all ſlain. The Capitol is inveſted, and the City burnt.* §. IV. Camillus (*who in his exile reſided at* Ardea) *puts himſelf at the head of the* Ardeates, *ſurprizes and cuts off ſome detachments of* Gauls *ſent out to plunder the country. Upon the report of this action, the* Romans, *who were diſperſed about the territory of* Rome, *aſſemble, and ſend a requeſt to him to be their General. He declines it 'till a young man, diſpatch'd to the Capitol for that purpoſe, brings him from the Senate a commiſſion, which conſtitutes him Dictator.* §. V. *While* Camillus *is aſſembling an army, the* Gauls *attempt to ſcale the Capitol in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is diſcovered by the cackling of ſome geeſe. The aſſailants are repulſed, chiefly by the bravery of* M. Manlius. Camillus *hinders all proviſions from coming to the enemy.* §. VI. *Both beſiegers and beſieged being diſtreſſed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The* Romans *are to purchaſe a peace with* 1000 ℔. *weight of gold. While the gold is weighing,* Camillus *arrives: He breaks off the treaty, and forces the* Gauls *to raiſe the ſiege and quit the country.* §. VII. Rome *being deſtroyed, the Tribunes renew the propoſal of removing to* Veii. Camillus (*who is continued in the Dictatorſhip the whole year*) *oppoſes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a Centurion is what determines the People to ſtay and rebuild the city.* Manlius *is rewarded.* Q. Fabius *the Ambaſſador, who by his blamable conduct had provoked the* Gauls *againſt* Rome, *kills himſelf to avoid a public condemnation.* §. VIII. *Before the*

end of the next year (during which the Commonwealth is governed by ſix Military Tribunes) the CITY *is entirely* REBUILT.

Y. of *R.* 362. Bef. *J. C.* 390. 31 Mil. Trib. * A ſeventh time. ‡ A ſecond time.

§. I. THE ſix Military Tribunes who now governed the Republic were *L. Lucretius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *M. Æmilius*, * *L. Furius*, *Agr. Furius*, and ‡ *C. Æmilius*. Two of theſe were ordered to march againſt the *Volſinienſes*, and two others againſt the *Salpinates*; for both theſe nations of *Hetruria* had taken arms againſt *Rome*. The former were entirely defeated, and learning more prudence by their loſſes, demanded a truce from the *Romans*, which was granted for twenty years upon conditions. As for the *Salpinates*, they were ſo terrified by the defeat of the *Voiſinienſes*, that they durſt not appear in the field, but left their country open to be pillaged.

At this time one *Cæditius*, a man of the meaneſt ſort, pretended to have heard a miraculous voice, which pronounced diſtinctly theſe words, *Go to the Magiſtrates, and tell them, the* Gauls *draw near* [a]. But notwithſtanding this warning, and the daily conqueſts made by the *Gauls*, the *Romans* appear plainly by their manner of treating the great *Camillus*, (their only General capable of making head againſt ſuch formidable neighbours) to have had no apprehenſion of any danger from them. The People's gratitude for his important Services could not counterbalance their reſentment againſt him, for having refuſed to let them plunder ſome conquered cities, and for having obliged them to give up a part of the booty taken at *Veii*. *Apuleius*, one of the *Tribunes of the People*, ſummoned him to appear before the Comitia of the Tribes, and anſwer to the accuſation of having embezzled, out of the ſpoils of *Veii*, certain braſs doors which were ſeen in his houſe. The proſecution was the more malicious and inhuman as this great man had juſt loſt one of his ſons, and was in the moſt exceſſive affliction, being naturally of a ſoft and tender diſpoſition.

Plut. in Cam. *Livy*, B. 5. *Camillus*, upon notice of this new accuſation, aſſembled his friends, clients, fellow officers, and the chief men of his tribe, at his own [illegible]; and conjured them not to ſuffer him to be condemned upon ſo weak a pretence. When the Aſſembly, which was very numerous, had conſidered of the matter, they anſwered, that they would willingly pay the fine to which he ſhould be condemned; but that it was not in their power to get him acquitted. *Camillus* reſolved rather to baniſh himſelf from *Rome* than to have the ſhame of a condemnation affixed to his name. Having taken leave of his wife and children, he went ſtrait to one of the gates of the city; and it is related, that he there ſtopped, and turning towards the capitol, pray'd to the Gods, that his ungrateful countrymen might quickly repent their having repay'd his ſervices with ſo ſharp an outrage; and that their own calamities might oblige them to recal him. He retired to *Ardea*, a city not far from *Rome*, where he heard that he was fined fifteen thouſand *Aſſes* of braſs; about forty-eight pound of our money.

Val. Max. B. 5. Ch. 3.

[a] *Camillus* afterwards erected a temple to the unknown Divinity who made this revelation; and the *Romans* coined for him the name of *Aius Locutius*.

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A Map of Gallia Cisalpina, Liguria and the Neighbouring Countries. By G. Delisle Chief Geographer to the French King, and Member of the Royal Academie of Sciences.

It was believed that the imprecations of this great man called down the anger of the Gods, and brought on the bloody war which the *Gauls* made againſt the *Romans*. At leaſt, theſe two events following each other ſo cloſe, the People, always ſuperſtitious, aſcribed the loſs of *Rome* to the baniſhment of *Camillus*. Y. of *R.* 362. Bef. *J.C.* 390. 31 Mil. Trib.

§. II. HE was no ſooner gone, than Envoys arrived from the inhabitants of *Cluſium*, imploring the aſſiſtance of the Republic againſt an army of *Gauls*, which had made an irruption into *Italy*, and now beſieged their city. The occaſion of the ſiege was this:

Arunx, one of the chief men of *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*, had been guardian to a young *Lucumo* (or Lord of a *Lucumony*) whom he had educated in his own houſe from his infancy. The *Lucumo*, as ſoon as he was of an age to be capable of a paſſion, fell in love with his guardian's wife, and upon the firſt diſcovery of their intrigue, convey'd her away. *Arunx* endeavoured to obtain reparation of honour by courſe of law; but the *Lucumo*, having more money, and more intereſt in his country, triumph'd over the complaints of his guardian; ſo that the latter, finding no protectors in *Hetruria*, reſolv'd to make his application to the *Gauls* [b]. Of all the *Celtic* nations the *Senones* *Plut. vit. Cam.* *Livy*, B. 5.

[b] *Gaul* was anciently divided into three parts. The firſt, which reached from the *Britiſh* ſea to the *Seine*, was called (by the *Romans*) *Gallia Belgica*. The ſecond, which comprehended all the country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne* quite to the *Alps*, they named *Gallia Celtica*. The third, containing all that tract of ground which lies between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees* and the weſtern ocean, was called *Gallia Aquitanica*.

The only *Gauls*, who at ſeveral times croſſed the *Alps* and ſettled in *Italy*, were the *Celtæ* inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*. About the year of *Rome* 160, during the reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, *Ambigatus*, King of the *Celtæ*, finding his dominions over-ſtock'd with ungovernable ſubjects, ſent away vaſt numbers of them to ſeek their fortune under the command of his two nephews, *Segoveſus* and *Belloveſus*. The former took his way through the *Hercinian Foreſt* (of which the preſent *Black Foreſt* was but a ſmall part) and ſettled in a canton of *Germany*, ever ſince called *Bohemia*, or *Boiemia*, from the word *Boii*, the greateſt part of his followers being of that *Celtic* nation which was ſo named. But theſe being afterwards driven thence by the *Marcomani* or *Sclavonians*, retired into that country which lies between the *Inn* and the *Iſer*, and which from them took the name of *Boiaria* or *Bavaria*.

Belloveſus was followed by great numbers of almoſt all the other *Celtic* nations, as well as of the *Boii*. He croſſed the *Rhone*, ſpread his army over *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, and at length entered *Italy*, between the mountains *Genevre* and *Cenis*. At this time the *Hetrurians* or *Tyrrhenians* poſſeſs'd the better part of it. *Belloveſus* having defeated them in a battle on the banks of the *Ticin*, drove them before him and took poſſeſſion of their lands, each of the nations which followed him having its diſtinct portion of the conquered countries. The *Taurini*, or the inhabitants of the mountains on the ſide of *Gaul*, had *Piedmont*, the capital of which is *Turin*. Thoſe inhabitants of *Provence*, who were called *Salyes*, had *Liguria*. The *Libici*, another people of *Provence*, were placed on the north ſide of the *Po*, where *Verceil* now is. The *Inſubres* or *Burgundians* ſettled in the fine country of the *Milaneſe*, and there built a town, which they called *Mediolanum* (*Milan*) from the name of a little city in the territory of the *Autunois*, in *Burgundy*. The *Orobii*, who had dwelt on the banks of the river *Orobis* in the country now called *Languedoc*, ſettled in the territory of *Bergamo*, and built both the city of that name, and *Como*, but retained their old appellation of *Orobii*. *Belloveſus* ſeems not to have carried his conqueſts farther than this, nor to have brought into *Italy* all the nations which had engaged to follow him.

A. of *R.* 362. Bef. *J. C.* 390. 31 Mil. Trib. *Senones* (whoſe capital city was *Sens*, and who poſſeſſed that part of *Gaul* which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux*) were the People to whom he choſe to addreſs himſelf; and in order to engage them to revenge his quarrel, he boaſted much of the great plenty of *Italy*, and made them taſte of ſome *Italian* wines. A numerous army of theſe *Gauls* was immediately formed, who, under the conduct of their *Hetrurian* guide, paſſed the *Alps*, and without diſturbing the *Celtæ* in *Italy*, fell down upon *Umbria*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*, including the preſent duchy of *Urbino*. They were about ſix years in ſettling themſelves, whilſt the *Romans* were beſieging *Veii*. At length, in the year of *Rome* 362, *Arunx* brought the *Senones* before *Cluſium*, in order to beſiege that place, where his wife and her lover had ſhut themſelves up.

Livy, B. 5.

The Senate having no alliance with that city, only ſent an embaſſy of three young *Patricians*, all three brothers, and of the *Fabian* family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. Theſe ambaſſadors being arrived at the camp of the *Gauls*, were conducted into the council. They offered the mediation of *Rome*, and demanded of *Brennus* (the King or Leader of theſe *Tranſalpine Gauls*) what pretenſions any People from a remote country, could have upon *Hetruria*; or whether they in particular had received any injury from thoſe of *Cluſium*? *Brennus* anſwered proudly, that his right lay in his ſword, and that all things belong-

A ſecond irruption into *Italy* was made by the *Cænomani*, (or thoſe people of *Gallia Celtica* who dwelt between the mouths of the *Seine*, and the *Loire*) under the conduct of one *Elitouis*. He was probably followed likewiſe by the *Bretons* of *Vannes* and the *Carnutes*. Theſe new adventurers are ſaid to have been tempted to croſs the *Alps* by the wine which *Bellovefus* ſent them. The *Gauls* were at this time almoſt perfect ſtrangers to wine; nay, ſo late as the time of *Julian the Apoſtate* there was none made in *France*, at leaſt in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. The *Cænomani* ſettled themſelves north-eaſt of the *Inſubres*, and poſſeſs'd the preſent *Breſcicano*, *Cremoneſe*, and *Mantua*, on the north ſide of the *Po*. The *Veneti*, or the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, ſettled more eaſtward on the borders of the *Adriatic* gulph, and the country ſtill retains the name of *Venetia*, which it received from them. As for the *Carnutes*, they went farther north, and took poſſeſſion of the territory called from them *Carniola*.

It is uncertain from what part of *Gaul* the *Læves* (or *Lævi*) and the *Ananes* (or *Anamares*) came, who made the third irruption into *Italy*; but the hiſtorians agree, that the *Lævi* ſeized the country of *Novarra* on the north ſide the *Po*, and that the *Ananes* ſettled in the neighbourhood of *Placenza* on the ſouth ſide of that river.

The fourth tranſmigration of *Gauls* into *Italy* was, when the *Boii* and *Lingones* paſſed the *Alpes Penninæ*, or [illegible], and ſettled on the ſouth ſide of the *Po*, between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*.

The *Hetrurians* being driven out of their old habitations by theſe inundations of ſtrangers, paſſed the *Apennines*, and retired into that country which has been ever ſince call'd *Hetruria*, or *Tuſcany*. It was divided into twelve *Lucumonies*, and reached from the *Arno*, to the *Tyber*; being bounded to the north, by the *Apennines*; and to the ſouth, by the *Tyrrhenian* ſea. And we are not told, that the *Hetrurians* were any more diſturbed by the *Celtæ*, from the year of *Rome* 156 to the year 356.

It was 200 years after the invaſion by *Bellovefus*, that the *Senones*, whoſe capital city was *Sens*, and who poſſeſs'd that part of *Gaul* which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux*, made the fifth irruption into *Italy*.

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ed to the brave; but that without having recourſe to this primitive law of nature, he had a juſt complaint againſt the *Cluſians*, who having much more lands than they could cultivate, had refuſed to give him thoſe they left untilled. He added, "They do us the ſame wrong that you formerly received from the *Sabines*, the *Albans*, the *Fidenates*, and that you now daily ſuffer from the *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, and all your neighbours in general, whom, ſword in hand, you have deprived of the beſt part of their territory. Therefore ceaſe to interpoſe in behalf of the *Cluſians*, for fear your example ſhould teach us to pity thoſe whom you have oppreſſed." Y. of *R.* 362. Bef. *J.C.* 390. 31 Mil. Trib.

The *Fabii*, tho' enraged at ſo haughty an anſwer, diſſembled their reſentment; and, under pretence of wanting to confer with the Magiſtrates of *Cluſium*, in quality of Mediators, deſired leave to go into the town. But they were no ſooner there, than inſtead of acting according to their character, and performing the office of Miniſters of peace, theſe Ambaſſadors, (too young for an employment that requires the utmoſt prudence,) ſuffering themſelves to be carried away by their courage, ſtirred up the inhabitants to a vigorous defence. To ſet them an example, they put themſelves at their head in a ſally, and Q. *Fabius*, the chief of the embaſſy, ſlew with his own hand one of the principal Captains of the *Gauls*. *Brennus*, juſtly provoked at this proceeding, immediately broke up the ſiege of *Cluſium*, and, ſending a Herald before him, to demand that thoſe Ambaſſadors, who had ſo manifeſtly violated the law of nations, ſhould be delivered up to him, marched leiſurely on towards *Rome*.

The Herald being come to *Rome*, and having declared his meſſage, the affair was debated: The wiſeſt of the Senate thought the demand of the *Gauls* to be but juſt and reaſonable: However, as it concerned perſons of great conſequence and credit, the *Conſcript Fathers* referr'd the matter to *the Aſſembly of the People*; and *Fabius Ambuſtus*, the father of thoſe Ambaſſadors, who, tho' a *Patrician*, had found means to render himſelf agreeable to the People, made ſo ſtrong an intereſt, that they not only ſent back the Herald without ſatisfaction, but alſo choſe the delinquents to be three of the ſix new *Military Tribunes, who were to lead an army againſt the *Gauls*. *Brennus*, at the return of his Herald, haſtened his march to *Rome*. His army was numerous; the inhabitants of the towns and villages left their habitations at his approach; but he ſtopp'd no where, and declared, that his deſign was againſt none but the *Romans*. Y. of *R.* 363. Bef. *J.C.* 389. 32 Mil. Trib.

§. III. THE Military Tribunes marched out of *Rome* at the head of forty thouſand men. Their troops (according to *Plutarch*) were not fewer in number than thoſe of *Brennus*; but there was more order and obedience in the army of the *Gauls*. The *Roman* Generals, ſince the diſgrace and baniſhment of *Camillus*, durſt not act with full authority, but were forced

Q. FABIUS,	Q. SULPICIUS
CÆSO FABIUS,	Q. SERVILIUS, a fourth time,
CAIUS FABIUS,	SER. CORNELIUS.

to

Y. of *R.* 363 Bef *J. C.* 389. 32 Mil. Trib.

to wink at the want of diſcipline, and the licentiouſneſs of their ſoldiers, inſtead of commanding them with that abſolute authority which is requiſite in war. It was alſo obſerved, that theſe Tribunes, before they left *Rome*, did not ſacrifice to the Gods, and neglected to conſult the Auſpices; eſſential ceremonies among a People full of ſuperſtition, and that drew their courage and confidence from the propitious ſigns which the Augurs declared to them. But nothing did more prejudice to the *Romans*, than the multiplicity of their commanders. There were in this army ſix Military Tribunes, all with equal authority, moſt of them young, and men of more valour than capacity. They advanc'd boldly againſt the *Gauls*, whom they met near the river *Allia*, half a day's journey from *Rome*. The *Romans*[c], that they might not be ſurrounded by the enemy, who (according to *Diodorus Siculus*) were ſeventy thouſand ſtrong, extended their wings ſo far as to make their center very thin. Their beſt ſoldiers, to the number of twenty-four thouſand, they poſted all along from the river to the hills adjoining, the reſt were placed upon the hills. Theſe weaker troops being firſt attacked, and ſoon put to flight, thoſe to the left ran away without drawing their ſwords. It was not ſo much a battle, as a general rout; and in this diſorder and affright moſt of the ſoldiers, inſtead of returning to *Rome*, fled to *Veii*: Some were drowned, as they endeavoured to ſwim croſs the *Tyber*; many fell in the purſuit by the ſword of the conquerors, and ſome got to *Rome*, whither they carried terror and conſternation.

Plut. in Cam.

If after this defeat the *Gauls* had marched ſtrait to *Rome*, the Republic had been loſt and the *Roman* name extinguiſhed. But thoſe barbarians ſpending three days in feaſting and ſharing their booty, loſt thereby the chief advantage of the victory. Indeed the Senate not having ſufficient forces to defend the city, never thought of attempting it; but by the *Gauls* delay they had an opportunity to throw into the capitol all the men that were fit to bear arms. They carried into it all the proviſions they could get; and that theſe might laſt the longer, admitted none into the place, but who were capable of defending it. Moſt of the old men, women[d] and children, ſeeing themſelves without governors, or any ſcheme to follow, diſperſed themſelves in the fields, and the neighbouring towns. But while the reſt of the citizens were thus providing for their ſafety, about fourſcore of the moſt ancient Senators, rather than fly from

[c] *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus Siculus* differ in the circumſtances of this battle, but agree as to the ſubſtance.

[d] *Livy* tells us, that the *Veſtals*, before they left *Rome*, hid every thing appropriated to the Gods, and which they could not carry off, under ground. The two *Palladiums* and the ſacred fire they took with them. When they came to the *Janiculus*, one *Albinius* a *Plebeian*, who was conveying his wife and children in a carriage to a place of ſafety, ſeeing the ſacred virgins bending under their loads, and their feet bloody, made his family alight, put the Prieſteſſes and their Gods into the carriage, and conducted them to *Cære*, a city of *Hetruria*; where they met with a favourable reception; and, becauſe the Veſtals *remained* at *Cære* and continued to perform the rites of religion there, thoſe rites were thence called *ceremonies*, from *Cære* and *manere*, to remain.

their native city, or carry ſo many uſeleſs mouths into the capitol, choſe to *devote* themſelves to death; and ſeveral of the Prieſts joined with them. This ſort of ſelf-devotement was a point of religion; and the *Romans* believed, that the voluntary ſacrifice which their Leaders made of their lives to the infernal Gods, brought diſorder and confuſion among the enemy. Theſe venerable men having put on, ſome their ſacred veſtments, others their conſular or triumphal robes, repaired to the Forum, and there ſeated themſelves in their curule chairs, where they expected the enemy and death with the greateſt conſtancy. Y. of *R.* 363. Bef. *J. C.* 389. 32 Mil. Trib.

Brennus entered the city the fourth day after the battle. The gates were open, the walls without defence, and the houſes without inhabitants. This ſolitude in a city lately ſo populous, made him apprehenſive of ſome ambuſh. But as he underſtood his trade, and was both a Soldier and a Captain, he immediately ſecured his conqueſt by ſtrong bodies of guards, which he poſted in the public places and chief ſtreets.

The firſt ſpectacle that ſtruck him, and moſt drew his attention, was that company of venerable old men, who had devoted themſelves to death. Their magnificent habits, their white beards, their air of greatneſs and conſtancy, the ſilence they kept, all theſe at firſt ſurprized the *Gauls*, and inſpired them with the ſame reſpect, as they would have had for ſo many deities. They durſt not for a while come near them: But one ſoldier, bolder than the reſt, having out of curioſity touched the beard of one of the venerable Senators, the old man, not being uſed to ſuch familiarity, gave him a blow on the head with his ivory ſtaff. The ſoldier in revenge immediately killed him; and preſently after the reſt were all ſlaughtered like him in their chairs. All thoſe of the inhabitants who had not been able to eſcape, were put to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex. *Brennus* then inveſted the capitol, and ſummoned thoſe who had ſhut themſelves up in it to ſurrender: But finding them immoveable, he endeavoured to ſcale the place. The *Romans*, who fought with great advantage of the ground, drove back his troops, and ſlew a great number of them. *Brennus* found he ſhould never be able to take a place which nature had ſo well fortified, otherwiſe than by famine: But in order to be revenged of the *Romans* for their reſiſtance, he reſolved to deſtroy *Rome* entirely. His ſoldiers, by his command, ſet fire to the houſes, demoliſhed the temples, and public edifices, and razed the walls. Thus, inſtead of a city already famous throughout all *Italy*, nothing was to be ſeen but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waſte, in which *Brennus* encamped that part of his army which inveſted [c] the Capitol; the other part was ſent out to forage.

[c] *Livy* relates that one *Fabius Dorſo*, being obliged on a certain day to perform a ſacrifice to the tutelar Gods of his family, and the hill *Quirinalis* being the only place where this ſacrifice could regularly be performed, when the day came, he dreſſed himſelf like a ſacrificer, came out of the Capitol, carrying his Gods with him, and that the *Gauls*, out of a regard to religion, ſuffered him to paſs to the place appointed, and to return in ſafety to the Citadel, after he had offered his ſacrifice.

Theſe

Y. of *R.* 363. Bef. *J. C.* 389. 32 Mil. Trib. These troops, who imagined they kept the whole country in subjection by the mere terror of their arms, preserved neither order nor discipline in their marches. The soldiers rambled different ways to plunder; and those that kept in a body, spent whole days in drinking: Neither officer nor soldier dreamt of any other enemies, but those who were blocked up in the Capitol.

Plutarch. §. IV. *CAMILLUS*, as was said before, had upon his exile retired to *Ardea*. This great man, more afflicted at the calamities of his country, than at his own banishment, undertook to revenge her upon those *Barbarians*. He easily persuaded the youth of the city to follow him; and, with the allowance of the magistrates, he marched out of *Ardea* in a very dark night, and surprized the *Gauls* drowned in wine. He made a dreadful slaughter of them; and those that escaped under shelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peasants, who gave them no quarter.

The news of this defeat was quickly spread all over *Italy*. The *Romans* who had taken refuge in *Veii* were a pretty strong body, and had just defeated some parties of *Hetrurians* who came to plunder during the present calamity. The soldiers who were dispersed about in the adjacent villages repaired also to *Veii*. There was not one of them who did not condemn himself for the exile of *Camillus*, as if he had been the author of it; and looking upon that great man as their last resource, they resolved to chose him for their leader. "He is no longer, *said they*, an exile. *Rome* is no more, "we have now no country. Why must the *Ardeates*, who are strangers, ac- "quire glory under the conduct of *Camillus*, while we, once his fellow- "citizens, lie idle and see our country possessed by the *Gauls?*" They presently sent deputies to him to beseech him to take into his protection the fugitive *Romans*, and the wrecks of the defeat at *Allia*.

Plut. *Camillus*, still obedient to the laws, would not [f] take the command of the *Romans* upon him, unless somebody went first to the Capitol, and brought him a commission from the Senate. To do this was very difficult, the place being invested by the enemy. Nevertheless a young man named *Livy*, B. 5. *Pontius Cominius* undertook it. He put on a light habit, provided himself with cork, and in the beginning of the night threw himself into the *Tyber* above *Rome*. The stream carried him undiscovered to the foot of the Capitol, and at a very steep place, where the *Gauls* had placed no centinels, he mounted with difficulty to the rampart of the Citadel. Having made himself known to the guard, he was strait admitted into the place and conducted to the Magistrates. The Senate was immediately assembled. The deputy gave them an account of *Camillus*'s victory, and, on the part of all the *Romans* at *Veii*, demanded that great Captain for their General. There was not much time spent in debates upon it: The Senate, and the Soldiers, (who represented the People,) with one voice, declared him Dictator. *Pontius* was immediately sent away again with the decree; and he got back to the camp with the same good fortune, with which he had ascended to the Capitol.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

[f] *Livy* makes the People themselves have this scruple.

Thus was *Camillus* from the ſtate of baniſhment raiſed at once to be the ſovereign Magiſtrate of his country. With any other Captain indeed the Dictatorſhip would, at this time, have been but an empty title: He was not furniſhed with troops, or with money to raiſe any: But he ſupplied theſe defects by his courage, and that great reputation which he had ſo juſtly gained. His promotion to the ſupreme command was no ſooner known, but ſoldiers flock'd from all parts to his camp; and he quickly ſaw himſelf at the head of above forty thouſand men, *Romans*, or allies, who all thought themſelves invincible under ſo great a General. Y. of *R.* 363. Bef. *J. C.* 389. 23 Mil. Trib.

§. V. WHILE he was arming, and taking meaſures to raiſe the blockade of the Capitol, ſome *Gallic* ſoldiers having ſpied on the ſide of the hill the print of *Pontius*'s hands and feet, and that the moſs upon the rocks was in ſeveral places torn up, made their report of it to *Brennus*; who immediately laid a deſign to ſurpize the place by the ſame way that the *Roman* had aſcended. He choſe out of his army ſuch ſoldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accuſtomed from their youth to climb precipices. Theſe, having received their orders, under cover of the night climbed up from rock to rock, and with much difficulty, and more danger, advanced by degrees, lending each other a hand, till they arrived at the foot of the wall.

They had got up ſo ſilently as not to be diſcovered by either man or dog: But they could not eſcape the vigilance of ſome geeſe, which being conſecrated to *Juno*, had, notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of proviſions, been preſerved alive. Theſe creatures being naturally quick of hearing, and now more watchful than ordinary through hunger, (having been kept at ſhort allowance) were alarmed at the firſt approach of the *Gauls*, ſo that running up and down, they with their cackling and beating of their wings awaked the ſoldiers that lay near. *M. Manlius*, a Conſular perſon, was the firſt who ſtarting up ran to defend the wall. He cut off the hand of a *Gaul* who had raiſed it to ſtrike him a blow with his battle-axe, and gave another ſuch a ſhove with his buckler, that he tumbled him headlong from the top of the rock to the bottom. The whole garriſon immediately haſted to the ſame place, preſs'd upon the *Gauls*, and tumbled them one over another. The nature of the ground would not ſuffer them to make a regular retreat, or even to run away; moſt of them to avoid the ſword of the enemy threw themſelves down the precipice, and but very few got ſafe back to their camp.

The firſt thing the beſieged did, after their eſcape from ſo great a danger, was to precipitate from the brow of the rock the centinel who had been found aſleep. The next buſineſs was to reward *M. Manlius*, who by his courage and vigilance had ſaved the Republic. Each ſoldier gave him half a pound of meal, and a little meaſure of wine, which he ſpared out of his ſhort allowance: A reward [s] conſiderable only upon account of

[s] The *Romans* extended their rewards and puniſhments even to the geeſe and dogs. The former were ever after held in honour at *Rome*, and a flock of them was always kept at the publick

Y. of *R.* 363. Bef *J.C.* 389. 23 Mil. Trib. of the ſcarcity of proviſions that began to be in the place. *Brennus*, deſpairing to become maſter of the fort any other ways than by famine, had kept it ſo ſtraitly inveſted, that for ſeven months that the ſiege had laſted, the *Romans* had not been able to get in the leaſt ſupply.

The ſame ſcarcity was felt in the camp of the *Gauls*. *Camillus*, ſince his nomination to the Dictatorſhip, being perfect maſter of the country, had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the roads. The *Gauls* durſt not ſtir out to forage, for fear of being cut to pieces; ſo that *Brennus*, who beſieged the capitol, was beſieged himſelf, and ſuffered the ſame inconveniences that he made the *Romans* undergo. A contagious diſtemper alſo prevailed in his army, occaſioned by the great heats to which the *Gauls* were not accuſtomed.

§. VI. THINGS being at this ſad paſs on both ſides, the centinels of the Capitol and thoſe of the enemy's army began to talk to one another of an accommodation. Theſe diſcourſes came by degrees to the Leaders, who were not averſe to the deſign. The Senate, who had heard nothing of *Camillus* ſince they had named him Dictator, and who found themſelves hard pinch'd by hunger, reſolv'd to enter upon a negotiation. *Sulpitius*, one of the Military Tribunes, had the charge of it, and agreed with *Brennus* to give him a thouſand pound weight * of gold, provided he would raiſe the ſiege, and depart immediately out of the dominions of the Republic. The gold was brought, but when it came to be weigh'd the *Gauls* made uſe of falſe weights; and when the *Romans* cried out againſt this unfair dealing, *Brennus*, inſtead of redreſſing the injuſtice, threw into the ſcale, where the weights were, his ſword and belt. *Sulpitius* ſurpriſed hereat haſtily aſked him the meaning of ſo extraordinary a behaviour: "What ſhould it be, reply'd the *Barbarian*, but *woe to the conquered?* ‖" (which became afterwards a proverbial ſaying.)

About 45000 l. ſterling.

‖ *Væ victis.*

Some of the Deputies were ſo provok'd at this inſult, that they were for carrying their gold back into the Capitol, and ſuſtaining the ſiege to the laſt extremity: But others thought it more adviſeable to put up an injury of ſo little moment, being ſenſible, that the great indignity they ſuffered was not in paying more than was due, but in paying any thing at all.

During theſe diſputes of the *Roman* deputies among themſelves, and with the *Gauls*, *Camillus* was advanced with his army to the very gates of *Rome*. Being informed of what was doing, he commanded the main body of his forces to follow him ſlowly, and in good order, while he with the choiceſt of his men haſtened to the place of conference.

As ſoon as *Camillus* appeared in the Aſſembly, the Deputies of the Senate open'd to make room for him, as for the chief magiſtrate of the Republic. Having given him an account of the treaty they had made with

publick expence. A golden image of a gooſe was ſet up in memory of their ſervice; and a gooſe was every year carried in triumph on a ſoft litter finely adorned; whilſt thoſe dumb guards the dogs were held in abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year impaled one of them alive on a branch of elder. *Plin.* & *Plut. de fort. Rom.*

Brennus,

Brennus, they complain'd of the wrong that Prince did them in the execution of it: "Carry back this gold into the Capitol, *ſaid the Dictator.* "And you *Gauls*, *he added*, retire with your ſcales and weights: It is "with ſteel alone that the *Romans* will recover their country." *Brennus* ſurprized at this greatneſs of ſoul, which he had not found before in any *Roman*, repreſented to him that he contravened a treaty which was concluded. But *Camillus* replied, "That he being ſupreme Magiſtrate of "the *Romans*, no other perſon had any legal power to make a treaty with-"out his approbation, and that he, as Dictator, declared the contract "void." At theſe words *Brennus* flew into a rage, and both ſides drawing their ſwords vigorouſly aſſaulted each other. It was a confuſed fight, as indeed it could not be otherwiſe among the ruins of houſes, and in narrow lanes. *Brennus* after a ſlight loſs, recovering from his tranſport of anger, called off his men, and retired within his camp. The *Gauls* leaving the city in the night, marched eight miles, and encamped on the *Gabinian way*. *Camillus* came up with them the next morning, and gave them a total overthrow. Many of them were ſlain in the action and in the purſuit, but the greater number being ſcattered up and down in the fields, were cut off by the inhabitants of the adjacent villages. The Dictator returned in triumph to the city, and the ſoldiers in their ſongs ſtiled him ROMULUS, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND SECOND FOUNDER OF ROME. Y. of *R.* 363. Bef. *J. C.* 389. 23 Mil. Trib.

§. VII. *CAMILLUS*, who had thus [h] ſaved his country in war, may be ſaid to have preſerved it a ſecond time, when in peace, by hindering the people from removing to *Veii*; a project which was now renewed with more warmth than ever.

The houſes of *Rome* being all demoliſhed, and the walls razed, a heartleſs deſpondency ſeized the multitude; they were extreamly backward to ſet about rebuilding, and the rather, as *Veii* offered them a place fortified by art and nature, good houſes ready built, a wholſome air, and a fruitful territory. They repreſented, that they were but juſt eſcaped, as it were, quite naked from ſhipwreck, and exhauſted by misfortunes, without ſtrength and without materials for rebuilding a whole city, of which nothing was left but the ruins. And the Tribunes did not fail on this occaſion to throw out ſome hard words againſt *Camillus*, as if only out of vain glory and the ambition of being eſteemed a ſecond *Romulus*, a new founder of *Rome*, he oppoſed a deſign of ſuch great and general advantage.

The Senate, who made it a point of their religion never to leave *Rome*, employ'd all the power of remonſtrance, perſuaſion and intreaty to divert

[h] *Livy* and *Plutarch* give the foregoing account. But *Lactantius*, B. 20. tells us a ſtrange ſtory of the *Romans* being ordered by *Jupiter* in a dream to make all the corn they had into bread, and throw it into *Brennus*'s camp, not reſerving the leaſt morſel for their neceſſities: And that the *Gauls* being hereby deceived, and deſpairing to reduce the *Romans* by famine, raiſed the ſiege. Both *Livy* and *Florus* mention the throwing of loaves of bread from the Capitol in order to deceive; but they both aſcribe the driving away of the *Gauls* to *Camillus*.

the People from their purpoſe. They led them to the tombs of their anceſtors, pointed to the temples which *Romulus* and *Numa* had conſecrated, put them in mind of the man's head which had formerly been dug up in making the foundation of the Capitol, and which, according to the interpretation of the Augurs, ſignified, that *there* ſhould be the *Head* of univerſal empire, and that *Rome* ſhould be the *capital city* of the world.

Y. of *R.* 364. Bef. *J. C.* 388. *Camillus* (who, by the Senate's appointment, was contrary to Cuſtom and to his own inclination continued in the Dictatorſhip for a whole year) aſked ſome, why they had defended the Capitol, and others, why they had fought in the open field with ſo much bravery to recover *Rome*, if they were reſolved to abandon it? "Conſider, *ſaid he*, that by retiring to *Veii* "you will aſſume the name of a conquered people, and loſe that of *Ro*- "*mans*, together with the glorious deſtiny which the Gods have affixed to "it, and which with your name will go to the firſt *Barbarians* who ſhall "get poſſeſſion of the Capitol, and who, by this change, may perhaps "in time become your Maſters and your Tyrants." Theſe motives, borrowed from religion and glory, touched a People ſuperſtitious and haughty, who preferred the future hopes of empire to the preſent conveniencies of life; and a word ſpoken by chance determined them entirely. The Senate was aſſembled to deliberate upon this important affair. *L. Lucretius* was to give his opinion firſt. Juſt as this Senator was opening his mouth to ſpeak, a Captain who with his company had been upon guard, and was then marching by the Senate-houſe, was heard to ſay aloud, *Plant your colours, Enſign :* * THIS IS THE BEST PLACE TO STAY IN.

* *Hic manebimus optime. Plut. in Cam.*

This voice, in ſo critical a moment, ſeemed to be a direction from heaven: *A happy omen*, cried *Lucretius*, *I adore the Gods who give it.* The whole Senate applauded his words. This news being ſpread among the People changed the diſpoſition of every mind: A chance word, by being turned into an omen, had more power than the wiſeſt reaſons the Senate could urge. *Veii* was no longer mentioned; every man ſtrove who ſhould build[i] faſteſt, even without diſtinguiſhing his own ground from that of his neighbour.

The Republic gave a houſe ſituate on the Capitol to *M. Manlius*, as a monument of his valour, and of the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. But at the ſame time that ſhe rewarded him ſhe thought herſelf obliged to puniſh *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby occaſioned the reſentment of the *Gauls* and the burning of *Rome*. *C. Martius Rutilus*, one of the Tribunes, ſummon'd him before the Aſſembly of the People, to anſwer for his conduct in his embaſſy. The Senate, who could not forgive him the extremity to which he had reduced the Commonwealth, never concerned themſelves in his defence; nor could all his father's credit with the people ſave him. His relations gave out, that he

[i] *Plutarch* tells us, that among the ruins of the city, and under a heap of aſhes, was found *Romulus*'s augural ſtaff unburnt: And that this was looked upon to portend the everlaſting preſervation and proſperity of the *Roman* ſtate.

died ſuddenly: This was what ſeldom failed to happen when the criminal had courage enough to prevent his condemnation and the ſhame of a public puniſhment.

Camillus cloſed this year by laying down his Dictatorſhip. Whereupon an *Interregnum* enſued, during which he governed the State alternately with *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and it fell to his lot to preſide at the election of new Magiſtrates.

§. VIII. THE ſix Military Tribunes choſen were *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginius Tricoſtus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Poſthumius Albinus*. Their firſt care was to collect what remains could be found of the laws of the Kings, and of the twelve tables, which had been written on braſs and fixed up in the Forum. And as the treaties made with ſeveral nations had been engraven on pillars erected in the temples, ſearch was likewiſe made after thoſe precious monuments, and what could not be found was ſupplied by memory. The *Pontifices* on their part took care to re-eſtabliſh the ceremonies of religion, and they alſo made a liſt of lucky and unlucky days. Among the latter the 17th day of *Auguſt* was particularly marked, being memorable for two unfortunate battles; that in which the 300 *Fabii* were ſlain near the *Cremera*, and that wherein the *Romans* were defeated by the *Gauls* upon the banks of the *Allia*; no ſacrifices were to be offered, no juſtice adminiſter'd, no new expedition begun on this day; and ſo of ſeveral others. Y. of *R.* 365. Bef. *J. C.* 387. 33 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6.

And now the Governors of the Republic applied themſelves entirely to rebuild the city. Thoſe of the citizens who were ſtill diſperſed in the provinces, or had ſettled at *Veii*, or in the neighbouring towns, prieſts, women, children, all returned to *Rome*. Their whole care was to get a place of abode: They were allowed to take ſtone wherever they could find it, the State furniſhed tiles, and the work was carried on with ſo much diligence, that in leſs than a year the city was quite reſtored. The Ædiles had all the time the direction of the works: But they had ſo little taſte for order and beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even leſs regular than in the time of *Romulus*: And though in *Auguſtus*'s time, when *Rome* was become the capital of the world, the temples, palaces and private houſes were more magnificent than before, yet theſe decorations could not rectify the fault of the plan.

THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

THIRD BOOK.

From the year of ROME 365, when the CITY was REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the year 489, when the ROMANS, having ſubdued ALL ITALY, began the firſt PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The Nations bordering upon the* Roman *State reſolve, if poſſible, to cruſh it before it can recover its former ſtrength. The Military Tribunes march an army againſt the* Volſci *and* Latines, *but by ill conduct ſuffer it to be incloſed by the enemy.* Camillus *hereupon is, a third time, named Dictator; he raiſes new forces, reſcues the army in diſtreſs, and forces the enemy's camp, after which he takes the capital city of the* Æqui, *ſubdues the* Volſci, *and recovers* Sutrium *from the* Hetrurians. §. II. *The next year (when the Commonwealth is again governed by Military Tribunes) the* Roman *arms proſper abroad. The year following is a year of peace. Four new Tribes are added to the twenty one.* §. III. *The expectation of a new war makes the* Romans *chuſe* Camillus *to be one of the ſix Military Tribunes for the next year. He leads the* Roman *troops firſt againſt the* Volſci *of* Antium, *and then againſt the* Hetrurians; *and has ſucceſs in both expeditions. The* Latines *and* Hernici *ſubmit.*

A. of *R.* 365. Bef. *J. C.* 387. 33 Mil. Trib.

§. I. ROME ariſing as it were out of her own aſhes appeared once more a city. But ſcarce did her citizens begin to take breath, when new wars called them again into the field. The *Hetrurians*, the *Æqui* and the *Volſci*, all near neighbours of *Rome*, and of courſe her enemies, made a league to oppreſs her before ſhe had recovered her ſtrength. Nay the *Latines* and *Hernici*, who had long

been

been allies of the *Roman* People, but always jealous of them, engaged in this deſign. The *Romans* ſeem to have loſt their empire when the ſeat of it was deſtroyed, and to have had moſt of the ſame conqueſts to repeat, as after the expulſion of *Tarquin the Proud*, and the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth. Y. of *R.* 365. Bef. *J. C.* 387. 33. Mil. Trib.

Some of the Military Tribunes were ſent out at the head of an army againſt the *Latines* and *Volſci*, who had joined their forces, and were the firſt enemies that appeared in the field. But thoſe Generals, without ſtriking a blow, ſuffered their troops to be ſo incloſed and ſhut up by the enemy, that they were in danger of periſhing by hunger.

In this extremity the Republick had recourſe to a General, always ſuperior to dangers and difficulties. *Camillus* was a third time named Dictator. Immediately he ſummoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies, cauſed one of them to encamp under the walls of *Rome*, appointing *A. Manlius* to command it: The ſecond he ordered into the neighbourhood of *Veii*, under the conduct of *L. Æmilius*, to watch the motions of the *Hetrurians*: And he led the third himſelf to reſcue the Military Tribunes out of the danger they were in. His very name, and the report of his march, filled the enemy with terror; they now thought no more of conqueſt; their whole ſtudy was how to avoid being conquered; they intrenched themſelves in their camp, which they fortified with a ſtrong paliſade of ſtakes, and a barricade of trees, which having felled they laid before it. *Camillus* approached their camp; and having obſerved the diſpoſition of it, and that every morning there aroſe a great wind, which blew full upon it, he formed the deſign of taking it by fire. One part of his troops, by order, made a falſe attack on one ſide of the camp, while on the other ſome ſoldiers threw againſt the wooden incloſure burning arrows, and other combuſtible materials, which, aided by the wind, quickly burnt down the paliſade. The fire catching hold of the tents, the ſoldiers in a fright and without ſtaying for the commands of their Officers, ruſhed out of their camp in crowds, and fell into the hands of the *Romans*, who made a terrible ſlaughter of them. *Camillus* then ſent to extinguiſh the flames, in order to ſave the booty, with which he rewarded his army; a bounty ſo much the more agreeable, becauſe unexpected from the Dictator who had never been known to be over liberal on theſe occaſions. Then leaving his ſon in the camp to guard the priſoners, he entered the country of the *Æqui*, and took their capital city *Bola*. Thence he penetrated into the territory of the *Volſci*, and entirely ſubdued that untractable People, after they had haraſſed the Republic with continual hoſtilities for more than 107 [a] years. Nor was the Dictator yet ſatisfied. He marched into *Hetruria* to the relief of *Sutrium*, a town in that country in alliance with *Rome*, and beſieged by the *Hetrurians*. The place had capitulated before he came, and the inhabi- *Plut.* Life of *Cam.* *Livy*, B. 5. *Livy*, B. 5. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

[a] *Livy* reckons from the year 258, when the war was renewed againſt the *Volſci* in the Conſulate of *Ap. Claudius* and *P. Servilius*. But we find that *Tarquin the Proud* made war with the *Volſci* many years before.

Y. of *R.* 365. Bef. *J.C.* 387. 33 Mil. Trib. tants had obtained nothing but their lives and the clothes on their backs. In this deſtitute condition they were going to ſeek new habitations, when *Camillus* met them, bad the women dry up their tears, and promiſed to transfer their ſorrows to the enemy. In a word, he ſurprized the *Hetrurians*, who were wholly employed in plundering and feaſting, and made an incredible number of priſoners. The city twice taken in one day, was immediately reſtored to its old inhabitants.

This expedition ended, the great *Camillus* entered *Rome* in triumph a third time, and his glory eclipſed that of all his rivals. His three laſt exploits, perform'd in ſo ſhort a time, made envy itſelf ſilent.

Out of the money raiſed by ſelling the ſpoils of the *Hetrurians* the *Roman* Ladies were repaid the value of the jewels they had formerly contributed to make a preſent to *Apollo*: And with the remainder were bought three vaſes of gold, which, with *Camillus*'s name inſcribed on them, were placed at the feet of *Juno* in the temple of *Jupiter*.

Y. of *R.* 366. Bef. *J.C.* 386. 34 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6. §. II. THE Republic choſe ſix [a] new Military Tribunes for the following year; and under them affairs proſper'd abroad. The country of the *Æqui* was laid waſte; and two cities, *Cortuoſa* and *Contenebra* were taken from the *Hetrurians*.

And now the Tribunes of the People, who had been for ſome time quiet, endeavour'd to revive the old quarrel about the *diviſion of the conquer'd lands*, on occaſion of the *Pomptin* territory, for which the *Romans* and *Volſci* had long ſtruggled, but which the Republic was now in quiet poſſeſſion of, and which the *Patricians* had appropriated to themſelves. But the time was ill choſen for making a buſtle about this affair, becauſe the citizens were ſo drain'd of their money, that they had not enough left for the expence of cultivating new farms, and ſtocking them with cattle; accordingly, the People took little notice of the harangues of their Tribunes. The Military Tribunes for this year, upon ſome ſcruple concerning the validity of their election, voluntarily laid down their offices, and after a

Y. of *R.* 367. Bef *J.C.* 385. 35 Mil. Trib. ſhort *Inter-regnum* ſix [b] new ones were choſen; whoſe year being a year of peace was ſpent in works of peace. To the *twenty one* tribes were added *four* new ones, *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina* and *Arnienſis*.

Y. of *R.* 368. Bef. *J.C.* 384. 36 Mil. Trib. † A 4th time. ** A 2d time. ||| A 6th time. The expectation of a war induced the centuries to chuſe † *Camillus* one of the Military Tribunes for the next year. The Collegues appointed him were ** *Ser. Cornelius*, ||| *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius* and *P. Valerius*, all men of moderation, who knew how to do themſelves and *Camillus* juſtice. In full Senate they transferred their authority into his hands, and left to him the ſole management of the war, ſo that he was in effect Dictator. The Republic had deſign'd to turn her arms againſt the

[a] T. QUINCTIUS,
L. SERVILIUS,
L. JULIUS,
L. AQUILIUS,
L. LUCRETIUS,
SER. SULPITIUS,

[b] L. PAPIRIUS,
C. SERGIUS,
L. ÆMILIUS, a ſecond time,
L. MENENIUS,
L. VALERIUS, a third time,
C. CORNELIUS.

Hetrur

Hetrurians; but this design was alter'd upon the news, that the *Antiates* had enter'd the *Pomptin* territory in arms, and obliged the *Romans* who had taken possession of it to quit it. *Camillus* allotted to each of his Collegues an employment suitable to his rank, and join'd *Valerius* with himself in the command of the army which was to march against the *Antiates*; but *Valerius* refused to be upon an equal foot with *Camillus*. *You shall be my Dictator*, said he, *and I will serve under you as your General of the Horse*. The *Latines* and *Hernici* had joined the *Antiates* near *Satricum*. So that the *Roman* soldiers, when they came within sight of the enemy, were terrify'd at their numbers, which *Camillus* understanding, mounted his horse, rode through the ranks, put his men in mind that these were the same *Latines* and *Volsci* whom they had so often vanquish'd, and that he was the same *Camillus* who had led them so often on to victory. He then dismounted, took the next standard bearer by the hand, and led him towards the enemy, crying out at the same time, *soldiers advance*. A battle ensued, in which the enemy were entirely overthrown. The *Latines* and *Hernici* separated from the *Volsci* and returned home. The *Volsci* fled for refuge to *Satricum*; but *Camillus* came before it and carried it by assault. He then left his army under the command of *Valerius*, and returned to *Rome* to sollicit the Senate's consent, and get things necessary for undertaking the siege of *Antium*. While he was proposing this affair to the *Conscript Fathers*, Deputies arriv'd from *Nepet* and *Sutrium* (two cities in alliance with *Rome*, and which were in a manner its bulwark, as well as the keys of *Hetruria*) demanding succours against the *Hetrurians*. *Camillus* was ordered to their relief, and the troops assign'd him were those which *Servilius* had commanded in *Rome*, and kept in readiness in case of an emergency. He march'd, came before *Sutrium*, found it almost taken, and preserved it. *Nepet* had surrendered voluntarily to the *Hetrurians*, and the inhabitants seem'd better affected to them than to the *Romans*. *Camillus* was forc'd therefore to bring his troops against this faithless city: He took it by assault, put the garrison to the sword, and condemned the Authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the Lictors. Tho' this campaign had been distinguish'd by victory and conquests, yet no triumph follow'd, which is to be ascrib'd to the modesty of the General. He declined an honour which he could not share with his Collegues, to whose moderation and esteem for him he was so much indebted for his glory.

Y. of *R.* 368. Bef. *J. C.* 384. 36 Mil. Trib.

Camillus, before the end of his fourth Tribuneship, called the *Latines* and *Hernici* to account for their late conduct. The Magistrates of those nations alledged, that the reason of their not aiding the *Romans*, was the necessity they had been under to keep their troops at home to defend their own country; and that as to the assistance which some of their People had given to the enemies of *Rome*, it had been without authority. These excuses were not satisfactory, but the Senate readily admitted them, being unwilling at this juncture to multiply the enemies of the Commonwealth.

CHAP. II.

§. I. *The next year, Military Tribunes being again choſen to the Government,* Manlius *(who ſaved the Capitol) envious of* Camillus's *glory, and moved by an exorbitant Ambition, uſes ſuch Methods to make himſelf popular, as alarm the Senate. They name* A. Cornelius Coſſus *Dictator. He ſummons* Manlius *to appear before him, and anſwer for ſome ſeditious diſcourſes he had uttered.* Manlius *not anſwering directly to the Dictator's queſtion is committed to priſon,* Coſſus *ſoon after reſigns the Dictatorſhip. The Senate fearing the rage of the People, who are devoted to* Manlius, *ſet him at liberty.* §. II. Camillus *is choſen one of the Military Tribunes for the next year.* Manlius *renews his factious intrigues. Two of the Tribunes of the Commons impeach him of treaſon, and by ſentence of the People, he is thrown headlong from the* Tarpeian *rock.*

§. I. THE reputation of *Camillus* was now univerſally eſtabliſhed, he had acquired and merited the title of *Reſtorer of his country, and ſecond founder of* Rome. Among thoſe who envied his glory, *Marcus Manlius*, who ſaved the Capitol, was the moſt conſiderable. *Manlius* was indeed one of the braveſt ſoldiers *Rome* had ever produced, but his ambition and vanity were yet greater than his valour; he could not bear to ſee *Camillus* preferr'd before him in the command of the armies: however in this fourth Military Tribuneſhip of that great man he kept his reſentments within bounds.

Y. of *R.* 369. Bef. *J.C.* 383. 37 Mil. Trib. But no ſooner was the Adminiſtration put into the hands of ſix new Military Tribunes, than he openly vented his ſpleen, and endeavoured to darken the glory of a man, whom he looked upon as his rival. *If I had not ſaved the Capitol*, ſaid he, *was it poſſible for Camillus to have recovered* Rome? *And does not every body know that he ſurprized the* Gauls *when they were actually in a conference, and were treating of peace? Every ſoldier in his army had a ſhare in the glory of his exploits; but I had no companion in my victory.*

Livy, B. 6. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

Manlius by ſuch ſpeeches gave vent to his envy; but finding himſelf unable by noble actions to outſhine *Camillus* in Reputation, he, to ſatisfy his boundleſs ambition, took the uſual method of thoſe who aſpire to tyrannick power, that is, he ſet himſelf to court the multitude. He flattered the *Plebeians* as much as any Tribune could have done: He renewed the propoſal of *dividing the lands:* He became the advocate and the protector of the inſolvent debtors; he paid for ſome, and made himſelf anſwerable for others; he ſold his own eſtate to diſcharge their debts, and declared,

A. MANLIUS, a ſecond time,	L. QUINCTIUS,
P. CORNELIUS, a ſecond time,	L. PAPIRIUS, a ſecond time,
T. QUINCTIUS,	C. SERGIUS, a ſecond time.

that ſo long as he had any thing left, he would never ſuffer his fellow-citizens to be laid in irons. Sometimes he reſcued them by force out of the hands of their creditors, who were carrying them to priſon. By this conduct he ſoon got about him a kind of guard, made up of thoſe whom he he had ſo aſſiſted. Nothing could be more popular at this time than a warm concern expreſs'd for inſolvent debtors; becauſe moſt of the People had been forced to contract debts in order to rebuild their houſes. The Senate alarmed at *Manlius*'s proceeding, thought it neceſſary to create a Dictator, who by his abſolute power might be able to cruſh the riſing faction. However, a new war with the *Volſci* (ſtrengthened by the *Latines* and *Hernici*) was made the pretence for this creation. The Dictatorſhip was given to *A. Cornelius Coſſus*, who named *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* to be General of the Horſe. V. of *R.* 369. Bef. *J. C.* 383. 37 Mil. Trib.

Coſſus came to a battle with the *Volſci* in the *Pomptin Territory*. Before the action began, he told his men, that the Auguries were ſo favourable, as to leave no room to doubt of ſucceſs. He bad them make no uſe of their javelins, but keep together in cloſe order, and ſuſtain the firſt ſhock without ſtirring; then brandiſh their ſwords, make them glitter in the eyes of the enemy, and every man call to mind that there were Gods who fought for the *Romans*. He ordered *Quinctius* to reſtrain the ardor of his cavalry till the infantry were engaged in fierce conflict, and then to fall on. Both horſe and foot obſerved his directions; and the *Volſci*, tho' much more numerous than the *Romans*, yet not obſerving ſo good diſcipline and order, were entirely defeated. Among the priſoners were found many conſiderable men of the *Latines* and *Hernici*, who being examined, confeſſed they had acted by authority, ſo that it was no longer a doubt whether thoſe two Nations had revolted.

The Dictator hereupon kept his army in the field, believing aſſuredly that the Senate would direct him to carry the war into their country; but the ſeditions excited by *Manlius* obliged him to return to *Rome*. *Manlius* had given out, that the Senators not content with being the ſole poſſeſſors of thoſe lands which ought to have been divided equally among all the citizens, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own uſe, the gold which was to have been given to the *Gauls*, and which had been raiſed by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens who were then in the Capitol: a treaſure which alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all the debts of the poor *Plebeians*. And he had promiſed to ſhew them in due time, where this treaſure was hid. So pleaſing a proſpect as that of every man's having his debts diſcharged, took up all the attention of the People; their whole care was to draw thoſe riches out of the hands of the *Patricians*. The ſedition daily increaſed; and its Author, a man of ſuch diſtinction, made it the more formidable.

The Dictator being returned to the city, and having agreed with the Senate upon the meaſures to be taken, went to the Forum accompanied by the Senators and a great number of other *Patricians*, mounted his Tribunal, and ſent a Lictor to cite *Manlius* to appear before him. *Manlius*

Y. of *R.* 369. Bef. *J. C.* 383. 37 Mil. Trib. did not diſobey the ſummons, but making all his adherents follow him he approached the Tribunal with ſo numerous a guard, that the Aſſembly looked like two armies ready to join battle. Silence being made, the Dictator ſpoke thus: "I heartily wiſh, *Manlius*, that I and the Senate "could in every thing agree with the Commons of *Rome*, as readily as "I truſt we ſhall do in what concerns you, and the matter I am going to "queſtion you upon. You have been heard to ſay, that ſome of the "principal Senators have ſecreted the gold that was deſigned for the "*Gauls*, and that this fund alone would be ſufficient to diſcharge all the "debts of the People. I am ſo far from deſiring to hinder ſuch an extra-"ordinary benefit to the Public, that I exhort you earneſtly to eaſe the "Commons of that burden of uſury they labour under, and to name the "men who have ſtolen and concealed this important treaſure. But if you "do not inſtantly name thoſe robbers of the public, be aſſured that I "ſhall without delay ſend you to priſon, as an incendiary and a ſlanderer; "for I will not ſuffer you any longer to deceive the People with vain "hopes."

Manlius anſwered, "I find I was not miſtaken in my opinion, that "the Dictator was created not to act againſt the *Volſci*, but againſt me "and the *Commons* of *Rome*. He openly eſpouſes the cauſe of the Uſurers "againſt the People, and I am to be deſtroyed on account of the affecti-"on which the multitude bear me. Does it indeed offend you *Cornelius*, "and you *Conſcript Fathers*, to ſee the croud of People that attend me? "Why don't you endeavour to ſhare their affection with me? Why don't "you relieve the poor Citizens who are quite ſunk and overwhelmed "with debt? Pay for ſome, anſwer for others, ſupply their neceſſities out "of your ſuperfluities: Nay, without beſtowing any thing upon them of "what you poſſeſs, do but reduce what theſe inſolvents owe you to the "principal ſums. You will then ſee, that my train of followers will be no "greater than any of yours.—But why am I (ſay you) the only man who "thus concerns himſelf for the citizens? You may aſk me too, why I was "the only man who ſaved the Capitol? As I then exerted myſelf for all in "general, ſo now I am ready to give my help to every *Roman* in parti-"cular. As to the ſecreted treaſure, you put a queſtion to me which you "can better anſwer yourſelves. The very demand makes that difficult "which would otherwiſe have been eaſy. The more you preſs me to de-"clare the place where the gold is hoarded, the more reaſon I have to "believe that you have removed it, and hid it beyond the reach of the "moſt curious enquiry. Am I to reveal where your thefts are concealed; "or ought not you rather to be compelled to bring them forth?" At theſe words the Dictator commanded him to give over his evaſions and ſubterfuges, and go directly to the proof of his charge, or elſe to confeſs before all the People that he had ſlandered the Senate. To this *Manlius* replying, *That he would not ſpeak at the pleaſure of his enemies*, he was immediately ordered to priſon. When the Lictors laid hold of him, he cried out, *O* Jupiter, *beſt and greateſt*, *O* Juno *Queen of Heaven*, Minerva, *and all ye other Gods*

and Goddeſſes who reſide in the Capitol, will ye ſuffer your Champion and Defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand with which I drove the Gauls *from your ſanctuaries, be manacled and lock'd in chains?* Y. of *R.* 369. Bef. *J.C.* 383. 37 Mil. Trib.

We have on this occaſion a ſurprizing inſtance of the ready ſubmiſſion of the *Romans* to the commands of a lawful Magiſtrate. The People, tho' ſeditiouſly devoted to *Manlius*, made not the leaſt motion to hinder the execution of the ſentence; not an angry expreſſion was heard, nor a threatening look ſeen in the whole Aſſembly. His adherents and abettors expreſſed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crowding about the priſon door, and there lamenting his misfortune.

In this time of the People's affliction *Cornelius Coſſus* had a triumph for his victory over the *Volſci*. The multitude expreſs'd nothing but a deep dejection on that day of joy. Some were heard to ſay, that the Dictator triumphed over a citizen, not over the enemy; that the chief ornament of the ſhow was wanting; and that to gratify the Victor's pride *Manlius* ſhould have been led before his chariot. The Senate, to ſooth and pacify the People, decreed of their own motion to ſend a colony of *Romans* to *Satricum*, and allotted to every man two acres and a half of arable land. But this expedient proved ineffectual. The diſcontent of *Manlius*'s party began to grow into ſedition as ſoon as *Cornelius*'s Dictatorſhip was expired, and they were freed from the dread of an uncontroulable Magiſtrate. Some reproached the multitude in public diſcourſes, "That it "was their cuſtom to exalt their Protectors to high and ſlippery ſtations, "and then to forſake them in the very moment of danger and downfal: "That *Sp. Caſſius* who had propoſed *the Partition of the Lands*; that "*Mælius* who in a famine had generouſly fed the People at his own ex"pence, had both of them been abandoned and deſtroy'd; and that now "*Manlius*, for endeavouring to free the poor debtors from ſlavery, was "given up to his mortal enemies. It is a ſhame, *ſaid they*, to ſee a Con"ſular thus treated, merely becauſe he did not anſwer at the nod of the "Dictator. Suppoſe him to have invented a ſtory, and therefore not to "have an anſwer ready, was it ever known that even a ſervant was put "in irons for only telling a lie? Call to mind that fatal night when the "*Gauls* climb'd up the *Tarpeian* clif, and when *Manlius* all covered with "ſweat and blood reſcued, in a manner, even *Jupiter* himſelf out of the "hands of the enemy. Do you think that half a pound of meal was a "ſufficient reward for the preſerver of our country? Will you ſuffer a "man whom you have almoſt equall'd to *Jupiter*, by giving him the ſur"name of *Capitolinus*, to drag on a miſerable life in a dungeon, and "draw his breath at the pleaſure of a Jailor? Was one man able to pre"ſerve all, and ſhall not all be able to ſuccour one?" Diſcourſes like theſe were frequently repeated, and the People ſurrounding the priſon day and night threatened to break it open.

The Senate fearing leſt the multitude in their fury ſhould execute what they threatened, and that *Manlius* being ſet at liberty by ſuch violent means

Y. of *R.* 369. Bef. *J. C.* 383. 37 Mil. Trib. means ſhould carry his audaciouſneſs farther than ever, thought to quiet the affair by releaſing him themſelves. But inſtead of laying the ſedition by this timorous proceeding they only gave the ſeditious a Leader, a Leader provoked by the ſhame of his impriſonment, and incapable of following ſober counſels.

During theſe ſeditions Ambaſſadors arrived from the *Latines* and the *Hernici*, as alſo from the cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ*, demanding releaſment of the priſoners taken in the laſt action when the Dictator *Coſſus* defeated the *Volſci*. The Ambaſſadors of the former were received (tho' their demand was rejected) becauſe thoſe Nations had been only allies of *Rome*; but the Ambaſſadors of the latter were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the People, becauſe thoſe cities had been upon the foot of *Roman Colonies*. The former enjoy'd their own laws; the latter were ſubject to the laws of *Rome*, and had therefore no right to ſend Ambaſſadors.

Livy, B. 6.

§. II. WHEN new Magiſtrates came to be elected for the next year, *Camillus* was choſen *Military Tribune* a fifth time, and with him were joined **Ser. Cornelius*, †*P. Valerius*, ‖ *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Papirius* and § *T. Quinctius*. The confidence of *Manlius*, and the ſtrength of his faction, were now much encreaſed by the timoroufneſs of the Senate, and the remiſſneſs of *Coſſus* in not puniſhing him as a former Dictator had done *Mælius*. Inſtead of growing the better for his diſgrace, he again ſtirred up the People to renew their ancient pretenſions. In private Aſſemblies, he was ever haranguing about the juſtice of dividing the public lands, and the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing an exact equality among all the members of one and the ſame Republic. "But you will never, *ſaid he*, bring ſo "noble an enterprize to bear, ſo long as you employ only complaints, "murmurings, and empty diſcourſes againſt the pride and avarice of the "*Patricians*. It is time for you to ſhake off their tyranny; to aboliſh "Dictatorſhips and Conſulates. Make yourſelves a body that may go- "vern the *Patricians* as well as the People. If you judge me worthy of "that honour, the more power you give me, the ſooner you will be in "poſſeſſion of what you have ſo long wiſh'd for. I deſire authori- "ty with no view but to make you all rich and happy."

Y. of *R.* 370. Bef. *J. C.* 382. 38 Mil. Trib.
* A third time.
† A ſecond time.
‖ A ſecond time.
§ A ſecond time.

It is ſaid, that by ſuch ſeditious diſcourſes he meant to inſtil into his creatures the deſign of reſtoring the Royalty in his perſon: But it is not ſure that he embarked in ſo difficult an undertaking, or how far he carried his ambitious views. Thus much is certain, that he held private Aſſemblies in his houſe on the Capitol, to which he called neither *A. Manlius* nor *T. Manlius* (his brothers) nor any of his relations; and it is highly probable, that there was ſome ſcheme formed to change the Government.

The Senate, alarm'd at theſe Cabals, made a Decree, whereby the Military Tribunes were ordered *to be watchful that the Republic received no damage*; a form of words which was never uſed but in the greateſt dangers of the State, and which inveſted thoſe Magiſtrates with an authority

like

little different from that of a Dictator. After this, different means were proposed for defeating the evil designs of *Manlius*. Some Senators cried out, That the Commonwealth on this occasion stood in need of another *Servilius Ahala*, who by one bold stroke should rid her of a bad citizen and restore the public safety and tranquillity. Y. of *R.* 370. Bef. *J.C.* 382. 38 Mil. Trib.

While the *Fathers* were yet in doubt what measures to take, *M. Menius*, and *Q. Petillius*, both *Tribunes of the People*, opened to the Senate a scheme less hazardous, and more agreeable to the moderation of that body. Those two Magistrates, foreseeing that the loss of their dignities would soon follow that of the public liberty, represented, that in the present disposition of mens minds there was no attacking *Manlius* with open force, without engaging the People in his defence: That ways of violence, always dangerous, might now raise a civil war: That the first thing to be done was to separate the interests of the People from those of *Manlius*: That the *Tribunes* themselves would undertake to be his accusers, and charge him, a *Patrician*, with aiming at the tyranny: That the People, from being his Protectors, would then become his Judges, and inexorable Judges, when they found that a conspiracy was formed against their liberty.

The Senate embraced this advice; *Manlius* was cited; and as the crime alledged against him was capital, he appeared before his Judges habited in mourning. But he came unaccompanied by any of his relations. They shew'd no concern for his disgrace: So much did the love of liberty, and fear of being enslaved prevail in the hearts of the *Romans* over all the ties of blood and kindred. When the time came for his trial, his accusers charged him with his seditious discourses, his ill-meant liberalities to the multitude, and the false accusation by which he had injured the whole body of the Senate. *Livy* tells us, that he cou'd not in any Author find what direct proofs the Tribunes brought of *Manlius*'s aspiring to the Regal power. However, he supposes that sufficient proofs they had, since nothing but the circumstance of the place where he was tried hindered his immediate condemnation.

Manlius, without entering into a discussion of the articles abovementioned, gave, for answer, a relation of his services, and the testimonies he had received of them from his Generals. He produced two mural crowns of gold, his rewards for having entered the first into cities taken by assault; eight civic crowns, for having in battle saved the lives of so many citizens, among whom *C. Servilius* (when General of the Horse) was one; and thirty spoils of enemies, whom he had slain with his own hand in single combat. He then opened his bosom, and shew'd it all covered with scars, left by the wounds he had received in fight. Looking often to the Capitol he called upon *Jupiter* and the other Gods for succour; and he conjured the People to turn their faces to that sanctuary, and think of the Gods who resided there, when they were going to pronounce judgment.

The People, touched with the humiliation and distress of a *Roman*, who by his bravery had saved the Republic, and having before their eyes the

Y. of *R.* 370. Bef. *J. C.* 382. 38 Mil. Trib. very place where he had fought ſo valiantly againſt the *Gauls*, could not reſolve to find him guilty. The Tribunes plainly perceiving this, and that unleſs the multitude were removed to ſome place, whence they could not ſee the Capitol, they would never condemn the accuſed, deferr'd the deciſion of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the Aſſembly to be in the *Peteline* wood, without the gate *Flumentana*. Then the object which had ſaved *Manlius*, no longer dazzling the eyes of his Judges, he was condemned to be thrown from the Capitol itſelf; and the theatre of his glory became that of his puniſhment and ſhame. His houſe where he had held his private cabals, was razed to the ground; and it was decreed, that no *Patrician* ſhould there after dwell on the Capitol, leſt the advantageous ſituation of a fortreſs that commanded the whole city, ſhould ſuggeſt and facilitate the deſign of enſlaving it. The *Manlian* family alſo came to a reſolution among themſelves, that no member of it ſhould ever bear the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*.

The People, who pity indifferently all the unfortunate, without diſtinguiſhing the guilty from the innocent, were not long before they regretted *Manlius*: They forgot his ambition; they remembered only his valour, and the adherence he had ſhewn to their intereſts. The plague which happened ſoon after did not fail to be aſcribed by the meaner ſort to the anger of *Jupiter*, who, they ſaid, reſented the ill treatment given to the defender of his temple. Such is the levity of the multitude, ſo unſteady their love and hatred; the ſea itſelf is not more inconſtant.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *During the ſix following years and the beginning of the ſeventh* Rome *is almoſt entirely free from civil diſſentions; but wages war on abroad againſt the* Præneſtini *and* Volſci *with very little interruption.* Camillus *being one of the Military Tribunes in the year* 373, *gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when diſreſpectfully treated by one of his Collegues.*

I. §. NEITHER the crimes nor puniſhment of *M. Manlius* brought any diſcredit upon his relations. His brother **A. Manlius* was choſen one of the *Military Tribunes* at the very next election, and with him were join'd † *L. Valerius*, ‖ *Ser. Sulpicius*, § *L. Lucretius*, ‡ *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. The plague ſtill raged, and to add to the misfortune *Rome* was not only threatened again by the *Volſci*, but by ſome of her own colonies which revolted; ſo that the Senate found it neceſſary to engage the People's conſent to a war. And in order to this they promiſed to divide the *Pomptin* territory among them, and named five Commiſſioners to make the diſtribution of the lands, and three others to lead a colony to *Nepet*. This deſign was not put in execution till nine years after; however the Tribes unanimouſly agreed, notwith-

Y. of *R.* 371. Bef. *J. C.* 381. 39 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6. * A third time. † A fourth time, ‖ A third time. § A third time. ‡ A third time. *Vell. Pat.* B. 1.

notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Tribunes, that troops ſhould be raiſed to act againſt the ſeveral enemies of *Rome*. Accordingly troops were raiſed, but the plague continuing, the *Military Tribunes* durſt not lead them into the field. And tho' *Præneſte* followed the example of *Velitræ*, *Circæi*, and other colonies, the Republic was ſo low at preſent, that ſhe was obliged to ſuſpend her reſentments. *Livy*, B. 6.

But in the following *Military Tribuneſhip* of *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, **Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and †*L. Æmilius*, the two firſt march'd an army towards *Velitræ*, and in the neighbourhood of that place defeated the *Veliterni*, tho' joined by great numbers from *Præneſte*. However, the Generals did not think it adviſable to beſiege *Velitræ*, but rather to purſue the war with vigor againſt the *Præneſtins*, who had farther provoked the *Romans* by aſſiſting the *Volſci*. Y. of *R.* 372. Bef. *J. C.* 380. 40 Mil. Trib. * 4th time. † 4th time.

And now the Republic having much work upon her hands, turned her eyes again upon the invincible *Camillus*, to raiſe him a ſixth time to the *Military Tribuneſhip*. *Camillus* apprehenſive of the viciſſitude of fortune, was willing to ſpend the remainder of his days in tranquillity: But in vain he endeavour'd to excuſe himſelf, by pleading his age and infirmities; the People declared, that they did not expect him to fight in perſon either on foot or on horſeback, but only deſired him to aſſiſt the army with his counſel, and make it invincible by commanding it. The Collegues appointed him were *A. Poſthumius*, *L. Poſthumius*, *L. Furius*, * *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*. The conduct of the war againſt the *Volſci* was decreed to *Camillus* by the Senate; but it fell by lot to *L. Furius* to be joined with him. The troops conſiſting of four legions were commanded to march towards *Satricum*, which the *Volſci* and *Præneſtins* had lately taken, and where they had formed their camp. *Camillus* poſted himſelf within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy, but was in no haſte to fight; he either waited for better health, or to receive a reinforcement of troops. In the mean time the *Volſci* endeavoured to provoke the *Romans* to a battle, and the latter grew impatient of the inſult. Their ardour for fighting was increaſed by the raſh diſcourſes of young *Furius*, who imputed the prudent delays of his Collegue *to his age*, *which*, he ſaid, *had chill'd his blood*. He at length addreſſed himſelf to *Camillus*, and reproached him that he was the only perſon in the army for delaying the engagement, and urged him to comply with the deſires of the ſoldiers. *Camillus* anſwered with an air of ſuperiority, but with great temper, That hitherto the *Roman* People had not been diſſatisfy'd with his conduct in war; that nevertheleſs if the impetuoſity which hurried the ſoldiers on to an engagement was not to be reſtrained, he wiſhed them ſucceſs, but deſired to be excuſed on account of his age from engaging in the foremoſt ranks. While *Furius* drew up his troops in order of battle, *Camillus* prepared a *Corps de Reſerve* to aſſiſt his Collegue in caſe of diſtreſs; and this precaution prov'd of great importance: For when the young General, who charg'd the enemy with all the vigour common to perſons of his age, had through his indiſcreet warmth in purſuing them too far, ſuffered a defeat, *Camillus* rallied thoſe Y. of *R.* 373. Bef. *J. C.* 379. 41 Mil. Trib. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.* *Livy*, B. 6. * 3d time. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

Y. of *R.* 373 Bef. *J.C.* 379. 41 Mil. Trib. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.* *Livy*, B. 6.

who fled, and repulſed the enemy. The next day he joined battle with them again. *Furius*, whom he had placed at the head of the cavalry, being ſenſible of his fault, intreated his troops to exert themſelves to recover his reputation. Accordingly when the infantry were hard preſſed, the horſe at his requeſt diſmounted, and came ſo opportunely to their aſſiſtance, that the numerous army of the *Volſci* were entirely routed. Among the priſoners were found ſome of the inhabitants of *Tuſculum*, a neighbouring city and in alliance with *Rome*. Theſe being examined, declared that they had taken arms with the conſent of their Magiſtrates. This account alarmed the General, and he thought it neceſſary to go in perſon to *Rome* with the priſoners, and lay the matter before the Senate. During his abſence, he left *Furius* to command the troops. However it was generally thought both in the army and in the city, that his chief buſineſs at *Rome* was to accuſe his Collegue; and the Senate were ſurprized to hear him ſpeak of nothing but the revolt of the *Tuſculans*; and yet more, when of all his Collegues he choſe *Furius* to accompany him in the new expedition againſt *Tuſculum*. This conduct towards a man who had perſonally affronted him, augmented greatly the publick eſteem of his virtue. As for the *Tuſculans*, they diſarmed the reſentment of the *Romans* by making no reſiſtance. *Camillus* found the huſbandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundeſt peace; the Magiſtrates of the city ſent him proviſions, and came out to meet him; and when he entered the place he found the ſhops and ſchools open, the markets full, and not the leaſt ſign of war. The General pleaſed and ſatisfy'd with theſe tokens of repentance, adviſed the Senate of *Tuſculum* to ſend a Deputation to *Rome*, there to make their ſubmiſſion. Deputies were accordingly diſpatched, who habited in mourning, and with their *Dictator* at their head, addreſſed the *Conſcript Fathers* in a ſuppliant manner. The Senate readily forgave the *Tuſculans*, and, to make them entirely *Roman*, granted them the privileges of *Roman* citizens.

Y. of *R.* 374. Bef. *J.C.* 378. 42 Mil. Trib.

The following adminiſtration of **L. Valerius*; ‡ *P. Licinius*, ‖ *L. Menenius*, † *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, and ** *Ser. Cornelius*, was diſturbed by domeſtic ſeditions and a foreign war. The two *Cenſors* had begun to take an exact account of the People and of each man's circumſtances, when one of thoſe Magiſtrates died; upon which the other, as cuſtom required, laid down his office, and the *Romans* proceeded to a new election. But the *Patricians*, who were afraid of a *Cenſus*, (becauſe it muſt of courſe diſcover their riches and exceſſive uſury, and the oppreſſion which the poor debtors laboured under) pretended ſome defect in the election, and thence took occaſion to declare publickly, that it was againſt the will of the Gods, that *Rome* ſhould have any *Cenſors* this year. On the other hand *the Tribunes of the People* uſed their utmoſt endeavours to forward a new election, and in their harangues inveighed againſt the *Patricians*, and excited the People to mutiny: And tho' the *Præneſtins* had entered the *Roman* territory, and were encamped near the gate *Collina*, the *Tribunes* would ſuffer no levies to be made to oppoſe the enemy. It became neceſſary therefore to create a *Dictator*. *Titus Quinctius* was nominated, and he appointed *A. Sempr.* to

Livy, B. 6.
* 5th time.
‡ 3d time.
‖ 2d time.
† 3d time.
** 5th time.

to be his General of Horſe. This Remedy had its due effect; troops were raiſed in the city without oppoſition, and the *Prænestins* removed farther off. Poſſeſt with a vain conceit that the banks of the *Allia* muſt always prove a fatal place to the *Romans*, they encamp'd there, but were there routed. The *Dictator* purſued them, gave them a ſecond overthrow near *Prænestе*, and then beſieged the city which capitulated. *Quinctius* returned to *Rome*, brought with him from *Prænestе* the ſtatue of *Jupiter Imperator*, (which was placed in the *Capitol* between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*) and as ſoon as he had triumph'd laid down his office, which had laſted but twenty five days. Y. of *R.* 374. Bef. *J. C.* 378. 42 Mil. Trib.

The Government of the Republic was then divided between three *Patricians* and three *Plebeians*. The former were *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and * *L. Julius*; the latter *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinius*, and *L. Antiſtius*. Under their adminiſtration, *Rome* ſtill continued to feel the effects of the blow given her by the *Gauls*; her allies deſerted her, and her colonies declared againſt her, and join'd the *Volſci*. The two *Manlii* without drawing lots with their Collegues for the command of the army, were appointed to divide the troops between them, and march againſt the confederates; but *Rome* had ſoon reaſon to repent of this preference. When they came near the enemy, they formed two camps not far from each other, from whence they ſent out their cavalry to forage without being well acquainted with the country; nor were they ſufficiently upon their guard againſt the ſtratagems of the enemy. A *Latin* ſoldier, diſguiſed like a *Roman*, coming in great haſte, and telling the *Roman* Generals that their foragers were ſurrounded by the enemy, drew the whole army into an ambuſh, where their deſperate courage alone preſerv'd them from total deſtruction; and the *Volſci*, during the action, detach'd a part of their troops, which ſurpriz'd and plunder'd the two *Roman* camps. This ill ſucceſs and ill conduct of the *Manlii* made the Senate deliberate, whether a *Dictator* ſhould be nominated; but judging by the appearance of the enemy, that they would attempt nothing farther, it was reſolv'd to recall the army and its commanders. During theſe misfortunes abroad, *Rome* was free from all domeſtick broils; which may reaſonably be imputed to the ſhare the Plebeians had at this time in the Government. Y. of *R.* 375. Bef. *J. C.* 377. 43 Mil. Trib. * 2d time.

The next year proved not ſo peaceable, when *Sp. Furius*, § *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *P. Clœlius*, *M. Horatius*, and *L. Geganius*, all *Patricians*, were raiſed to the *Military Tribuneſhip*. The Commons got two *Cenſors* choſen, who took an exact account of the People and of their effects, and concluded the *Cenſus* with a *Luſtrum*, the nineteenth from its inſtitution. What remained for them to do was, to put an end to the diſputes between the Patricians and the Plebeians, by relieving the poor debtors: But the *Cenſors* ſuſpended this work, on the news of a freſh irruption of the *Volſci* into the *Roman* Territory, pretending, that a foreign war was a more preſſing affair than inteſtine diſſenſions. The *Tribunes of the People* however purſued their point with more warmth than ever, and oppoſed the making any levies: So that the Senate was forced Y. of *R.* 376. Bef. *J. C.* 376. 44 Mil. Trib. § A 2d time. *Faſt. Cap.* *Livy*, B. 6.

Y. of *R.* 376. Bef. *J. C.* 376. 44 Mil. Trib. forced to iſſue a Decree, that no perſon ſhould be diſturbed either for private debts, or for the public taxes during the campaign. Upon this the people immediately became tractable, the levies were made without oppoſition, and an ample revenge was taken on the *Volſci*. But the war was no ſooner at an end, than the creditors renew'd the proſecution of their debtors; and the latter could receive no help from the *Tribunes of the People* ſo long as peace abroad continued.

Y. of *R.* 377. Bef. *J. C.* 375. 45 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 5. The following year, when the Republic was govern'd by ſix *Military** *Tribunes*, all *Patricians*, the *Latines* and *Volſci* enter'd into a new confederacy againſt the *Romans*. And it is ſurpriſing, that the *Tribunes of the People* neglected this opportunity of making good their pretenſions againſt the *Patricians*; but the latter ſeem to have had at this time greatly the aſcendant over the Commons. The Republic raiſed three armies, one to guard the City, another to be ready to march on the firſt notice, and a third to take the field under the command of *Valerius* and *Æmilius*. Theſe Generals came up with the enemy near *Satricum*, a City of the *Volſci*, and gave them an entire overthrow. The routed Troops fled the ſame night to *Antium*; but the *Antiates* did not think their City in a condition to hold out a long ſiege, and were therefore for ſurrendering to the *Romans* upon conditions; the reſt of the *Volſci* being alſo weary of the war, expreſs'd an inclination to peace: Upon which the *Latines*, obſtinately averſe to any accommodation, ſeparated from them in a rage, which they vented firſt on *Satricum*, a City in the country of the *Volſci*, reducing it to aſhes, and ſparing only a Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*. (This Divinity, according to *Plutarch*, was the ſame whom the *Greeks* called *Leucothea*, or *Ino*, Daughter of *Cadmus*.) Thence they fell upon the *Tuſculans*, to puniſh them for having deſerted the *Latin* Confederacy, and accepted the privileges of *Roman* Citizens. They ſurprized the Town, but the inhabitants retired into the [illegible], where they held out till they were reliev'd by that *Roman* army which had been kept ready to march upon occaſion. The *Romans* took the place by aſſault, and the *Latines* within the walls of it were all cut to pieces, not one eſcaping.

* L. ÆMILIUS, a fifth time. S. SULPICIUS, a ſecond time. P. VALERIUS, a fourth time. | L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNAT. a 2d time. C. VETURIUS. C. QUINCTIUS.

CHAP. IV.

§. I. *The lower ſort of the People of* Rome *are over-awed and oppreſs'd by the Great and the Rich; and the Commons in general loſe that ſpirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the Nobles.* §. II. *In the midſt of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman ſets three bold and enterpriſing men at work to raiſe the fortune of the* Plebeians *higher than ever, and to obtain even the dignity of the Conſulſhip for perſons of that order. The three who form this deſign are,* M. Fabius Ambuſtus, *the Lady's Father (a* Patrician) C. Licinius Stolo, *her Huſband (a* Plebeian) *and* L. Sextius, *another* Plebeian *of great diſtinction. The two laſt having*

having obtained the office of Tribunes of the People, *propoſe a law for the reſtraining of Uſury, another to prohibit any citizen from poſſeſſing more than* 500 *acres of land, and a third to reſtore the Conſulate, and make it an eſtabliſh'd rule for the future, that of the two Conſuls one ſhall indiſpenſably be a* Plebeian. *The Senate and Patricians on this occaſion gain over to them eight of the Tribunes, who pronouncing the word* Veto *when the affair is brought before the Tribes, quaſh the whole project for the preſent.* §. III. Licinius *and* Sextius *in revenge, and to gain their point, being continued in the office of Tribunes of the Commons, oppoſe and hinder for four years ſucceſſively any election of Military Tribunes; and the Republic falls into a kind of anarchy. But in the fifth year a new war breaking out, obliges them to deſiſt from their oppoſition; and then ſix Military Tribunes, all* Patricians, *are choſen to the government. The war continuing, Military Tribunes are again elected, and theſe too are ſix men of the* Patrician *order. Nevertheleſs, as* Fabius Ambuſtus *happens to be one of the number,* Sextius *and* Licinius *having his countenance and aſſiſtance, take this opportunity to renew their propoſal of the three Laws; to which they add a fourth, importing, that Ten Guardians, inſtead of Two, ſhall have the care of the* Sybilline *Books, and that of theſe ten, five ſhall be* Plebeian. *The determination of the whole affair is ſuſpended on account of the abſence of ſo many Citizens as are employ'd in the war.* §. IV. *The next year the Republic has again ſix* Patrician *Governors, but the Senate is obliged to have recourſe to a Dictator, and* Camillus *is rais'd (a fourth time) to that dignity. He diſperſes by his authority an aſſembly of the Tribes, which the Tribunes had convened in order to get the Laws paſſed; and preſently after reſigns his poſt.* §. V. P. Manlius *is choſen Dictator in his room. This* Dictator *names a* Plebeian *to be his* General of the Horſe, *the firſt inſtance of ſuch a nomination. The Tribunes having a ſupreme magiſtrate ſo favourable to them, think of puſhing their affair with freſh vigour; but the People themſelves grow cold and indifferent as to that part of the project which relates to the Conſulate.* Sextius *and* Licinius *enraged hereat, tell them plainly in a general aſſembly, that either that law which qualifies* Plebeians *for the Conſulate, ſhall paſs, or none; and that if they perſiſt in ſuch ingratitude to their protectors, they will no longer ſerve in the office of the Tribuneſhip.* Appius Claudius *(the grandſon of the* Decemvir*) makes a ſpeech, expatiating on the inſolence ſhewn in ſuch a declaration. The deciſion of the affair is put off. Soon after the Commons obtain the Law concerning the* Sybils *Books, and then ſuffer new Military Tribunes to be choſen, all* Patricians. §. VI. *The conteſt relating to the other Laws is revived with great heat, but is again ſuſpended by the approach of an army of* Gauls. Camillus *is appointed Dictator (a fifth time.) He defeats the enemy, and has a Triumph at his return to* Rome. §. VII. *The Tribunes* Sextius *and* Licinius *being reſolved to carry their point, ſummon the Tribes, and proceed immediately to take the voices. Upon the Dictator's oppoſing their meaſures, they ſend an officer to ſeize him and carry him to priſon. This cauſes a great commotion and ſtruggle. The Dictator and Senate retire to the Senate-houſe*

to conſider what is beſt to be done, and they come to a reſolution to concede that one of the Conſuls may be Plebeian. *Hereupon the Centuries chuſe* L. Æmilius *and* L. Sextius (*the Tribune*) *to the Conſulate. But now the Senate refuſes to confirm the election of the latter, which occaſions new and warm contentions. The Dictator, to quiet them, propoſes, that the prerogative of judging in civil cauſes be taken from the Conſulate, and* Prætors *be appointed to perform that function, and that theſe Prætors be always* Patricians. *Hereto both parties agree, and the Senate acquieſce in having a* Plebeian *Conſul.* §. VIII. *The* Curule Ædileſhip *is eſtabliſh'd in favour of the* Patricians. *The Tribunes ſoon after obtain, that* Plebeians *may be choſen to the Curule Ædileſhip.* §. IX. *The next year* L. Genucius *and* Q. Servilius *being Conſuls, a dreadful plague in* Rome *carries off many perſons of diſtinction, among whom is the great* Camillus.

Y. of *R.* 377. Bef. *J.C.* 375. 45 Mil. Trib. *Livy*, B. 6. ch. 34.

§. I. A TREATY concluded with the *Antiates*, and the Defeat of the *Latines* gave the Republic an interval of reſt from foreign wars: but as the Senators and rich Patricians, when they ſtood in no need of the aſſiſtance of the lower ſort, never fail'd to oppreſs them; ſo the more quietneſs there was at this time abroad, the more violence and tyranny did they exerciſe at home towards their *Plebeian* debtors. Multitudes of theſe being inſolvent, were conſtrained to become ſlaves to their mercileſs creditors; which melancholy ſcene ſo depreſſed and ſunk the ſpirits not only of the meaner Plebeians, but even of the moſt conſiderable of that order, that, far from having the courage to ſtand in competition with the Nobles for the *Military Tribuneſhip*, there was not among them all a man of activity and experience, who would ſue for or conſent to bear even the *Plebeian Magiſtracies*[a]. But now, at this very criſis, when the Patricians [illegible]

[a] The account given above of the melancholy condition and deſponding ſpirit of the Plebeians at this time, is from *Livy*, tho' not a literal tranſlation of that author's words, which are as follow:

Quanto magis proſperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris erant, tanto in urbe vis Patrum indies miſeriæque Plebis creſcebant; quum eo ipſo, quod neceſſe erat ſolvi, facultas ſolvendi impediretur. Itaque quum jam ex re nihil dari poſſet, fama & corpore judicati atque addicti creditoribus ſatisfaciebant, pœnaque in vicem fidei ceſſerat. *Adeo ergo obnoxios ſummiſerant animos, non infimi ſolum, ſed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad Tribunatum Militum inter Patricios petendum, quod tanta vi, ut liceret, tetenderant; ſed ne ad Plebeios quidem magiſtratus capeſſendos, petendoſque ulli viro acri experientique animus eſſet: poſſeſſionemque honoris uſurpati modo à plebe per paucos annos, recuperaſſe in perpetuum patres vid[illegible]*. Ne id nimis lætum parti alteri eſſet, parva (ut plerumque ſolet) rem ingentem moliundi cauſſa intervenit. M. Fabii Ambuſti, &c.

Theſe words from *Livy* are here inſerted for the ſatisfaction of the Reader, who may chance to compare what is ſaid in the text with Monſ. *Vertot*'s account of this period of time, ſo widely differing from it.

Monſieur *Vertot* after barely mentioning the ſix years wars which *Livy* relates at large, and then adding that peace abroad occaſioned broils at home, goes on thus:

Un grand nombre de Plebeiens s'etoient diſtinguez dans ces guerres, & y avoient même acquis des richeſſes, qui leur donnoient une nouvelle conſideration. Ces Plebeiens qui avoient le courage elevé oſerent aſpirer au Conſulat & au commandement des armées.

[illegible]

to have ſecured to themſelves for ever all authority in the ſtate, and to have reduced the Commons to a kind of deſpondent ſubjection, a trifling accident gave occaſion to a wonderful change in the face of things: The Plebeians on a ſudden raiſed their drooping ſpirits, and with a dauntleſs ambition carried their pretenſions, and with ſucceſs too, higher than ever. Y. of *R.* 377. Bef. *J. C.* 375. 45 Mil. Trib.

§. II. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a Patrician of great credit in both parties, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to *S. Sulpicius* a Patrician by birth, and now Military Tribune; the younger to a rich Plebeian, named *C. Licinius Stolo.* One day when this Plebeian's wife was at her ſiſter's houſe, a Lictor who walked before *Sulpicius* at his return from the Senate, thunder'd at the door with the ſtaff of the *Faſces* (as was uſual) to give notice that the magiſtrate was coming in. This noiſe, to which the wife of *Licinius* was not accuſtomed, put her into a fright. Her ſiſter taking notice of it, could not forbear laughing at her, ſeeming much to wonder at her ignorance. A very ſmall matter, ſays *Livy*, is ſufficient to diſturb the quiet of a woman's mind. The vanity of the younger *Fabia* was ſtung to the quick by her ſiſter's laughing; it made her feel the inequality of their conditions; and her uneaſineſs did not fail to be encreaſed by the crowd of people that came to pay their court to her ſiſter, and receive her commands. Her father happening to ſee her while ſhe was yet in the firſt anguiſh of her grief, and perceiving by her countenance that ſomething troubled her, kindly aſked her what it was, and whether all was well at home. At firſt he could get no ſatisfactory anſwer from her: She was aſhamed to own either that ſhe envied her ſiſter, or was diſcontented with her huſband. But *Fabius* continuing in ſoft words to preſs her to diſcloſe the ſecret, ſhe at length confeſſed, that the true cauſe of her pain was her being married unſuitably to her qualities, and into a family incapable of honours and high ſtations. Her father being very fond of her, omitted nothing that could be ſaid to comfort her, promiſing, *that it ſhould not be long before ſhe ſaw at home the ſame honours which ſhe had ſeen in her ſiſter's houſe.* And from this time he began to plot with his ſon-in-law for the intereſt of the Commons; theſe two aſſociating in their projects *L. Sextius* a young Plebeian of capacity and ſpirit, and who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the higheſt offices in the Republic. The oppreſſion which the poor Plebeians labour'd under at this time, and from which they could never hope to be freed, but by raiſing ſome of their own body to the ſupreme power, gave a fair occaſion to the cabal to attempt an innovation in the Government. It was thought expedient, for the eaſier compaſſing their deſigns, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* ſhould begin by getting the Plebeian Tribuneſhip, a magiſtracy that would enable them to open themſelves a way to the higheſt dignities. And when they had carried that firſt point (which they ſoon did) they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to put the Plebeians, already not inferior to the Nobles in courage and virtue, upon a foot of equality with them in reſpect

Y. of *R.* 377. Bef. *J. C.* 375. 45 Mil. Trib. reſpect of honours too, boldly aiming, not at the Military Tribuneſhip, but at the very Conſulſhip itſelf. They propoſed a law for ſuppreſſing the office of Military Tribune, reſtoring the Conſulate, and requiring that of the two Conſuls to be annually choſen, one ſhould always be *Plebeian*. And in order to make the People more eager to paſs this Law, they tack'd it to two others relating to the *Debts* and the conquer'd *Lands*.

By the firſt of theſe two laws there was to be deducted from the capital debt whatever ſums had been paid for exceſſive uſury, and the principal was to be diſcharged in three years, and by three equal payments.

The ſecond was to prohibit any *Roman* Citizen from poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that reſtriction, were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer Citizens.

It is eaſy to gueſs, that laws of ſuch weighty import were not to be obtained without violent ſtruggles. Riches and honours, thoſe objects of the moſt paſſionate deſires of men, were the intereſts in queſtion. The Senators, alarm'd and terrify'd, held public and private councils, but could fall upon no expedient to avert the impending evil, except that of gaining ſome of the Tribunes over to their party; an expedient which in like conteſts they had formerly employ'd with ſucceſs And now the eight Collegues of *Licinius* and *Sextius* were all prevailed with to oppoſe the meaſures of theſe two; ſo that when the projectors of the new laws had convened the Tribes to give their voices concerning them, the other Tribunes would not ſo much as ſuffer the reading of them to the aſſembly: The word VETO (*I forbid*) put a ſtop to all proceedings thereupon. The two Tribunes having frequently aſſembled the people, but ſtill in vain, *Very well*, cried *Sextius* at length, (turning to the Patricians) *ſince* INTERCESSION[b] *is always to have ſo prevailing a power, we ſhall take care to defend the Commons with the very ſame weapon. Appoint an aſſembly whenever you pleaſe for the electing of* Military Tribunes; *the word* VETO, *which our Collegues now chant in concert ſo harmoniouſly, will not then be ſo pleaſing a muſick to your ears.*

Y. of *R.* 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 382. Theſe were no empty menaces; for the time being come for a new election of Curule Magiſtrates, *Sextius* and *Licinius* oppoſed and hinder'd all proceeding thereto; and being themſelves continued in the Plebeian Tribuneſhip, they renewed the ſame oppoſition for five years ſucceſſively, ſo that the Republic fell into a kind of Anarchy. At length, in the fifth year, a foreign enemy came as it were to the aſſiſtance of the Senate. The inhabitants of *Velitræ* a *Roman* Colony, grown wanton with idleneſs, and ſeeing no *Roman* army on foot, made ſome incurſions on the lands of the Republic, and then beſieged *Tuſculum*. The *Tuſculans* had long been allies, and had lately been admitted Citizens of *Rome*, ſo that the Plebeians as well as the Nobles were aſhamed to refuſe them aſſiſtance. *Sextius* and *Licinius* therefore waving their OPPOSITION, an

[b] The term expreſſing the *Oppoſition* of the *Tribunes* to any public act.

aſſembly

assembly was held by an *Inter-rex*, for electing Military Tribunes. Six Patricians[c] were chosen, who, after some difficulty in making the levies, marched an army against the enemy, defeated them, raised the siege of *Tusculum*, and besieged *Velitræ*. But this place not being taken by those who begun the siege, six new Military Tribunes[d] were created to carry it on. Among these was * *M. Fabius Ambustus*, the father-in-law of *Licinius Stolo*. The state of affairs at *Rome* was now much alter'd, not only by this promotion of *Fabius* to the supreme magistracy, but by an increase of strength which the favourers of the new laws had got in the college of Tribunes, of whom at this time there were but five who opposed those laws. *Licinius* and *Sextius* being thus supported by three of their collegues and by a Military Tribune, push'd their point with more warmth than ever. They were now the eighth year in office, and by long habit were thoroughly practised in the art of managing the People. In the presence of the multitude they boldly and repeatedly ask'd the chief men of the Senate, with what assurance they could desire, that the laws should allow them to possess more than five hundred acres of land, when only two acres were allotted to each Plebeian. *Is it reasonable*, said they, *that every one of you should hold the lands of near three hundred Citizens, and that a Commoner should hardly have ground enough whereon to build him a small habitation to live in, or sufficient for a burial-place when he dies?*

Y. of *R.* 382. Bef. *J. C.* 370. 46 Mil. Trib.

* A 2d time.

Y. of *R.* 383. Bef. *J. C.* 369. 47 Mil. Trib.

When by these and such like doleful words they had stirred up the People to a greater indignation than they felt themselves, they immediately added, *But how is it possible that any bounds should be set to the avarice of the* Patricians, *or to their oppression of the People, unless the People themselves will provide for their own security, by raising some of their own body to the Highest Magistracy? Nor will it be sufficient that* Plebeians *be qualified by law to be* Consuls. *They obtain'd the privilege of standing for the* Military Tribuneship; *and yet, in forty-four years, how few of their order have been promoted to that dignity! The number of* Military Tribunes *at their first institution was ordained to be* Six, *on purpose that the Commons might have a share in that magistracy; nevertheless, by the power and influence of the Nobles, their just pretensions have been almost constantly defeated. And how much easier will it be for the* Patricians, *when there are but two places to be filled by* Consuls, *to secure them both to themselves? The only remedy is, to make it an indispensible law, that there be always one* Plebeian *in the* Consulate. *From that very day, and not till then, may the* Roman *People be deem'd to have banished Kings from* Rome, *and to have established Li-*

[c] L. FURIUS, a second time. | S. SULPICIUS, a third time.
P. VALERIUS, a fifth time. | C. VALERIUS.
A. MANLIUS, a fourth time. | S. CORNELIUS, a sixth time.

[d] Q. SERVILIUS, a third time. | Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
M. CORNELIUS. | A. CORNELIUS.
C. VETURIUS, a second time. |

Y. of *R.* 383. Bef. *J.C.* 369. 47 Mil. Trib.

berty on a firm baſis: From that very day the Plebeians *will begin to ſhare in all thoſe things which now give the* Patricians *the pre-eminence over them, Power, and Honour, Military Glory, and Nobility; they will enjoy great advantages themſelves and tranſmit them greater to their poſterity.*

When the Tribunes found that theſe diſcourſes were liſten'd to with pleaſure, they propoſed a fourth law, *That* DECEMVIRS *be appointed inſtead of* DUUMVIRS, *to take care of the* Sybilline *Books, and to interpret them; and that Five of the Ten be always* PLEBEIAN. However, all proceedings on this, as well as the other regulations, were ſuſpended during the ſiege of *Velitræ*, which went on but ſlowly. The five Tribunes in the intereſt of the Senate had urged, that it was but juſt to wait the return of the army from before that place, that the Soldiers, who made ſo great a part of the Commons, might not be excluded from giving their votes when ſuch important innovations were on foot.

Y. of *R.* 384. Bef. *J.C.* 368. 48 Mil. Trib.

§. IV. THE year ending before the return of the army, the Republic choſe † ſix new Governors; but the People continued in the Plebeian Tribuneſhip the two authors of the laws in diſpute. *Sextius* and *Licinius* having once more ſummoned the People (probably toward the cloſe of the year 384) were now reſolved to proceed without any regard to the oppoſition of their Collegues [b]. The Senate terrify'd hereat, had recourſe to their laſt expedients, the *Higheſt Authority* and the *Greateſt Man*. They named *CAMILLUS* to the DICTATORSHIP, this being the

† L. QUINCTIUS CAP.
SP. SERVILIUS.
S. CORNELIUS, a ſeventh time.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
S. SULPICIUS, a fourth time.
L. VETURIUS.

[b] Father *Catrou* and Monſ. *Vertot* ſeem both of them to have miſtaken ſome words of *Livy* in this part of the ſtory, and by that miſtake to have fallen into a perplexity, which has induced the firſt to ſuppoſe a ground of conteſt between the Tribunes, for which he has no authority, and the other to omit the mentioning of any conteſt at all between them.

Both the *French* writers relate, that the Tribunes were now *unanimous* upon the affair of the New Laws. The paſſage in *Livy*, on which I ſuppoſe they found themſelves, is this: Quum Tribus vocarentur, *nec interceſſio Collegarum latoribus obſtaret*, trepidi Patres ad duo ultima auxilia, ſummum imperium ſummumque ad civem decurrunt. The words in *Italick* they underſtand to mean, *That there was no longer any oppoſition to* Sextius *and* Licinius *from their Collegues:* Whereas the context plainly ſhews the true meaning of them to be, not that *Sextius* and *Licinius* were not *oppoſed* by their Collegues, but that they were not *hinder'd* by that oppoſition from proceeding; and it was this that alarm'd the Senate ſo much, as to make them name a Dictator. The *Latin* hiſtorian ſets forth the unbridled ambition of the two enterpriſing Tribunes, who to get the Conſulate did not ſcruple to violate the moſt ſacred of all their laws, and the moſt important to the People. That the Tribunes were ſtill divided about the new Laws, as before, is evident from the words in *Livy* which preſently follow thoſe above cited. Quum Dictator ſtipatus agmine Patriciorum, plenus iræ minarumque conſediſſet, atque ageretur res *ſolito* primum *certamine inter ſe Tribunorum plebi ferentium Legem intercedentiumque*; & quanto jure potentior interceſſio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipſarum, latorumque, &c.

Father *Catrou*, not to be inconſiſtent with himſelf, conjectures that ſome of the Tribunes oppoſed the proceedings of the reſt at this juncture, not becauſe they diſapproved of the laws in queſtion, but out of reſpect for the Dictator then preſent, *Sans doute par reſpect pour le Dictateur*; that they were unanimous concerning the juſtice of paſſing the laws, and differ'd only as to the time.

fourth

fourth time of his being inveſted with that dignity. His promotion, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was much againſt the will of the People, nor was *Camillus* himſelf very forward to accept the charge, being unwilling to exert the Dictatorial authority againſt thoſe who had ſo often on great occaſions repoſed their truſt and confidence in him, and believing that he was pitched upon out of ill will, that he might be the inſtrument to ſuppreſs the People if he ſucceeded, or, failing, might himſelf be ruined. *A. of R.* 385. *Bef. J. C.* 367.

The creation of a Dictator did not deter *Sextius* and *Licinius* from convening the Tribes to give their votes upon the new laws. *Camillus*, full of anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of the Patricians, repaired to the Aſſembly, and there ſeated himſelf in his Tribunal. After the uſual conflict between the Tribunes, ſome propounding the Laws, and others proteſting againſt them, and when in ſpite of the VETO of the latter, the former ſupported by the People's favour went on to take the ſuffrages of the Aſſembly, and the firſt Tribes had already voted for the Laws, the Dictator, riſing up, declared that he was come to ſupport the privileges of the Commons, and that he would never ſuffer one part of the Tribunes *to deprive the other of their right of* Oppoſition. *Sextius* and *Licinius* laughed at this artful ſpeech, and purſued their meaſures with ſteadineſs. But when they were continuing to take the ſuffrages of the People, *Camillus* provoked at the affront put upon him, ſent his *Lictors* to drive away the *Tribes* from their reſpective places, and at the ſame time threatened, that if the People did not immediately diſperſe themſelves, he would ſummon them to the *Campus Martius*, inliſt them, and make them march into the field. Theſe menaces from a Magiſtrate, who had power of life and death over his Fellow-citizens, cauſed a great deal of uneaſineſs among the People. The Tribunes, to give them courage, had the boldneſs to threaten the Dictator, that they would get him condemned in a fine of [c] 50000 *Drachmæ* [d], if he interpoſed his authority in the preſent diſpute. Nevertheleſs the People were ſo intimidated by what *Camillus* had ſaid, that they broke up the Aſſembly, and departed without having determined any thing, which was the Dictator's chief aim. He preſently after laid down his office, either becauſe conſidering his great age, and perhaps ſtill remembring his exile, he did not care to venture himſelf again in an affair of ſo much heat; or, which *Livy* [e] thinks the more probable, becauſe he *Plutarch.* *Livy*, B. 6.

[c] Or 500,000 *Aſſes*; i. e. 1614 *l.* 11*s.* 8 *d. Arbuthnot.*

[d] The Greek *Drachma* was in value the ſame as the Roman *Denarius*, that is, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* Engliſh.

[e] *Livy* gives ſeveral reaſons for his believing that it was not fear which made *Camillus* reſign the Dictatorſhip. 1. The Character of the Man. 2. The Senate's appointing another Dictator to ſucceed him; which they would not have done, if the Dictatorial Authority had proved uſeleſs in his hands. 3. *Camillus*'s accepting of the ſame office again not long after, and when the affair of the Conſulate was not yet determin'd; which he would have been aſhamed to do, had he been ſo lately overpower'd in the exerciſe of it. 4. At the time when he was threatened with the Fine, he had power to hinder any Decree to that effect, or elſe could not have hinder'd the paſſing of thoſe Laws, for the obſtructing of which he was threatened with the Fine.

Y. of *R.* 385. Bef. *J.C.* 367. was privately informed, that there had been ſome defect in the ceremony of taking the *Auſpices* when he was created Dictator. We have already ſeen to what an exceſs of ſuperſtition the *Romans* were ſcrupulous in theſe matters; and it is not ſurpriſing therefore that a Magiſtrate, ſo pious as *Camillus*, ſhould be unwilling to retain a dignity conferr'd upon him contrary to the laws and notions of his religion.

§. V. THE Senate in this nice conjuncture not knowing how to act without a Dictator, whoſe authority might be a curb upon the Tribunes, named *P. Manlius* to ſucceed *Camillus* in that dignity. *Livy* tells us, that during a ſhort inter-regnum, which there was between theſe two Dictatorſhips, *Sextius* and *Licinius* held an Aſſembly of the People, and propoſed their Laws anew; and that they might have obtained the paſſing of thoſe two which related to *Land* and *Uſury*, if thoſe would have ſatisfied them: but that they refuſing to ſeparate the Laws, and requiring the People to give their voices upon all at the ſame time, the Aſſembly could not be brought to paſs that Law which related to the Conſulate. After this *Manlius* being created Dictator, preſently diſcover'd himſelf to be a favourer of the Commons, by naming a Plebeian, *C. Licinius* (not *Licinius Stolo* the Tribune) for his *General of the Horſe*. Such a nomination was without example, but he endeavoured to juſtify himſelf to the Senate by alledging, that *Licinius* was his near kinſman, and that the dignity of *General of the Horſe* was not greater than that of *Military Tribune*, which latter *Licinius* had heretofore enjoy'd. This ſhews, that in the conſtitutions of a ſtate, mutual fidelity between the members of a party is not much to be depended upon, becauſe of the ſecret ties that there are among Citizens of the ſame City, tho' of oppoſite parties.

And now *Sextius* and *Licinius* no longer doubted but they ſhould be able, under the adminiſtration of a Dictator ſo favourable to them, to bring their deſigns to a happy concluſion. When the election of Tribunes came on, the method they took in order to get themſelves continued in office, was, to pretend that they would no longer ſerve. They repreſented to the People, that they were grown old in the Tribuneſhip to no purpoſe, and that after ſtruggling nine years with the Senate for the good of the Commons, the only recompence they had met with for their ſervices was neglect and ingratitude. *You would very gladly*, ſaid they, *be freed from the oppreſſion of Uſury, and you are very eager to have your ſhare of the conquer'd Lands; but when the queſtion is, to promote the honour of your Tribunes, by whoſe labours and zeal you are to obtain thoſe benefits, you ſhew nothing but coldneſs and indifference. Is it conſiſtent with modeſty for you to aſk theſe advantages* by our means, *while you reſolve to leave us afterwards, not only without honour, but without hopes of honour? To be plain then, the Laws we have propoſed are inſeparable. If you are willing to paſs them conjointly, you may then chuſe us again into the Tribuneſhip; but if you are determined to reject* that *which relates to the* Conſulate, *be aſſured that we will no longer ſerve, nor ſhall you get thoſe paſſed which concern* Uſury *and the* conquer'd Lands.

All

All the Senators and Patricians in the aſſembly were ſtruck dumb for a while with amazement and indignation, to hear theſe audacious men make ſo open a confeſſion of their ambitious intereſted views. At length *Appius Claudius* (grandſon of the *Decemvir*) ſtepping forth, made a long and warm ſpeech, full of invectives againſt the two Tribunes, *thoſe TARQUINS*, as he call'd them, *the years of whoſe* perpetual *Tyranny were regularly number'd, as the years of the* Kings *were formerly in the* Capitol. And he expatiated on the inſolence of that declaration they had made, *That the Commons ſhould not be free to paſs ſuch Laws as they approved, unleſs they would at the ſame time paſs others which they did not approve, nor think to be for the publick benefit.* Y. of *R.* 385. Bef. *J. C.* 367.

Appius's harangue had no other effect, than to delay for a while the publication of the laws propoſed. The two authors of them were choſen the tenth time into the Tribuneſhip. It is probable, that the multitude being afraid of loſing ſuch able and zealous defenders, engaged themſelves to follow their directions implicitly. Upon no other conditions would *Sextius* and *Licinius* condeſcend to be Tribunes of the People; and the moſt ambitious of men had the art to make a merit of their continuing to be Lords and Maſters of their Fellow-citizens.

Not long after their re-election into power, they obtained the paſſing of that law which had been laſt preferr'd, and which related to the guardianſhip of the *Sybils* Books. The Commons content for the preſent with this victory, ſuffer'd ſix Patricians to be created Military Tribunes ‖ for the next year, without mentioning any thing of the Conſulate.

§. VI. BUT it was not long before the contention upon that ſubject was revived. The ſtruggle was more fierce and violent than ever, and the Citizens of *Rome* were juſt upon the point of taking arms againſt each other, when they were obliged to turn them on a ſudden againſt a cloud of *Gauls*, who from the coaſts of the *Adriatick* were advancing towards *Rome* to revenge the defeat of their countrymen. Y. of *R.* 386. Bef. *J. C.* 366. 49 Mil. Trib.

Enemies ſo formidable ſuſpended the diviſions of the Commonwealth. It was no longer a time for diſpute between the Patricians and Plebeians about Dignities and Prerogatives, or ſuperiority of Courage and Capacity. A common danger, the ſureſt teſt of true merit, united the deſires and voices of all to raiſe *Camillus* to the Dictatorſhip. This great man, old as he was, being near fourſcore, did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but, conſidering the peril his country was in, readily undertook it, and liſted his ſoldiers. And knowing that the force of the barbarians lay chiefly in their great ſwords, with which they laid about them in a rude unſkilful manner, hacking and hewing the head and ſhoulders, he cauſed iron helmets to be made for moſt of his men, ſmoothing and poliſhing the out-ſide ſo, that the ene- *Plutarch.*

‖ A. CORNELIUS, a ſecond time, L. VETURIUS, a ſecond time, M. CORNELIUS, a ſecond time, P. VALERIUS, a ſixth time, M. GEGANIUS. P. MANLIUS, a ſecond time.

Y. of *R.* 386. Bef. *J.C.* 366. 49 Mil. Trib.

mies ſwords lighting upon them, might either ſlide off or be broken; and round about their ſhields he drew a rim of braſs, the wood itſelf not being ſufficient to ſuſtain the blows. He alſo taught his ſoldiers to uſe in cloſe engagement long javelins, with which coming under the ſwords of their enemies, they might ſtab them before they could ſtrike, or, which held under their enemies ſwords, would bear the force and violence of them. When the *Gauls* were advanced as far as the river *Arno*, and had pitched their camp near it, *Camillus* march'd forth his Legions, and poſted himſelf not far from the enemy upon a hill of eaſy aſcent, and which had many hollow places in it, to the end that the greateſt part of his troops might be conceal'd, and thoſe which appear'd might be thought through fear to have betaken themſelves to the higher grounds. And the better to deceive the *Gauls*, he ſuffer'd them without any diſturbance to ſpoil and pillage quite up to his very trenches, keeping himſelf quiet within his camp, which was well fortify'd on all ſides. At length perceiving that a great part of the enemy were ſcatter'd in the country to forage, and having advice that thoſe who were in the camp did nothing day and night but drink and revel, he in the night-time drew forth his lighteſt armed men, and ſent them before to obſerve the enemy, and hinder them from drawing into order when they ſhould firſt ſally out of their trenches. Early in the morning he brought down his main body, and drew them up in battalia, a numerous and courageous army, which the barbarians nevertheleſs had imagined to be only a handful of cowards.

The firſt thing that abated the pride and courage of the *Gauls*, was, that they were to fight when they leaſt expected it, and that the enemy had the honour of being the aſſailants. In the next place the light-arm'd *Romans* fell upon them before they could range themſelves in their uſual order, and they were obliged to begin the fight in confuſion. But at length, when *Camillus* brought up his heavy-arm'd Legions, the barbarians with their ſwords drawn advanced boldly to attack them. The *Romans* made uſe of their javelins in the manner they had been taught, and receiving the force of the enemies blows on that part of their ſhields which was well guarded with braſs, the ſwords of the *Gauls* being made of a ſoft and ill-temper'd metal, bent in their hands, and ſtood crooked to the hilts. As for their bucklers, they were pierced through and through, and grown ſo heavy with the javelins that ſtuck in them, that they could not bear them any longer. Being forced to quit their own weapons, they endeavoured to make advantage of thoſe of their enemies, and gathering up the javelins began to employ them againſt the *Romans*. But then the *Romans* perceiving the *Gauls* to be without defenſive arms, preſently drew their ſwords, and made ſuch a ſlaughter in their foremoſt ranks, that the reſt of them immediately fled and diſperſed themſelves over the champain country. For as for the hills and upper grounds, *Camillus* had before poſſeſs'd himſelf of them, and the barbarians knew that their camp might be eaſily taken, having through confidence of victory

victory neglected to fortify it. Thoſe of them who eſcaped the purſuit of the *Romans*, fled into *Apulia*. Y. of *R.* 386. Bef. *J.C.* 366. 49 Mil. Trib.

After this victory *Camillus* led his army to attack *Velitræ* (the ſiege of which had been interrupted) but the City ſurrender'd to him without reſiſtance. He then returned to *Rome*, where the honours of a TRIUMPH were decreed him by Senate and People.

§. VII. *ROME* was no ſooner deliver'd from her fear of thoſe dangerous enemies the *Gauls*, but all was preſently in a flame again by inteſtine diviſions, on account of the three Laws ſo long diſputed. The People returning home elated with victory, were more obſtinately bent than ever on carrying thoſe points. The Senate on the other hand ſtrongly oppoſed them, and would not ſuffer *Camillus* to lay down his Dictatorſhip, thinking that under the ſhelter of his great name and abſolute authority they ſhould be better able to contend with their adverſaries. But *Sextius* and *Licinius* being determined to carry the Conſulate at any rate, took a moſt extraordinary ſtep to effect their purpoſe, and by which they probably thought to frighten the Dictator into an abdication. When he was ſitting upon his Tribunal in the *Forum* diſpatching publick buſineſs, an officer ſent by thoſe Tribunes commanded him to riſe and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the ſame time, as if he meant to carry him away by force. Never was a greater uproar or tumult in the *Forum* than on this occaſion; the Patricians, who ſurrounded *Camillus*, driving back the officer, and the multitude from below bawling out, *Pull him down, Pull him down.* *Camillus* was greatly at a loſs what to do in this exigence, yet he would not reſign his authority; but guarded by the Senators, retired with them into the Senate-houſe, in order to come to ſome final reſolution. But before he enter'd it, he turn'd towards the *Capitol*, and beſought the Gods to put an end to theſe commotions, vowing to build a Temple to CONCORD, if Union might be reſtored among his Fellow-citizens.

After warm debates in the Senate about the meaſures proper to be taken, it was at length reſolved to comply with the peoples deſires, and to accept the three laws in queſtion, as the only means to extinguiſh their obſtinate fury.

The Commons having thus obtained the victory over the Nobles, the Comitia were held for electing Conſuls, and then L. SEXTIUS the Plebeian Tribune was choſen Collegue in that dignity to *L. Æmilius Mamercinus* a Patrician. Nevertheleſs, when the election of *Sextius* ſhould have been confirmed by the Senate, the *Conſcript Fathers* abſolutely refuſed to do it; and the new diſputes on this occaſion between the two parties roſe to ſuch a height, that the Plebeians were juſt ready to leave *Rome*, and make a new SECESSION, when the Dictator propoſed an expedient for a reconciliation. Hitherto the diſpenſing of juſtice in the city had been a branch of the Conſular Office, but to which the Conſuls could not always attend, being commonly during the ſummer in the field at the head of armies. *Camillus*'s propoſal was to ſeparate this function

Y. of *R.* 386. Bef. *J.C.* 366. 49 Mil. Trib. function from the Conſulate, and to create a judge with the title of PRÆTOR, to whom it ſhould be appropriated; and he adviſed the Senate to ſuffer that one *Conſul* might be annually choſen out of the *Plebeians*, on condition that the *Prætors* ſhould be always *Patricians*. This motion was approved by both parties; *Sextius*'s election was confirm'd by the Senate, and the ſon of *Camillus* created Prætor. This office was look'd upon as the ſecond dignity in the Commonwealth, and the perſon who enjoyed it was allowed the Prætexta, the Curule Chair, and two Lictors[g] bearing *Faſces* to march before him.

Livy, B. 6. §. VIII. TRANQUILLITY being thus eſtabliſhed, the *Romans*, in gratitude to the Gods, ordered the *Great Games* to be celebrated. Theſe uſed formerly to laſt but three days, but now a fourth[h] day was added; and on this account their name of *Ludi Magni* was changed into *Ludi Maximi*. It happened that the preſent *Ædiles* (for what reaſon is unknown) refuſed to take upon them the care of making preparations for this feſtival; upon which the young *Patricians* cried out, *That ſince the affair in queſtion was the worſhip of the Gods, they ſhould think it no diſhonour to be employ'd in it, provided they might be appointed* ÆDILES. Accordingly the People, at the motion of the *Dictator*, created a new office in favour of the *Patricians*. It was called the *Curule Ædileſhip*, becauſe theſe Ædiles (two in number) had the honour of the *Curule Chair*, which the Plebeian Ædiles had not. Their buſineſs was to take care of the Temples, Theatres, Games, Markets, Tribunals of Juſtice, and the repair of the City Walls, and alſo to ſee that no novelty was introduced into Religion; in after-times they had likewiſe the inſpection over books that were publiſhed, and pieces written for the Stage.

Plut. Life of *Cam.* Nothing now remained but to fix upon a place where to build the Temple of *Concord*, which the *Dictator* had vow'd; and it was placed at the foot of the *Capitol*, on an eminence facing the *Comitium*. Thus ended a year ſo glorious for the great *Camillus*. He had vanquiſhed the moſt formidable enemies of his country, and had taught the *Romans* no longer to fear[i] them; and he had reſtored peace at *Rome* between the People and the Nobles. Full of glory and of years he laid down the *Dictatorſhip*, wholly bent on ſpending the ſmall remainder of his days in the tranquillity of a private life.

Y. of *R.* 387. Bef. *J.C.* 365. 89 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 7. Notwithſtanding ſome alarms, cauſed by a report that the *Gauls* who had diſpers'd themſelves in *Apulia*, were again got together, and that the *Hernici* threatened a rebellion, the Senate were unwilling to enter upon a war under the adminiſtration of a *Plebeian Conſul*, leſt the glory he might acquire, ſhould redound to the honour of his whole party; ſo that all continued quiet both abroad and at home, excepting that the Tribunes of

[g] The Provincial Prætors, created in after-times, were allowed ſix Lictors.

[h] *Plutarch* ſays, that this fourth day was added to the *Feriæ Latinæ*.

[i] *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Romans* had formerly feared the *Gauls* ſo much, that in a law they made to excuſe Prieſts from military ſervice, there was an exception to the caſe of an *Invaſion from the Gauls*.

the

the People grumbled exceedingly, and were very impatient to ſee, that for one Plebeian Conſul granted to the Commons, the Nobles had got three new Curule Magiſtrates out of their own body. The Senate hereupon were prevailed with to conſent, that the *Curule Ædiles* ſhould be choſen out of the *Plebeians* every ſecond year; and afterwards they left the People at full liberty to chuſe them every year out of either body. Y. of *R.* 387. Bef. *J.C.* 365. 89 Conſulſhip.

§. IX. *ROME* after theſe eſtabliſhments continued at reſt, both from foreign wars and inteſtine diviſions, under the new Conſuls *L. Genucius* a *Plebeian*, and *Servilius Ahala* a *Patrician*. But it ſeems to have been the fate of this city never to be in perfect tranquillity: A peſtilential ſickneſs ſpread itſelf on a ſudden, when no body could account for it. It could not be aſcribed to the irregularity of the ſeaſons. The winter had not been extraordinarily dry, nor had the cold weather been too ſuddenly ſucceeded by an immoderate heat. The ſummer had not been too rainy; nor had the autumnal fruits, for want of ſufficient maturity, cauſed indigeſtions: Nor laſtly, had the *Calabrian* wind blown any dangerous and unwholſome air to *Rome*. This plague ſwept away great numbers, nor did it ſpare the Magiſtrates themſelves. It carried off one Cenſor, three Tribunes of the People, and one Curule Ædile; but its moſt fatal ſtroke was the death of the great *Camillus*, who was more regretted than all the reſt who died of this diſtemper; tho', as *Plutarch* obſerves, his death could not be reckoned immature, whether we conſider his great age, or the conſummate glory he had acquired. Y of *R.* 388. Bef *J.C.* 364. 90 Conſulſhip. *Oroſ.* B. 3.

CHAP. V.

§. I. *In the following Conſulate (of* C. Sulpicius *and* C. Licinius Stolo) *the plague continuing, and the* Romans, *to remove it, having in vain tried the ſuperſtitious ceremony of the* Lectiſternium, *they endeavour to appeaſe the Gods by inſtituting to their honour the* Scenic Shews. *This expedient alſo failing, they try another the next year* (L. Æmilius (the ſecond time) *and* Cn. Genucius *being Conſuls) which is, to create a Dictator to* drive a Nail *into the wall of the Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus. *The plague ceaſes; but* L. Manlius Imperioſus *the Dictator is unwilling to reſign his authority, and uſes violence to make the People liſt themſelves for a war with the* Hernici. *The Tribunes however oblige him to abdicate; and in the following Conſulate of* Q. Servilius *and* L. Genucius *(both Conſuls a ſecond time) he is cited by the Tribune* Pomponius *to anſwer for his miſconduct during his Dictatorſhip, and particularly for his cruelty to his own ſon, named* Titus. *The ſon, who was in the country, hearing of what paſs'd, comes to* Rome, *ſurprizes* Pomponius *in his bed, and by threatening to ſtab him, makes him ſwear to deſiſt from the proſecution. The People, pleaſed with the filial piety of young* Manlius, *give him ſoon after the poſt of* Legionary Tribune *(or Colonel.)* §. II. *In this ſame year the earth opens*

opens on a ſudden in the midſt of the Forum, *and continues open, to the great terror of the City.* M. Curtius, *a young Patrician, moved by an obſcure anſwer of the Augurs, who had been thereupon conſulted, leaps into the gulph compleatly armed and on horſeback. Some authors ſay, that the earth immediately cloſed.* §. III. *The Conſul* Genucius, *the* FIRST PLEBEIAN Rome *had ever placed* at the head of an Army, *conducts the war againſt the* Hernici. *He falls into an ambuſh, his Legions are routed, and he himſelf ſlain. This diſaſter is imputed by the Patricians to the anger of the Gods on account of the profanation of the Augural Ceremonies, by inaugurating a* Plebeian. *The ſurviving Conſul names* Appius Claudius *Dictator, who carrying on the war, gains a victory, but with great loſs.* §. IV. *The People, notwithſtanding the clamours of the Patricians, chuſe* Licinius Stolo *(that famous* Plebeian) *a ſecond time to the Conſulate. They give him for a Collegue* C. Sulpicius Peticus. *But the* Tyburtes *revolting ſoon after, and it being ſuſpected that they were encouraged to this revolt by a ſecret promiſe of aſſiſtance from the* Gauls, *it is thought neceſſary to create a Dictator.* T. Quinctius Pennas *is named to that dignity. The* Gauls *advance within three miles of* Rome, *encamping on the banks of the* Anio. *The* Romans *pitch their camp on the oppoſite hill, a bridge parts the two armies. On this bridge young* Manlius *in ſingle combat ſlays the mightieſt champion of the* Gauls, *a man of a gigantick ſtature; which accident ſo diſcourages them, that they leave their camp in the night and in confuſion. The next year (in the Conſulate of* M. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* C. Pœtelius Libo) *the* Gauls *appear again in the neighbourhood of* Rome; *and the* Romans *(under the conduct of* Servilius Ahala, *created Dictator) once more defeat them. The two Conſuls make war with ſucceſs againſt the* Tyburtes *and the* Hernici.

§. I. NOTWITHSTANDING all the Victories which the *Romans* had won, the many Towns they had taken, and the numerous *Colonies* they had planted ſince the birth of their State, their juriſdiction at the time of *Camillus*'s death was not extended above ſix or ſeven leagues from their Capital, and this only on the ſide of *Hetruria*. The frequent contentions between the Nobility and People, not only checked the progreſs of their victorious arms, but revived the hopes of the conquer'd nations. So that the conquerors were obliged to be perpetually running in the ſame round of wars againſt the ſame enemies, whom they found it eaſy to ſubdue, but not poſſible to keep long in ſubjection.

Y. of *R.* 389. Bef. *J. C.* 363. 91 Conſulſhip. Such was the ſtate of *Rome*, when *C. Sulpicius* and *C. Licinius Stolo* took poſſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*. The latter was that famous *Licinius* (ſon-in-law to *Fabius Ambuſtus*) who jointly with his Collegue *Sextius* had contrived the four laws, and at the end of ten years, during which he had been *Tribune of the People*, had obtained the publication of them. And now the promiſe *Fabius* had made to his younger daughter was fulfilled,

and

and ſhe had the pleaſure of ſeeing the *Lictors* with their *Faſces* march before her *Plebeian* huſband. Y. of *R.* 389. Bef. *J. C.* 363. 91 Conſulſhip.

The plague ſtill continuing, the *Romans* to put a ſtop to it had recourſe to their old ſuperſtition of the *Lectiſternium*. But this proved ineffectual; and they endeavoured therefore to avert the anger of the Gods by a new inſtitution to their honour. Hitherto *Rome* had no other Publick Sports but thoſe of the *Circus*, that is to ſay, Races and Wreſtling, which were very proper exerciſes for ſo warlike a people. But now they introduced a new ſort of *Shows*, which at firſt were innocent, but afterwards became indecent, and had a natural tendency to corrupt mens manners. Theſe ſhows were called *Scenici*, becauſe they were repreſented on a *Scene*, that is, a ſtage built in the *Shade*. The performers, who were brought to *Rome* from *Hetruria*[a], danced to the Flute, and kept time with their motions and geſtures; but their *Entries* had no manner of relation one to another; neither were the Dances accompanied with any verſes or diſcourſes in theſe early times. *Livy*, B. 7. c. 2. *Val. Max.* B. 2. ch. 1. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 2.

This kind of Comedy being performed in a part of the *Circus* near the banks of the *Tyber*, and the river happening to overflow at this time, the People concluded, that the new remedy they had invented to appeaſe the Gods would be ineffectual. However, as they had been agreeably amuſed, they did not lay aſide the entertainments of the *Scene*.

In the following Conſulſhip of ‖ *L. Æmilius* and *Cn. Genucius*, the plague not ceaſing, the *Romans* bethought themſelves of an old religious ceremony which, according to tradition, had ſucceeded in the like caſes. This was *the driving of a Nail* by a Dictator into the walls of the Temple Y. of *R.* 390. Bef. *J. C.* 362. 92 Conſulſhip. ‖ A 2d time.

[a] The *Hetrurian* word which ſignified a *Player* or *Dancer*, was *Hiſter*; and hence the name of *Hiſtriones*, given by the *Romans* to all Stage-players. The firſt ſpeakers on the ſtage fell into the vicious taſte of the *Feſcennini*, a people of *Hetruria*, who threw coarſe and unpremeditated jeſts at one another. Theſe were ſoon ſucceeded by ſatires written in verſe, and ſet to the flute; which ſatires were repeated with ſuitable geſtures. And ſome years after, *Livius Andronicus*, who acted his own pieces, turn'd the Satires into regular Plays, and confined himſelf in his compoſitions to one uniform matter. But he was called upon ſo often to repeat his Plays, that he at laſt became hoarſe, and loſt his voice. Hereupon he got the people's conſent that a young man ſhould ſing for him, whilſt he only accompanied the verſes with proper geſtures; and then his action ſoon became more perfect, when his attention was no longer divided between ſinging and acting. When theſe Theatrical Pieces were thus brought into form, the Farces, which had made people laugh, were deſpiſed and neglected. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* youth revived them, and acted them at the end of their ſerious pieces. When the profeſs'd actors had finiſh'd their parts, ſome young *Romans* came upon the ſtage maſked, and began to repeat merry verſes, as formerly, but ſuch as were free from obſcenity. Theſe pieces, which were a ſort of compoſition between Satires and regular Plays, had their firſt riſe in *Atella*, a city in *Campania*, and were called *Exodia*, that is, Verſes not belonging to the Play. The *Romans* borrowed them from the *Oſci*, a people of *Campania*. But the *Roman* youth never ſuffer'd the profeſſed actors to bear any part in their *Exodia*, leſt they ſhould diſhonour them. The perſons who acted theſe pieces were not liable to the penalties to which the *Hiſtriones* were ſubject; their names were not blotted out of the roll of the *Tribes* in which they had been incorporated; nor were they excluded from military ſervices, as infamous perſons.

Y. of *R.* 390. Bef. *J.C.* 362. 92 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 3.

of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, on the ſide next *Minerva*'s ſanctuary, which was under the ſame roof. This Goddeſs was deem'd the inventreſs of Numbers; and the *Romans* uſed to number the years of their ſtate by nails. *Livy* tells us, that there was a law written in antique characters and obſolete words, and fixed upon the Chapel of *Minerva*, importing, *That the chief Prætor for the time being ſhould on the Ides of* September DRIVE THE NAIL. (When this law was made, the *Romans* probably were unacquainted with the numeral letters.) The ſame author adds, that the Conſul *Horatius*, who dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter* the year after the expulſion of *Tarquin*, performed at the ſame time the ceremony of driving the Nail, which function was afterwards transferred from the Conſuls to Dictators, as magiſtrates of greater dignity and power; and that the cuſtom having been diſcontinued, it was now thought a matter of ſufficient importance for which a Dictator ſhould be expreſly created.

T. Manlius was the perſon named to the Dictatorſhip. It is likely that the plague, which had laſted three years, ceaſed about this time, becauſe *Livy* makes no further mention of it. But *Manlius* being diſſatisfied to have the whole buſineſs of his office confined to a religious ceremony, and it being believ'd that the *Hernici* were preparing to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, he laid hold of this pretext to continue himſelf in power. He order'd troops to be rais'd, and even uſed violence to make the citizens inliſt themſelves. However, the *Tribunes of the People* oppoſed his deſign, repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to abdicate. And the *Conſuls* for the new year, † *Q. Servilius* and ‖ *L. Genucius*, were no ſooner in office, than he was cited by *Pomponius*, one of the *Tribunes*, to anſwer before the People for the violence and cruelty which he had exerciſed toward the Citizens. But nothing was ſo much deteſted as his cruel nature, and the ſurname of *Imperioſus* (intolerable in a free city) which he had acquired by his exceſſive ſeverity, ſhewn no leſs to his own blood and kindred than to ſtrangers. For the Tribunes, among other things, accuſed him of inhumanly and barbarouſly treating one of his own ſons for no juſt cauſe, and meerly upon account of ſome natural defects. This ſon of *Manlius*, named *Titus*, had an impediment in his ſpeech, and was beſides of ſlow parts; and for theſe reaſons only, his father had confined him to the country, where he made him work like one of his ſlaves.

Y. of *R.* 391. Bef. *J.C.* 361. 93 Conſulſhip. † A 2d time. ‖ A 2d time. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 4.

Manlius had a copy of his accuſation given him, and twenty ſeven days to prepare for his defence. All were highly exaſperated againſt him, except the ſon himſelf, who hearing of what paſs'd, and not being able to endure the thought that he too ſhould furniſh matter of accuſation againſt his father; and to the end that Gods and Men might know how far he was from wiſhing to give his father's enemies any aſſiſtance, he reſolved upon a moſt extraordinary method to deliver him, a method (as *Livy* obſerves) ſuitable to his ruſtic education and character, but laudable for the filial piety that inſpired it. Early in the morning he privately and alone left the village to which he had been baniſhed, came to *Rome*, and

Cic. Offic. B. 3.

ſtopt till he arrived at the door of *Pomponius* the Tribune, who was not yet up. He ſent him word, that the ſon of *Manlius* deſired to ſpeak with him about an affair that would admit of no delay. The Tribune believing that the young man was come either to thank him for the concern he had taken in his misfortunes, or perhaps to diſcover to him ſome new proofs of his father's ſeverity, order'd him to be brought in. *Manlius*, as ſoon as they had ſaluted each other, deſir'd to ſpeak with him in private without witneſſes; upon which every body preſent was order'd to retire. Then the young man drawing out a ponyard, and ſtanding over the *Tribune*, threatened to run him through, if he did not immediately and ſolemnly ſwear to deſiſt from the proſecution of his father. *Pomponius* was too much terrified not to ſwear whatever the other pleaſed to dictate; and he excuſed himſelf afterwards to the People for his dropping the proſecution, by alledging the oath which had been extorted from him. The People were not diſpleaſed at the bold enterprize of a ſon in favour of a father, which was the more laudable, inaſmuch as the father's ſeverity had not been able to leſſen the filial piety of the ſon. So that not only the father was diſcharged, but the affair ended much to the honour of young *Manlius*, who the ſame year was promoted, by the ſuffrages of the People, to one of the moſt important poſts in the army. Every *Roman* Legion was commanded by ſix *Legionary Tribunes*, and theſe officers had been hitherto left to the choice of the Generals; but this year the People thought fit to elect part of them in the *Comitia*. Of twenty four *Legionary Tribunes* appointed at this time, the People choſe ſix, and *T. Manlius* was named the ſecond of the ſix. We ſhall ſoon ſee his merit raiſe him above the misfortunes of his education.

Y. of *R.* 391. Bef. *J. C.* 361. 93 Conſulſhip.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 4.

§. II. THE ſame year a very extraordinary accident threw the City into a conſternation. The ground, perhaps by the violence of an earthquake, opened to a great breadth and depth in the midſt of the *Forum*, and continued gaping in a frightful manner. Neither could this chaſm be filled up by throwing abundance of earth into it, wherein the Citizens laboured with great diligence. The Augurs being conſulted hereupon, told them, *That their purpoſe would never be effected, until that thing, wherein the ſtrength and power of the* Roman *People chiefly conſiſted, were dedicated and devoted to that place, and that ſuch a ſacrifice would ſecure the eternal duration of the* Roman *ſtate.* Great conſultation there was, and much doubt concerning the meaning of this Oracle. At length *M. Curtius* a Patrician, a brave young man, reproving the ſtupidity of his fellow-citizens, aſked them, how they could doubt whether *Rome* had any thing more valuable than Arms and Valour? Having armed himſelf compleatly, and mounted a horſe richly capariſon'd, he came to the *Forum*, where the People were aſſembled in crowds. While they ſtood ſilent with wonder and expectation, he turned his eyes one while to the *Capitol* and then to the Pit, and having adored the celeſtial and infernal Gods, and devoted himſelf to death for his country, he leapt at once horſe and man into the gulph. The People, both men and women, threw

Livy, B. 7. ch. 6. *Val. Max.* B. 5. *Oroſ.* B. 3. S. *Auſtin.* de Civitat. Dei. B. 5.

Y. of *R.* 391. Bef. *J.C.* 361. 93 Conſulſhip. *Val. Max.* B. 5. ch. 6.

threw in after him great quantities of corn, fruit, and other oblations; and it is probable that with theſe, and afterwards with earth and rubbiſh, the hole was quite filled up. But ſome authors fabulouſly report, that the ground immediately cloſed upon *Curtius*'s precipitating himſelf into the opening.

§. III. AFTER this expiation, the *Romans* unanimouſly reſolv'd to turn their arms againſt the *Hernici*, who had made depredations in the territory of *Rome*, and had refuſed the ſatisfaction demanded by the heralds of the Republic. The conduct of the war fell by lot to *Genucius*, the firſt *Plebeian Conſul* that was ever intruſted with the Command of an Army; and both parties were very anxious about the ſucceſs of his expedition, becauſe according to the event it would be judged whether the Republic had done well to admit *Plebeians* to ſhare in the Conſular Dignity. It happened unluckily for the Commons, that *Genucius* proved unſucceſsful in the campaign. He fell into an ambuſh, his legions were routed, and he himſelf killed. The Patricians did not fail to take advantage of this accident. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of *Rome* were owing to the vengeance of the Gods, who had been deſpiſed. That the Commons might indeed by force of a law deprive the Nobles of their birth-right, and transfer the *Auſpices* to thoſe who could not take them without impiety; but that no ſuch law would prevail againſt the immortal Gods, whoſe anger at the profanation of their rites was ſufficiently declared by the defeat of the army, and the death of its Commander.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 6.

Servilius the ſurviving Conſul, with the approbation of the Senate, named to the Dictatorſhip *Appius Claudius*, the man who had the moſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the oppoſition made to the new law complained of. While *Appius* was raiſing a ſecond army at *Rome*, the *Hernici*, fluſh'd with their ſucceſs, advanced to attack the camp of the *Romans* under the command of *C. Sulpicius*, who had been Lieutenant to *Genucius*, and had ſince that General's defeat collected his ſcatter'd troops. The *Romans* couragiouſly ſallied out of their entrenchments, and repulſed the enemy. *Appius* ſoon after arrived with his new levies, and having rewarded the bravery of the Lieutenant and his ſoldiers with praiſes, prepared for a general battle.

On the other hand, the *Hernici*, in order to preſerve the advantage they had gained over *Genucius*, exhauſted their whole country of men to reinforce their army; and, among the multitude of their ſoldiers, choſe out three thouſand two hundred, whom they divided into eight *Cohorts*, of four hundred each. Theſe were the flower of their army, and made a ſeparate corps that their valour might be the more conſpicuous; and to engage them to behave themſelves bravely, their Generals honour'd them with marks of diſtinction, promiſed them double pay, and exempted them from all the drudgery of military ſervice. In the general action, which ſoon followed, when the *Roman* Knights had made ſeveral efforts in vain to diſorder the enemy's battalions, and when with permiſſion of their General they had diſmounted, and placed themſelves in

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the firſt line of the foot, the eight choſen *Cohorts* made head againſt them, ſo that the flower of both nations came now to a cloſe engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, and it ſeemed to be only the *better fortune* of the *Romans* which determined it in their favour. However, they loſt a fourth part of their army, and a great number of *Knights*. *Appius* had no Triumph granted him, which can be imputed to nothing but the unwillingneſs of the People to do honour to the moſt declared enemy of the *Plebeian* party. Y. of *R.* 391. Bef. *J.C* 361. 93 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 8.

§. IV. AND now notwithſtanding the misfortune of *Genucius* and the murmurs of the Nobility, the *Centuries* made no ſcruple to chuſe a Conſul out of the *Plebeians* for the next year. *C. Licinius Calvus Stolo* was elected a ſecond time; and with him was joined *C. Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*. Under theſe Generals the *Romans* advanced into the country of the *Hernici*, and finding no enemy in the field, laid ſiege to *Forentinum*. This place having ſurrendered, they took the road to *Rome*; but when they came to *Tybur*, they found the gates ſhut againſt them. There had been frequently miſunderſtandings between the Republic and the *Tyburtes*, but now it was war declared; and the *Romans* perhaps believing that the *Tyburtes* could not have the confidence to think of coping with the Republic, unleſs encouraged by ſome ſecret intelligence with the *Gauls*, who were in motion, thought proper, as in time of imminent danger, to name a *Dictator*. *T. Quinctius Pennus* was the perſon nominated to that dignity; and he appointed *S. Cornelius* to be his General of the Horſe. Y. of *R.* 392. Bef. *J.C.* 360. 94 Conſulſhip.

The apprehenſions of the Republic were not groundleſs. The *Ciſalpine Gauls* having taken arms again to revenge their defeat, came and encamped three miles from *Rome*, near one of the bridges of the *Anio*. The *Romans*, under the command of the Dictator, immediately advanced to meet them. Nothing but the river parted the two armies, and neither party endeavoured to break down the bridge, leſt it ſhould ſeem to argue fear. This bridge became the ſcene of many combats between the champions of the two armies. One day a *Gaul* of a gigantic ſize advanced upon the bridge, and challenged the ſtouteſt of the enemy to ſingle combat. His extraordinary ſtature ſtruck ſuch a terror into the braveſt of the *Romans*, that not one of them for a long time durſt enter the liſts againſt him. Young *Manlius* alone, who had ſo remarkably ſignaliz'd his piety to his father, thought he had found a danger worthy of his valour. He went to the *Dictator*, and aſked permiſſion of him to encounter the *Gaul*: *For*, ſaid he, *tho' I were ſure of victory, I would never fight out of my rank without your command; but if you will give me leave, I will ſhew that huge beaſt, that I am deſcended of the ſame family which drove the* Gauls *headlong from the* Capitol. *Go, Manlius*, anſwered the Dictator, *and be as couragious for the glory of thy country, as thou waſt for the defence of thy father.* The two champions came ſoon to an engagement. *Manlius* had for this combat choſen a ſhort ſword made both for cutting and ſtabbing, and, artfully getting within the long one of his enemy, gave him two ſtabs, and laid him breathleſs on the ground. The

Y. of *R.* 392. Bef. *J. C.* 360. 94 Conſulſhip. † In Latin, *Torquis.*

Gaul had a Gold Collar † about his neck, which *Manlius* took from him, and put it about his own in token of victory; and hence it was that he got the ſurname of *Torquatus*, which deſcended to his poſterity. The event of this ſingle combat ſeem'd to the *Gauls* ſo bad an omen for the reſt of the war, that they abandon'd their camp in the night, and diſpers'd themſelves in *Campania*. Nor could they well have retired to their own country without the aſſiſtance of the *Tyburtes*, who furniſhed them with proviſions.

Oroſ. B. 5.

Y. of *R.* 393. Bef. *J. C.* 359. 95 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 11.

This people had too openly declared againſt the Republic to be ſuffer'd to go unpuniſh'd; and ſo ſoon therefore as the *Conſuls* for the new year, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *C. Pœtelius Libo* enter'd upon their office, levies were made at *Rome* to chaſtiſe them. *Pœtelius* conducted this war, while *Fabius* marched againſt the *Hernici*, who perſiſted in their revolt. The Republic was at this time deſtitute of all aſſiſtance from abroad. The very *Latines*, formerly ſo attached to her, ſtood abſolutely neuter. In the mean time the *Gauls* ventur'd to advance again to the very neighbourhood of *Rome*, and block'd up the gate *Collina*. To make head againſt theſe dangerous enemies, the Republic named *Servilius Ahala Dictator*, without recalling either of the *Conſuls*. *Servilius* came to an engagement with the *Gauls* under the very walls of *Rome*, where the *Romans* fighting within ſight of their fathers, wives, and children, were irreſiſtible. The *Gauls* fled towards *Tybur*, and being favour'd by the *Tyburtes*, who made a ſally to facilitate their retreat, enter'd it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of *Pœtelius*, who attack'd them in their flight. *Pœtelius* nevertheleſs obtained a Triumph, while his Collegue *Fabius*, who had fought with ſucceſs againſt the *Hernici*, had only an *Ovation*. The *Dictator*, who had moſt deſerved a Triumph, declined that honour, and laid down his *Dictatorſhip*.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *The* Faſces *are tranſferred to* M. Pompilius Lænas *and* Cn. Manlius. *A domeſtic ſedition, which was ſoon quell'd, an incurſion of the* Tyburtes, *who were ſoon repulſed, and the commencement of a new war againſt* Rome *by the* Tarquinienſes, *are the chief events of this Conſulſhip.* §. II. *The ſucceeding Conſuls are* C. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* C. Plautius Proculus. *The* Gauls *appear on a ſudden in the plains of* Prœneſte. *Hereupon* C. Sulpicius *is named Dictator, who with an army ſtrengthen'd by the* Latines (*who now renew their antient treaties with* Rome) *marches againſt the* Gauls. *The Dictator for prudential reaſons avoids an engagement with the enemy, till he is forced to it by the mutinying of his ſoldiers, impatiently ardent to fight. By the help of a new ſtratagem he obtains a compleat victory. He has a Triumph at his return, and then reſigns the Government to the Conſuls.* Plautius *ſubdues the* Hernici, *but* Fabius *is vanquiſhed by the* Tarquinienſes. §. III. *Two new Tribes are form'd. A Law is paſs'd againſt openly canvaſſing for votes. Another (in the following*

following adminiſtration of C. Martius Rutilus *and* Cn. Manlius, *who is now a ſecond time Conſul) fixing the legal intereſt of money at One* per Cent. Licinius Stolo, *author of the law againſt any man's poſſeſſing more than five hundred acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is paſſed againſt holding the* Comitia *in any place but* Rome. §. IV. *New Conſuls are choſen.* M. Fabius Ambuſtus *and* M. Popilius Lænas (*both a ſecond time*;) *but the* Faliſci *and* Tarquinienſes *having engaged all* Hetruria *to take part with them againſt* Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, *the* PLEBEIAN *Conſul of the laſt year, is named* DICTATOR *by* Popilius *the Plebeian Conſul of this, to the great diſpleaſure of the Nobles. He obtains a compleat victory over the enemy, and has a Triumph, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Senate. However, he is not ſuffered (becauſe a Plebeian) to hold the* Comitia *for the new election of Conſuls. The aſſembly is held by an* Inter-rex, *and then* TWO *Patricians* (C. Sulpicius Peticus *(a third time) and* M. Valerius) *are choſen to the Conſulate, contrary to the intent of one of the* Licinian *laws, and the cuſtom for eleven years paſt. The next year the* Faſces *are again in the hands of* two Patricians. *Theſe are* M. Fabius Ambuſtus (*a third time Conſul) and* T. Quinctius Pennus. *The former ſubdues the* Tyburtes, *the latter defeats the* Tarquinienſes. (*The* Samnites *conclude an alliance with the* Romans.) *The Nobles prevail once more to have only* Patricians *in the Government.* C. Sulpicius Peticus (*a fourth time*) *and* M. Valerius (*a ſecond time*) *are promoted to the Conſulate. The former is appointed to lead an army into* Hetruria *againſt the* Tarquinienſes *and* Faliſci; *the latter another againſt the* Volſci; *and ſoon after* T. Manlius (who had never been CONSUL) *is named* DICTATOR *to conduct a third army againſt the* Cœrites. *The* Cœrites *ſubmit. The Conſuls act only on the defenſive.*

§. I. THE *Tyburtes* made a jeſt of *Pætelius*'s Triumph, and threatened to be ſoon again at the gates of *Rome*. This made the *Romans* ſenſible, that theſe enemies were neither conquered nor humbled; and the new Conſuls therefore, *M. Popilius Lænas* and *Cn. Manlius Imperioſus*, would probably have led an army into the territory of *Tybur*, if they had not been hinder'd by a ſudden riſing in the City, of the People againſt the Senate. *Popilius* was *Pontifex* to the Goddeſs *Carmenta*, as well as *Conſul*, and was juſt offering a ſacrifice, when he received the news of the commotion. He ran from the altar in his Pontifical Robe to the place where the People were aſſembled, and by his influence put a ſtop to the ſedition. And becauſe the robe he then wore was of wool, which was then call'd *Læna* (not *Lana*) he thence got the name of *Lænas*. But *Popilius* was very ſoon obliged to aſſume the Soldier. A handful of *Tyburtes*, out of a bravado, and to make good their late threatenings, came in the dead of the night to the very gates of *Rome*, and alarm'd the City. The two Conſuls, as ſoon as it was day, march'd out with their Troops at different gates, and eaſily repulſed theſe bold enterpriſers, whoſe attempt ſerved only

Y. of *R.* 394. Bef. *J. C.* 358. 96 Conſulſhip.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 12. *Cic.* in *Brut.*

Y. of *R.* 394. Bef *J.C.* 358. 96 Conſulſhip. to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity in *Rome*, and totally extinguiſh the ſedition.

In this ſame year the *Tarquinienſes*, a people of *Hetruria*, enter'd the *Roman* Territory in arms; nevertheleſs the *Romans* poſtponed their revenge till they had choſen new *Conſuls*.

Y. of *R.* 395. Bef *J.C.* 357. 97 Conſulſhip. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 12, 13, 14.

§. II. THE perſons elected were *C. Fabius Ambuſtus* and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The hoſtilities of the *Tarquinienſes* were ſoon followed by a new alarm from the *Boii*, who appear'd on a ſudden in the plain of *Præneſte*, and advanced as far as *Pedum*. But in the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes of the Republic, the *Latines* (for what reaſon is uncertain) very ſeaſonably renewed their ancient treaty of alliance with *Rome*, and furniſh'd her with the ſame *quota* of men as formerly. With this reinforcement ſhe was in a condition to make head againſt all her enemies. *C. Sulpicius* was named Dictator to conduct the war againſt the *Gauls*. With the beſt Legions of the *Conſular* armies, ſtrengthened by the *Latin* auxiliaries, he took the field, and met the enemy. Both armies were very ardent to engage; but the *Dictator* reſtrained the impetuoſity of his troops, thinking it better policy not to run the hazard of a battle, ſince the *Gauls* muſt neceſſarily be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, having prepared no magazines, and being no longer ſupplied by the *Latines*. The ſoldiers however did not enter into their General's views, and univerſally murmured againſt him, as a timorous commander of brave men. They came in crowds to the *Dictator*'s quarters, and demanded acceſs to him, having named *Sextius Tullius* (a man of diſtinguiſh'd courage, and who for ſeven years paſt had been firſt Captain of the firſt *Corps* in the army) to be their ſpeaker. *Sulpicius* was ſurprized to find himſelf ſurrounded by a number of mutineers, and eſpecially to ſee *Sextius* at their head, whom he had thought an unblameable officer. *Sextius*, in the name of the army, reproached him with the diſadvantageous opinion he ſeemed to have entertained of the valour of his troops, and urged him to lead them to the enemy. His ſpeech to the *Dictator* was follow'd by the acclamations of the multitude, who all cried out for leave to arm and march to battle. *Sulpicius* found himſelf under a neceſſity of promiſing to comply with their deſires; but then, taking *Sextius* aſide, he aſked him, *What it was that had put him at the head of a Faction?* The brave *Centurion* reply'd, that it was not any want of reſpect to his General, or ignorance of the Martial Laws; but to prevent the ſoldiers chuſing an inſolent leader, who might do ſomething injurious to the dignity of the *Dictator*. He then adviſed *Sulpicius* to yield to the deſires of the ſoldiers, who otherwiſe ſeem'd inclined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of fighting, whether he would or not. An accident preſently convinced the *Dictator* of the truth of what *Sextius* had told him. Two beaſts of burden, which eſcaped out of the *Roman* intrenchments, and were ſeized by the *Gauls*, had like to have been the occaſion of a general action. The *Roman* ſoldiers were with difficulty reſtrained by their Centurions. *Sulpicius* therefore thought it no

longer proper to delay the engagement, and gave notice in the camp that he would offer battle the next day. Y. of *R.* 395. Bef. *J. C.* 357.

The *Romans* being inferior to the *Gauls* in number, the *Dictator*, to remedy this diſadvantage, made uſe of a ſtratagem which had never been practiſed before. He order'd his Muleteers to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horſes, to mount them, march ſilently up to the hills, and hide themſelves in the woods till they receiv'd farther orders. This extraordinary body of troopers, to the number of about one thouſand, appearing opportunely in the plain in the heat of the action, ſo intimidated the *Gauls*, who fear'd to be ſurrounded, that they preſently diſperſed and fled, loſing more men in their flight than in the action, for few of them eſcaped the ſlaughter. 97 Conſulſhip. *Frontin.* Strat.

Sulpicius, when he had been honoured with a Triumph, and had made a preſent of ſome of the enemies ſpoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, abdicated the *Dictatorſhip*, and the Government return'd into the hands of the two *Conſuls* for the year. *Plautius* vanquiſhed the *Hernici*, and totally ſubdued them. But *Fabius* was defeated in battle by the *Tarquinienſes*, who, to ſhew their contempt of the Republic, cut the throats of 307 *Roman* priſoners. However, the Conciliation of the *Latines*, the total Overthrow of the *Gauls*, and the Reduction of the *Hernici*, made this a proſperous year for the Republic. *Rome* was now in almoſt as flouriſhing a condition as before it was taken by King *Brennus*. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 15.

§. III. SOME *Roman* Citizens being at this time ſent into the *Pomptin* Territory, to ſtop the incurſions of the *Veliterni* and *Privernates*, form'd a new *Tribe* there, which with the *Tribe Publicia*, or *Popilia*, lately eſtabliſhed in the territory of the *Volſci*, made the whole number of the *Tribes* twenty ſeven.

At this time likewiſe a law was made, at the motion of *Pætelius* the Tribune, and with approbation of the Senate, againſt openly canvaſſing for votes. It was occaſioned by the ambition of the *Novi Homines*, or *upſtart Gentlemen*, who, not content with ſoliciting ſuffrages in the *Forum Romanum*, went even to the country fairs, and other public meetings, to buy voices. This, ſays *Livy*, was the firſt law of the kind preferred to the People; nevertheleſs, according to the ſame author, a law was paſs'd in the year 321, forbidding the candidates to make their robes whiter than ordinary, and this * in order to give a check to the practice of canvaſſing for offices. *Livy*, B. 4. ch. 25. * *Tollendæ ambitionis cauſſa.*

Under the following adminiſtration of *C. Marcius Rutilus* and *Cn. Manlius* * *Imperioſus*, the intereſt of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of the *Tribunes of the People*, ſettled at One *per Cent.* This regulation ſo diſpleaſed the avaritious *Patricians*, that, to revenge themſelves on the *Plebeians*, they cited the famous *Licinius Stolo* to anſwer for the breach of one of the four laws (which he himſelf had ſo zealouſly promoted) prohibiting any Citizen to poſſeſs more than five hundred acres of land. *Licinius* actually poſſeſs'd a thouſand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his ſon, and made him the nominal Y. of *R.* 396. Bef. *J. C.* 356. 98 Conſulſhip. * A 2d time. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 16. *Val. Max.* B. 8. ch. 6. *Plin.* B. 18. ch. 3.

Y. of *R.* 396. Bef. *J.C.* 356. 98 Conſulſhip.

poſſeſſor of one half of them. However, he was convicted, before the *Prætor*, of fraud, and fined ten thouſand [a] *Aſſes of Braſs*.

These inteſtine commotions being over, the *Conſul Marcius* was order'd to conduct an army againſt the *Privernates*, who the year before had declared againſt *Rome*. *Marcius* routed the enemy in the field, and purſued them to *Privernum*, which, to preſerve it from being plunder'd, they immediately ſurrender'd.

But *Cn. Manlius*, the other *Conſul*, gain'd little glory in his expedition againſt the *Faliſci*, whom he had been ſent to puniſh for ſeveral inſults on the Republic. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, but his attempt upon the Conſtitution. He had ventured to aſſemble the *Tribes* near *Sutrium*, and had there made a law in his camp, *That the twentieth part of the price of every ſlave, thereafter ſold, ſhould be paid into the public Treaſury.* The Senate had conſented to this law, notwithſtanding the irregularity of holding the *Comitia* by *Tribes* in the Camp. But the *Tribunes of the People* thought this ſtep of the *Conſul* of dangerous conſequence to the public liberty; and therefore got a law paſſed, forbidding any man to aſſemble the People in *Comitia*, any where but in *Rome*, upon pain of death. However we are not told, that the law relating to the twentieth part of the price of ſlaves was repealed.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 16.

Y. of *R.* 397. Bef. *J.C.* 355. 99 Conſulſhip. * A 2d time. ‖ A 2d time.

§. IV. THE *Conſuls* for the following year, *M. Fabius* **Ambuſtus* and *M. Popilius* ‖ *Lænas* (both a ſecond time) no ſooner enter'd on their office, than they took their Military employments by lot. *Popilius* commanded the army which was to act againſt the *Tyburtes*. He found them ſhut up within their walls, and ravaged their lands without oppoſition.

Flor. B. 1.

But *Fabius* had a more difficult war to manage againſt the united *Faliſci* and *Tarquinienſes*. They ſtirred up all *Hetruria* againſt the Republic. The *Hetrurians* advanced towards the *Roman* Territory, as far as the *Salt-Pits*, on the banks of the *Tyber*; and their approach obliged the *Romans* to have recourſe to the uſual remedy in great emergencies. The *Conſul Popilius* was order'd to name a *Dictator*; and as he was a *Plebeian* himſelf, he pitched upon *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Conſul* of the laſt year, to raiſe him to that dignity. The *Dictator* likewiſe choſe a Plebeian, *C. Plautius Proculus*, to be his General of Horſe: ſo that now the government of the Republic was almoſt entirely in the hands of men of true merit, choſen out of the People. The *Patricians*, ſtung with jealouſy at theſe promotions, did all they could to hinder the *Dictator* from having the neceſſaries for the war: but, on the other hand, the People haſtened the preparations for the campaign, and the General marched out to meet the enemy. He ſurpriſed their camp, forced it, and took eight thouſand priſoners. Notwithſtanding ſo compleat a victory, the Senate oppoſed the Triumph of a *Plebeian Dictator*; but the People did him juſtice, and he enter'd *Rome* triumphantly the day before the *Nones* of *May*.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 17.

[a] Or 32 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

And now the time drawing nigh for electing new *Conſuls*, and *Fabius* not being at *Rome*, the Nobility pretended that it was unlawful for any *Plebeian*, tho' a *Dictator*, to preſide in the *Comitia*; becauſe by the *Pontifical* Laws the election of chief Magiſtrates ſhould be conſecrated by *Auguries*; and *Auguries*, ſaid they, belong of right only to *Patricians*. And for this time they prevailed. The Republic had recourſe to an *Interregnum*; and, which is very extraordinary, the *Plebeians*, in the very year in which they triumph'd moſt, were excluded from a ſhare in the Government; two *Patricians* were choſen *Conſuls* in the enſuing *Comitia*. The *Tribunes of the People* exclaimed againſt the election, as contrary to the cuſtom practiſed for eleven years paſt, during which time one of the *Conſuls* had always been a *Plebeian*. But the Preſident of the *Comitia* ſilenced their clamour, by citing a Law * of the *Twelve Tables*, *That only the laſt Edicts of the People ſhould be of force, and render all preceding ones null*. And they inferr'd that the People, by chuſing two *Patricians*, had in effect aboliſhed the former cuſtom.

Y. of *R.* 397. Bef. *J. C.* 355. 99 Conſulſhip.

* See 8th Law of the 9th Table, p. 320.

The new *Conſuls*, *C. Sulpicius* * *Peticus* and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, after a ſlight battel took *Empulum* from the *Tyburtes*, but did nothing elſe remarkable abroad during their adminiſtration. Their chief view was to keep the *Conſulate* in *Patrician* hands; and when the time came for new elections, they declared that they would never reſign their dignity to any other than *Patricians*. This occaſioned great commotions and tumults in the *Campus Martius*, inſomuch that the greater number of the People cry'd out, that a *Seceſſion* was neceſſary, and in reality quitted the aſſembly, leaving only the leaſt paſſionate behind them. Theſe gave their ſuffrages for two *Patricians*, *M. Fabius* || *Ambuſtus* and *T. Quinctius Pennus*; and thus the Nobility carried their point. The Conſuls took the field; the former againſt the *Tyburtes*, whom he totally ſubdued; the latter againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, on whom the *Romans* now revenged the cruelty committed on the three hundred and ſeven *Roman* ſoldiers formerly mentioned. *Quinctius* having defeated them in a bloody battle, put all the priſoners to the ſword, except three hundred and fifty eight, whom he ſent to *Rome*, where, by order of the Senate, they were firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Theſe victories extended the reputation of the *Romans*; inſomuch that the *Samnites* ſent an embaſſy to the Republic, courted her friendſhip, and concluded an alliance with her, probably upon the ſame foot as that with the *Latines* and *Hernici*. Without changing their Laws or Government, they engaged to furniſh the *Romans* with troops in their neceſſity; and the *Romans* promiſed to protect them againſt their enemies both at home and abroad. This was conſtantly the firſt ſtep taken by the politic Republic, in ſubduing the nations that lay neareſt to her. She flatter'd them with the title of Allies of the *Roman* People; and when by their aſſiſtance ſhe had made herſelf miſtreſs of the more diſtant countries, thoſe who had ſuffer'd themſelves to be lull'd aſleep under the title of Allies, found themſelves involved in her conqueſts; and tho' they were ſtill called Allies, they were treated as Subjects.

Y. of *R.* 398. Bef. *J. C.* 354. 100 Conſul-p. * A 3d time. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 18.

Y. of *R.* 399. Bef. *J. C.* 353. 101 Conſul-p. || A 3d time.

The'

Y. of *R.* 400. Bef. *J.C.* 352. 102 Conſul-p. * A 4th time. † A 2d time.

Tho' the People were ſtill very deſirous to have one of the Conſuls *Plebeian*, the Nobility, as their creditors, had them ſo much under at this time, that they kept the Conſulſhip in their own hands; and *C. Sulpicius* * *Peticus* and *M. Valerius* † *Poplicola* were again promoted to that dignity. While the Republic was preparing her levies to act againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, ſhe received advice from the *Latines*, that the *Volſci* were upon the point of entering the *Roman* Territory; and this obliged her to divide her forces between the two *Conſuls*. *Sulpicius* marched into *Hetruria*, *Valerius* againſt the *Volſci*. *Valerius* had already encamped on the confines of the Territory of *Tuſculum*, when he was recalled to *Rome* to nominate a *Dictator*. This was occaſion'd by letters from *Sulpicius*, which imported, that the *Cærites* were undoubtedly diſpoſed to take part with the *Tarquinienſes*; that his army was not ſtrong enough to repreſs the inſolence of theſe enemies united; and that even the *Faliſci* had joined the latter. In order therefore to have a third army on foot, to oppoſe the *Cærites*, while the two *Conſuls* check'd the progreſs, the one of the *Volſci*, the other of the *Tarquinienſes* and *Faliſci*, *Valerius* was directed to name a *Dictator*. Accordingly he named *T. Manlius Torquatus* to that dignity, who appointed *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his General of Horſe. Tho' *Manlius* had never been *Conſul* (a neceſſary ſtep to riſe regularly to the *Dictatorſhip*) yet his merit was ſuch, that no oppoſition was made to his promotion.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 20.

But now the inhabitants of *Cære*, intimidated by the preparations made againſt them, inſtead of purſuing the war, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, to implore the clemency of the Senate. The Senate referred the Deputies to the People, who being moved to compaſſion by the repentance of the *Cærites*, and eſpecially when reminded that *Cære* had been formerly the *Aſylum* of the *Veſtals*, and the Receptacle of their Gods, granted them a truce for an hundred years; and the *Dictator*, inſtead of marching againſt them, led his troops againſt the *Faliſci*. But neither on this ſide did he find an enemy in the field to contend with; ſo that having laid their country waſte, he immediately return'd to *Rome*.

CHAP. VII.

§. I. *The* Tribunes of the People *oppoſe the holding of the* Comitia *for electing new Magiſtrates till the Dictatorſhip of* Manlius *and the Conſular Year are expired; and during the* Inter-regnum, *that follows, they prevail to have* C. Marcius Rutilus, *a* PLEBEIAN, *raiſed (now a ſecond time) to the Conſulate with* P. Valerius. *Theſe Magiſtrates take effectual meaſures to relieve the Debtors, in order to maintain peace at home.* §. II. *Upon a falſe rumour that the Twelve* Lucumonies *of* Hetruria *are preparing for a war with* Rome, Julius Iulus *is named Dictator.* Julius *employs his influence to get two* Patricians *choſen to the Conſulate for the next year. The People, tho' they oppoſe this deſign, and hinder the meeting of the* Centuries *during his Dictatorſhip, ſuffer* C. Sulpicius

Sulpicius (*now a fifth time*) *and* T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, *both* Patricians, *to be declared Conſuls, when the* Comitia *are afterwards held by an* Inter-rex. *Nevertheleſs, in this very Conſulate the Commons prevail for the firſt time to have a* PLEBEIAN *choſen to the* CENSORSHIP. *This was the ſame* C. Marcius Rutilus *who had been created Dictator in* 397. §. III. *And notwithſtanding that the preſent Conſuls name a Dictator to hold the* Comitia *for the election of their ſucceſſors, in order to get two Patricians choſen,* M. Popilius Lænas, *a Plebeian, is promoted (now a third time) to the Conſulate with* L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius *falling ſick, the* Plebeian Conſul *has the ſole conduct of a new war with the* Gauls. M. Valerius *the* PRÆTOR *of* Rome *is placed at the head of an army to defend the City; this being the firſt inſtance of a* PRÆTOR*'s acting as a* GENERAL. Popilius *defeats the* Gauls *in battle; but being diſabled from doing buſineſs, by a wound, and his Collegue continuing ſick, they name* Furius Camillus *Dictator, to hold the* Comitia *for the new Elections, where the Dictator himſelf, with* Appius Claudius Craſſus (*both* Patricians) *are choſen Conſuls.* Appius *dying ſhortly after,* Camillus *is ſuffer'd to govern the Republic without a Collegue. He marches a powerful army againſt the* Gauls, *who had ſpread themſelves on the ſea-coaſt of* Latium. M. VALERIUS (*afterwards ſurnamed* CORVUS) *a Legionary Tribune, kills in ſingle combat a Champion of the* Gauls, *and this occaſions a general action, in which the* Romans *obtain the victory.* Camillus *being obliged ſtill to keep the field, in order to hinder the deſcent of ſome* Greek *pirates on the coaſt, names* T. Manlius *Dictator, to hold the* Comitia *for the new Elections.* Manlius, *pleaſed with the exploit of* Valerius, *reſembling what he himſelf had formerly done, influences the People to chuſe him, tho' but twenty three years of age, to be one of the Conſuls. The Collegue given him is* Popilius Lænas, *now promoted the fourth time to that dignity.* §. IV. *The* Romans *conclude a Treaty with the* Carthaginians. §. V. *In the following Conſulate of* C. Plautius Hypſæus *and* T. Manlius Torquatus *the Intereſt of Money is lower'd to* Half per Cent. *A new war with the* Volſci *breaks out during the adminiſtration of their ſucceſſors,* Valerius Corvus (*now a ſecond time Conſul*) *and* C. Pœtelius Libo. Valerius *defeats the enemy, takes from them* Satricum, *and burns it. The* Secular Games *are celebrated for the ſecond time according to* Faſt. Cap. §. VI. *The next year's Conſuls,* M. Fabius Dorſo *and* S. Sulpicius Camerinus, *name* L. Furius Camillus *to be Dictator (a ſecond time) on occaſion of a war with a new enemy, the* Aurunci. Furius *overthrows them in battle, and at his return builds a Temple, which he had vowed during the action, to* Juno Moneta. *The year following, the* Romans *imagining that the Goddeſs, agreeable to her name* MONETA, admoniſh'd *them by Prodigies of the impending wrath of the Gods,* C. Marcius Rutilus (*now Conſul a ſecond time*) *and* T. Manlius (*Conſul a ſecond time*) *appoint* P. Valerius *to be Dictator, to order the celebration of the* Feriæ Latinæ.

§. I. ALL

Y. of *R.* 400. Bef. *J.C.* 352. 102 Conſul-p. §. I. ALL things were quiet in the city, till the time came for new Elections. The *Dictator*, who was to have preſided in the *Comitia*, had form'd the deſign of hindering any *Plebeian* being choſen to the *Conſulſhip*; but the *Tribunes of the People* perceiving his intention, *oppoſed* the aſſembling of the *Centuries*, till the expiration of his *Dictatorſhip*, and of the *Conſuls* year, both which ended at the ſame time. An *Inter-regnum* enſued; and the two parties were irreconcileable. The People began to make complaints about their debts, as well as of the infraction of the *Licinian Law*, relating to the election of *Conſuls*; and the diſputes grew to ſuch a height, as ſeem'd to threaten an open revolt. This apprehenſion induced the Senate at length to ſuffer the *Licinian Law* to take place, and to permit the *Centuries* to

Y. of *R.* 401. Bef. *J.C.* 351. 103 Conſul-p. * A 2d time. chuſe one of the *Conſuls* out of the Plebeians. * *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a Plebeian, was joined with *P. Valerius Poplicola* in the Conſulate. Theſe Magiſtrates made it their firſt care to reconcile the two Parties, by eaſing the Debtors. To this end, they choſe out five [a] men of known probity, to take an account of all debts, and ſee them diſcharged. Theſe five were call'd *Bankers*, and they had the command of the Public Treaſury, to enable them to perform their commiſſion, which they did to the ſatisfaction of all parties. Thoſe who thro' ſloth and careleſsneſs, rather than want, had plunged themſelves in debt, either borrowed Money of theſe Bankers, giving ſecurity to the public, or elſe depoſited the value of their debts in their creditors hands, in effects, which were valued by the Bankers. By this means the greater number of the Debtors were relieved without wronging any perſon, and with little loſs to the public.

§. II. BUT while the Republic was taking theſe methods to ſecure peace at home, ſhe was ſuddenly alarm'd with the report of a new war, which ſhe muſt quickly ſuſtain abroad againſt the twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria*; upon which the Senate immediately named *Julius Iulus Dictator*. The report however proved groundleſs, and was (probably) raiſed by the *Patricians*, only to get a man at the head of affairs, who might prevent the *Licinian Law* from taking place in the enſuing elections. And indeed he employ'd all his credit and power to that end, but without ſucceſs; for the People were ſo warm and ſteady in oppoſing his deſign, that both he and the *Conſuls* were out of office before they could get the *Comitia* aſſembled.

In the *Inter-regnum* which enſued, *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *M. Fabius* governed by turns; and the People, by the complaiſance which they had for theſe men, ſeem to have been actuated by ſome particular pique againſt the late *Dictator*, in their oppoſition to his deſires; for now they

Y. of *R.* 402. Bef. *J.C.* 350. 104 Conſul-p. † A 5th time. readily ſuffer'd two *Patricians* to be raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*. † *Sulpicius* himſelf was one of them, and *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus* the other. The

[a] C. DUILIUS. P. DECIUS MUS. M. PAPIRIUS. | | Q. PUBLIUS. T. ÆMILIUS.

former

former march'd againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, and the latter againſt the *Faliſci*: But theſe two nations being tired out by the calamities of war, ſubmitted to the Republic, and obtained a truce for forty years. Y. of *R.* 402. Bef. *J. C.* 350. 104 Conſul-p.

The preſent interval of peace ſeemed a proper ſeaſon for holding the *Comitia*, to elect new *Cenſors*. A day was accordingly fixed for this purpoſe, and it was the firſt time that any *Plebeian* was ſeen to ſtand *Candidate* for that important office. *C. Marcius Rutilus*, having been twice *Conſul* and once *Dictator*, thought he might well aſpire to any dignity in the Republic. He was the firſt of the Commons who had been raiſed to the *Dictatorſhip*; and, in ſpite of all oppoſition of the Nobles, he had obtain'd a TRIUMPH for his exploits in that ſtation. And now the faction of the People prevailing in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, he was declared *Cenſor* with *Cn. Manlius*, a Patrician.

It is not improbable, that preciſely at this time the power of filling up [a] the vacant places in the Senate, which had been formerly exerciſed by the Kings of *Rome*, and afterwards by the Conſuls, was taken from the latter and given to the Cenſors, and that this was done in purſuance of a law for that purpoſe, which, according to *Feſtus*, was obtain'd by *Ovinius* [b], one of the *Tribunes of the Commons*. The People would no doubt be very ready to add a new luſtre to a dignity, to which, contrary to cuſtom, they had juſt got admittance, and by this means they were amply revenged on the *Patricians*, for their infraction of the *Licinian Law*. What is very extraordinary, we don't find that this important change cauſed any diſturbance in the Republic.

[a] The ceremony of doing it, which was ever practiſed in *Rome*, was this: After the *Cenſus*, and the *Luſtrum* which always followed it, were over, the *Centuries* ſtill continued under arms in the *Campus Martius*. Then the *Cenſors* appear'd, and from an eminence read the liſt, in which the names of all thoſe, of whom the Senate was to conſiſt, were written. The perſon firſt named became then the Prince of the Senate, that is, the Preſident of that aſſembly, in the abſence of the *Conſuls*. This was ſometimes an office for life. Whoever was named in the *Cenſor*'s liſt, had the right of ſitting and voting in the Senate: but even thoſe who had long been Senators, if they were not named in the new liſt, they were deemed *ipſo facto* deprived of their dignity; ſo that it was indeed a reproach to be omitted in theſe liſts, but not an indelible one. Some appealed from the judgment of the *Cenſors* to other Tribunals; and others reform'd their manners, and by a wiſe conduct became fit to be raiſed to the higheſt poſts, the Cenſorſhip itſelf not excepted.

[b] The *Roman* Hiſtorians have told us nothing of the *Ovinian* Law. Only *Feſtus* mentions it, and that without aſſigning the time or occaſion which gave birth to it. Formerly, ſays *Feſtus*, a Senator was not thought diſgraced or degraded, tho' his name was omitted in reading over the liſt of the Senators; becauſe the Kings choſe and excluded whomſoever they pleaſed, without any other reaſon but their own wills. And the Conſuls, Dictators, and Military Tribunes exerciſed the ſame power, and made ſuch Patricians or Plebeians, Senators, as were moſt attached to them, without any regard to others, upon whom they were not concerned in intereſt to beſtow this mark of diſtinction. Things continued on this foot, till the Tribune *Ovinius* paſs'd a Law, which empowered the Cenſors to make Senators, and to exclude all but perſons of known probity out of this venerable body. From that time, thoſe of this body, who were omitted in the Cenſors liſt, were thought degraded, and not ſuffer'd to go into the Senate.

Y. of *R.* 402. Bef. *J.C.* 340. 104 Conſul-p.

§. III. BUT tho' the *Patricians* had not been able to avoid ſharing the *Cenſorſhip* with the *Plebeians*, they ſtill hoped to ſecure the Conſulate wholly to themſelves; and the better to ſucceed in that deſign, the preſent *Conſuls* named a *Dictator* to preſide at the next election, imagining, that an abſolute Governour would be more reſpected in the *Comitia*, and have more influence. The perſon fix'd upon was *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who had been thrice *Conſul*. But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, *M. Popilius Lænas*, a *Plebeian*, was now choſen *Conſul*, a third time; and his Collegue, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, falling ſick ſoon after his election, and when he ſhould have taken the field, the Senate had the farther mortification of ſeeing the *Plebeian Conſul* ſole General of the Troops. *Popilius* immediately order'd levies to be made, to ſtop the progreſs of the *Gauls*, who were ravaging the *Latine* Territory, and approached towards *Rome*; and to be the ſooner in readineſs for marching, he appointed the [c] Enrollment without the gate *Capena*, and not upon the *Capitol*. So great a number of ſoldiers inliſted themſelves on this occaſion, that the Conſul, by order of the Senate, divided them into two armies, and left one to guard the City, under the command of *M. Valerius Poplicola*, the preſent *Prætor*. And this was the firſt time that a *Prætor* was ſeen at the head of an army. *Popilius* with four *Legions* and ſome auxiliaries marched againſt the enemy, defeated them, plundered their camp, and led back to *Rome* his victorious army, enriched with ſpoil. He was decreed a Triumph at his return; but the ceremony was deferr'd on account of a wound he had received in the battle, and of which he was not yet recover'd. His Collegue *Scipio* continued likewiſe ſtill ſick; ſo that the Republic, ſeeing both her chief Magiſtrates out of a condition to diſcharge their functions, deſir'd them to name a *Dictator* to preſide at the election of new *Conſuls*. Accordingly they named *L. Furius Camillus* (ſon of the Great *Camillus*) to that dignity, who appointed *P. Cornelius Scipio* to be his General of the Horſe. Theſe two eminent *Patricians* employ'd their utmoſt efforts to make the election fall only on men of their own order, and they ſucceeded. The *Dictator* prevailed to have himſelf choſen one of the *Conſuls*; and *Appius Claudius*, ſurnamed *Craſſus*, another Patrician, was appointed his Collegue.

Y. of *R.* 403. Bef. *J.C.* 349. 105 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 7.

Appian in *Celtic.* *Livy*, B 7.

Y. of *R.* 404. Bef. *J.C.* 348. 106 Conſul-p.

And now the *Gauls*, who after their late defeat had fled for refuge to the hills of *Alba*, came down again, and ſpread themſelves upon the Sea-coaſt in the country of the *Latines*. At the ſame time ſome *Greeks* (from what part is uncertain) made a deſcent on the very ſame coaſt where the *Gauls* were ravaging and plundering, *i. e.* from the mouth of the *Tyber* to *Antium*; but the *Gauls*, jealous of their booty, forced theſe new invaders back to their ſhips. While the *Greeks* ſtill hover'd about the Coaſt, and the *Gauls* were yet in *Latium*, the Republic loſt one of her Generals, who ſhould have acted againſt theſe Robbers; *Appius*,

Livy, B. 7. ch. 25. *Diod. Sic.* B. 16.

[c] The gate *Capena*, now called the gate of St. *Sebaſtian*, led to the *Appian Way*; as we learn from *Frontinus*, who tells us, that the Cenſor *Appius* made a great road from this gate quite to *Capua*.

one of the *Conſuls*, died during the preparations for the war. It ſeem'd expedient to nominate a *Dictator* to act in concert with the ſurviving *Conſul*; but the Senate were unwilling to give *Camillus* any ſuperior. He had obliged them in the late Elections, his perſonal merit was great, and his very name of *Camillus* was a good omen in a war with the *Gauls*; all theſe conſiderations made them accept of him as ſole Governor of the Republic; ſo that he wanted little more than a greater number of *Lictors* to commence a regular *Dictator*. His firſt care was to raiſe two armies. The *Latines* were ſummoned to furniſh their contingent of Auxiliaries; but they refuſed to be commanded by a *Roman* General; and, in a National Diet, reſolved to ſhake off the diſhonourable yoke. However, the *Conſul* found *Roman* Citizens enough, who by Law were obliged to ſerve, to compoſe a body of ten *Legions*, amounting to 45,000 men. *Camillus* left two of theſe *Legions* to guard the city; gave four to *L. Pinarius* the *Prætor*, whom he ſent to defend the ſea-coaſt againſt the *Greeks*, and he himſelf encamped with the other four in the *Pomptin* Territory, a country full of marſhes and rivers; for he had no deſign of coming to a battle with the *Gauls*; his only view was to harraſs the enemy in their poſts, intercept their convoys, and, if poſſible, to ſtarve them. While both armies continued unactive, a fierce *Gaul* of a gigantic ſtature appeared between the two camps, defying the braveſt man in the *Roman* Legions to ſingle combat. *M. Valerius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, great grandſon of the famous *Valerius Voluſus*, accepted the challenge, and is ſaid to have obtain'd the victory by means of a Raven, which had perched upon his helmet ever ſince day-break, and which, during the fight, flew in the face of the Giant, and ſo blinded him with his wings, that *Valerius* eaſily ſtab'd him. The *Gauls* ſeeing their champion ſlain, immediately crowded round his body, to hinder him from being ſtript of his armour; and the *Romans* at the ſame time ran to defend *Valerius*, and this by degrees brought on a general battle, in which the *Gauls* were again defeated. Thoſe of them that eſcaped took their way through the country of the *Volſci*, and croſſing *Campania* retired as far as the coaſts of the *Adriatick* ſea. As for the brave *Valerius*, the General rewarded him with a Crown of Gold and ten Oxen; and he ever after bore the name of *Corvus**.

Y. of *R.* 404. Bef. *J. C.* 348. 106 Conſul-p.

Aul. Gell. B. 9. ch. 11. *Livy*, B. 7. c. 26. Auth. of Lives of Illuſt. Men.

* *Raven.*

Nothing now remained for the *Conſul* to do, in order to finiſh his year with honour, but to drive away the *Greek* pirates that infeſted the coaſts of *Latium*. With this view he join'd his army to that of the Prætor *Pinarius*; but the obſtinacy of thoſe adventurers, who, tho' they durſt not land, continued hovering at ſea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he had imagined. In the mean while the time for the new election of Conſuls drew near, ſo that he was obliged to name a *Dictator* to preſide in the *Comitia*; and on this occaſion the famous *Manlius Torquatus* was again raiſed to that dignity. A *Dictator* could not fail to have a conſiderable influence in the aſſembly of the *Centuries*; and *Manlius*, who was extreamly pleaſed with the exploit of *Valerius*, ſo much reſem-

bling his own former victory over a gigantic *Gaul*, found means to prevail with the People to chuſe him one of the Conſuls, tho' but twenty-three years of age, and too young to have a place in the Senate. With him they joined *Popilius* † *Lænas*, now *Conſul* a fourth time.

Y. of *R.* 405. Bef *J.C.* 347. 107 Conſul-p. † A 4th time.

As for *Camillus*, he made ſo good an appearance on the coaſt, that the *Greeks* not daring to come aſhore, and at laſt wanting freſh water and other neceſſary proviſions, put out to ſea.

§. IV. WHILST the *Romans*, after theſe ſucceſſes, enjoyed an interval of peace both at home and abroad, ſome ambaſſadors came to *Rome* from *Carthage*. It does not appear that the *Romans* were acquainted with any nation out of *Italy* before they knew the *Carthaginians*. But as early as the firſt year after the expulſion of *Tarquin the Proud*, we find that *Rome* and *Carthage* enter'd into a Treaty, the form of which was yet to be ſeen in *Polybius*'s time; who tells us, that he tranſlated the words of it with all poſſible fidelity from the old *Roman* language; and he has tranſmitted it to us. It was conceived in theſe terms:

" There ſhall be peace and friendſhip between the *Romans* and the " Allies of the *Romans*, and the *Carthaginians* and the Allies of the *Car-* " *thaginians*, on the following conditions;

" The *Romans* and the Allies of the *Romans* ſhall not navigate beyond " the [d] *Fair Promontory*, unleſs conſtrained by tempeſt or an enemy. If " at any time they ſhall chance to be forced aſhore [beyond that promon-" tory] they ſhall not be permitted to take or buy any thing but what " they need for repairing their veſſels, and for their ſacrifices. None " ſhall make longer ſtay aſhore than five days.

" Thoſe who ſhall come to traffick, ſhall pay no other duty than what " is allow'd to the Cryer and Regiſter; and theſe two officers ſhall make " oath of what ſhall be bought and ſold in their preſence, as well in " *Africa* as *Sardinia*. If the *Romans* ſhall chance at any time to viſit " ſuch places in *Sicily* as are in ſubjection to the *Carthaginians*, they ſhall " not ſuffer any moleſtation whatſoever, but ſhall have juſtice done them " in all things.

" The *Carthaginians* ſhall attempt nothing againſt the *Ardeates*, the " *Antiates*, the *Aretini*, thoſe of *Laurentum*, *Circeii* or *Tarracina*, or in a " word any of the *Latines* whomſoever, that ſhall be in ſubjection to the " *Romans*; nor ſhall they attempt any of the *Latine* Towns that are not " ſubject to *Rome*; and in caſe they ſhould make ſeizure of any ſuch " Towns, they ſhall deliver up the ſame to the *Romans* without any " damage. They ſhall not build either Fort or Citadel in the country " of the *Latines*; and in caſe they ſhall at any time land there in hoſtile " arms, they ſhall not remain there one night.

[d] That is, to the Southward of it, towards the leſſer *Syrtis*, as *Polybius* explains it. But the *Romans* were permitted to have trade and commerce with *Carthage* and the reſt of *Africk* on the other ſide the *Fair Promontory*, as likewiſe in *Sardinia* and thoſe parts of *Sicily* which were dependent on *Carthage*.

The ſecond Treaty between *Rome* and *Carthage* was made at this time, and differ'd from the firſt in the following particulars: Y. of *R.* 405. Bef. *J. C.* 347. 107 Conſul-p.

"The *Tyrians* and thoſe of *Utica* were comprized in it. For it was a "Treaty between the *Romans* and their Allies on one ſide, and the *Carthaginians*, *Tyrians*, *Uticences*, and their Allies on the other.

"To the *Fair Promontory* were added *Maſtia* and *Tarſeium*, as places "beyond which the *Romans* were not to carry on any commerce. [The Geographers know not the ſituation of theſe places.]

"The *Romans* were to have no commerce in *Sardinia*, nor in any part "of *Africa*, except the City of *Carthage* only. Here they were to be "allowed the ſame rights and privileges [*in point of Trade*] as the Citizens themſelves; and the *Carthaginians* were to have the like treatment "in *Rome*.

"If the *Carthaginians* ſhould take any Town in the Territory of the "*Latines*, not under the *Roman* dominion, they were allowed to keep "the Pillage and Captives, provided they put the Town into the hands "of the *Romans*; but if the *Carthaginians* ſhould make any Captives "among thoſe of the *Latines*, who, tho' not ſubject to *Rome*, were in "league of amity with her, and ſhould bring ſuch Captives into any "*Roman* Port, and theſe Captives ſhould be diſcover'd and challenged "by any *Roman*, they ſhould be ſet at liberty.

"The *Romans* were to be ſubject to the ſame law with regard to the "*Carthaginians* and their Allies."

The negotiating of this Treaty was the chief buſineſs of the Conſuls for the preſent year. They were ſucceeded by *C. Plautius Hypſæus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who, tho' twice *Dictator*, had never been *Conſul* before. Nothing remarkable happen'd under their adminiſtration, except the reducing of the Intereſt of Money from One *per Cent.* to Half *per Cent.* and the allowing the Debtors, upon their paying down one fourth of their debts, three years to diſcharge the remainder by annual and equal payments. Y. of *R.* 406. Bef. *J. C.* 346. 108 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 7.

But the next year, when *Valerius* ‖ *Corvus* and *C. Pætelius Libo Viſolus* were in poſſeſſion of the *Faſces*, a new war broke out with the *Volſci*. The City of *Satricum*, formerly belonging to them, had been deſtroyed by the *Latines*, above thirty years ſince; the *Antiates*, a people of the *Volſci*, had within three years paſt rebuilt and repeopled it, and had made it a place of rendezvous for their confederates; they had likewiſe endeavoured to ſtir up the *Latines* againſt *Rome*. *Valerius* marched againſt them upon the firſt news of their motions, routed them, and took *Satricum*, which he burnt, ſparing only the Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*; after which he return'd to *Rome*, and enter'd it in Triumph with four thouſand captives before his chariot. But according to the *Capitoline* Marbles, the Triumph of *Valerius* was not the moſt pompous ſhow with which the *Romans* were entertain'd in his Conſulate; the *Secular Games*[e], which had been inſtituted in the year of *Rome* 297, were now celebrated for the ſecond time. Y. of *R.* 407. Bef. *J. C.* 345. 109 Conſul-p. ‖ A 2d time. *Faſt. Capit.* *Livy*, B. 7.

[e] The nature and origin of theſe Games will be ſpoken of hereafter.

§. VI. THE

Y. of *R.* 407. Bef. *J. C.* 345. 109 Conſul-p.

§. VI. THE *Romans* were no ſooner deliver'd from the *Volſci*, than they were attacked by the *Aurunci*, a petty nation near the confines of *Latium*, on the coaſt of the *Tyrrhenian* ſea; and the Republic was ſtruck with more terror than ſhe ought to have been, by an enemy ſo little formidable. The Conſuls *M. Fabius Dorſo* and *Servius Sulpicius Cameri-nus* were order'd by the Senate to nominate a *Dictator*, all the Courts of Juſtice were ſhut up, and the levies were made with the utmoſt rigour. *L. Furius* * *Camillus*, whom the Conſuls named to the *Dictatorſhip*, marched away to meet the enemy, and was greatly ſurprized, when he came within ſight of them, to find that they made no better appearance than a gang of robbers. He began to ſuſpect, that they were aſſiſted by the troops of ſome more conſiderable nation, that lay concealed; and he was confirm'd in this ſuſpicion, when he ſaw that they offer'd him battle. The *Aurunci* being ſo few in number, muſt certainly have performed wonders in the action, to have forced the *Dictator* to have recourſe to his Gods, and to vow a Temple to *Juno Moneta*. (This name had been given to the Queen of the Gods a little before the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. It was pretended, that from the Temple of *Juno* had come a voice, accompanied with an earthquake, and that the voice had warn'd the *Romans* to avert the evils that threaten'd them, by ſacrificing a ſow with pig. Hence ſhe was called *Moneta*, from the verb *Monere*.) The *Aurunci*, tho' they fought bravely, were too weak to reſiſt the *Roman* forces; they were defeated, and *Furius* return'd victorious to *Rome* to perform his vow. *Duumvirs* were choſen in the *Comitia* by Tribes, to direct the building of the Temple which he had promiſed the Goddeſs. It was erected on the *Capitol*, in the ſame place where the houſe of the ambitious *Manlius* had ſtood. Afterwards the Temple of *Juno Moneta* became a public Mint; and from thence the Medals, which were ſtampt for current coin in trade, took the name of *Moneta*, or *Money*. The ſucceeding Conſuls, *C. Marcius* * *Rutilus* and *T. Manlius* † *Imperioſus*, conſecrated this new Temple the firſt of *June*, and immediately the *Romans* imagined that the Goddeſs, agreeably to her name MONETA, *admoniſhed* them of the impending wrath of the Gods, by hail-ſtones of an extraordinary hardneſs and ſize, thick darkneſs in the day-time, and ſuch like prodigies. Hereupon it was thought proper to name a *Dictator*, whoſe buſineſs ſhould be to order the ſolemnization of the feſtival called *Feriæ Latinæ*. *P. Valerius* being raiſed to that office, not only obliged the *Roman* Tribes of the City to obſerve the Feſtival, but call'd thoſe of the Country and the *Latines* alſo to *Rome* for that purpoſe. The Temples were opened, victims were there offer'd, the Senate marched thither in ſolemn proceſſion, and the People repaired thither at certain appointed hours. And thus were the *Romans* for ſome time wholly employ'd in taking advantage of the admonitions of an imaginary Goddeſs, to avert the anger of heaven.

Y. of *R.* 408. Bef. *J. C.* 344. 110 Conſul-p. * A 2d time Dictator.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 28. *Cic.* de Divin. B. 1.

Y. of *R.* 409. Bef. *J. C.* 343. 111 Conſul-p. * A 3d time. † A 2d time. *Macrob. Satur.* B. 1. ch. 12. *Oroſ.* B. 3. ch. 7. *Livy*, B. 7. ch 28.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

§. I. *In the ſucceeding adminiſtration of* M. Valerius Corvus (*3d time Conſul*) *and* Cornelius Coſſus Arvina, *happens the* FIRST RUPTURE *between the* ROMANS *and* SAMNITES, *on occaſion of a war which the latter had carried on with ſucceſs againſt the people of* Capua *in* Campania. *The* Campanians, *to engage the* Romans *to ſuccour them in their diſtreſs, make a ſurrender of themſelves and their country to the Republic. Hereupon* Valerius *is directed to march an army into* Campania, *and* Cornelius *to carry the war into* Samnium. Valerius, *in an action with the* Samnites, *has the advantage.* §. II. Cornelius, *on the other hand, by an imprudent march, brings his army into danger of being entirely cut off by the enemy; however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by a ſtratagem, ſuggeſted and executed by a Legionary Tribune named* P. Decius Mus; *and preſently after, following the advice of the ſame* Decius, *he gains a victory over the* Samnites, *who loſe* 30,000 *men in the action.* Decius *is rewarded with many honours.* §. III. Valerius *obtains a ſecond victory over the* Samnites *in* Campania. *Theſe ſucceſſes make the* Romans *reſpected abroad.*

§. I. THE *Dictator* having, for ſome reaſon (not mentioned by the Hiſtorians) reduced the Government to an *Inter-regnum*, the Preſident of it held the *Comitia* by *Centuries* for electing new *Conſuls*. The choice fell (as the laſt year) upon two Patricians. *M. Valerius* * *Corvus* was now raiſed a third time to the *Conſular* dignity, and with him was joined *Cornelius Coſſus*, ſurnamed *Arvina*. It was during their adminiſtration, that the *Romans* and *Samnites* firſt became enemies. A city to which the Republic had no relation at that time, ſow'd thoſe ſeeds of diſcord between the two nations, which produced a laſting hatred. Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J. C.* 342. 112 Conſul-p. * A 3d time.

The *Sidicini*, a people of *Auſonia*, ſituated beyond the *Liris*, being attack'd by the *Samnites*, who doubted not to make an eaſy conqueſt of their ſmall territory, applied themſelves to the *Campanians* for aſſiſtance. It was the intereſt of the latter to ſuccour their diſtreſſed neighbours, and ſtop the progreſs of the *Samnites*; but they undertook the defence of the oppreſſed with more oſtentation than real ſtrength. For tho' they poſſeſs'd a very fruitful country, and tho' commerce daily encreaſed their riches, this wealth of private perſons was the weakneſs of the State. Luxury reigned univerſally; the Houſes were magnificent, but the City without Fortifications. The merchant, vain of his wealth, miſtook his vanity for courage, and looked down with ſcorn upon enemies that were not ſo rich as he. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 29.

This contempt, ever imprudent, often fatal, of an enemy's ſtrength, proved the ruin of *Capua*. The *Samnites*, who had a proſpect of more glory and advantage in the conqueſt of the *Campanians* than of the *Sidicini*, turn'd their arms againſt the former, and having defeated them

Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J. C.* 342. 112 Conſul. p. them in two pitch'd battles, in which the vanquiſh'd loſt all their youth, drew near to beſiege their City, that had now no other defence than weak walls, and inhabitants fill'd with conſternation.

The Magiſtrates in this diſtreſs had recourſe to *Rome*; they ſent a pompous embaſſy to implore the alliance and aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. Their ambaſſadors laid before the Senate all the motives both of glory and intereſt, which could engage the Republic to undertake their defence; the extremity to which they were reduced, and the power of their enemies, which would be conſiderably augmented by the conqueſt of ſo rich a city as *Capua*. They added, "*Such is the miſery of our preſent condition, that if we "are not immediately ſuccour'd by our friends, we muſt fall under the power "of our enemies. If you defend us, you will ſecure to your ſelves allies full "of fidelity and gratitude; we ſhall honour you as Founders of our State, as "our Parents, nay even as the immortal Gods. If you abandon us, what "will be the conſequence we dread even to imagine.*" To this humble addreſs the Senate, whether out of regard to the faith of Treaties, as *Livy* repreſents it, or to draw more ſolid advantages from the aſſiſtance they ſhould give the *Campanians*, than a vain title and empty praiſes, anſwer'd the ambaſſadors by the Conſul *Valerius*, *That they thought the* CAMPANIANS *worthy of their aſſiſtance, and wiſh'd they could with honour ſuccour them; but that the Republic had an ancient alliance with the* Samnites, *which would not allow her to take arms againſt them; that the Senate however would ſend Deputies to their camp to intreat them as Friends and Allies to deſiſt from their hoſtilities.* The *Campanian* Deputies had hitherto ſpoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the *Romans*, but now not thinking the anſwer they had received ſufficient to build great hopes on, the chief of them (purſuant to the powers with which they had been inveſted before they left *Capua*) made this farther declaration: *Though the* Romans *refuſe to protect us and ours againſt violence and injuſtice, they certainly will not neglect to defend their own. The People of* Campania, *the City of* Capua, *our Lands, our Temples, every thing we have divine and human, we abſolutely give and ſurrender to you,* O Conſcript Fathers, *and to the* ROMAN PEOPLE; *from this time forward therefore all our loſſes will be yours.* This ſaid, the ambaſſadors proſtrated themſelves on the threſhhold of the Senate-houſe, and holding up their hands to the Conſuls, ſhed a flood of tears. Self-intereſt and compaſſion made new impreſſions on the minds of the Senators; they were moved, ſays *Livy*, at the ſad revolution to which human affairs are liable; to ſee a nation, late ſo rich and flouriſhing, ſo proud and luxurious, and from whom its neighbours had implored aſſiſtance againſt oppreſſion, reduced in a ſhort time to ſo dejected a ſtate of mind, as to give themſelves and all their poſſeſſions into the power of a foreign people. And as the donation was made in due form, by Ambaſſadors authorized to make it, the Senate did not think their alliance with the *Samnites* obliged them to refuſe it. Without heſitation therefore they ſent away Deputies with inſtructions to entreat the *Samnites* as friends, to ſpare a province which belong'd to *Rome*; and, in caſe of refuſal,

refuſal, to give them notice, in the name of the People and Senate of *Rome*, to quit the country immediately. But the *Samnite* Magiſtrates were ſo far from being intimidated by the Majeſty of the *Roman* Name, that, in the very preſence of the Deputies, they order'd the Commanders of their Troops to go inſtantly and ravage *Campania*. Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J. C.* 342. 112 Conſul-p.

This inſult filled both the *People* and *Senate* with indignation; and the *Romans* applied themſelves wholly to the making preparations for a war. All the due forms of demanding ſatisfaction and proclaiming war by the *Feciales* having been obſerved, the two *Conſuls* took the field, each at the head of an army. It fell to *Valerius*'s lot to command in *Campania*, and *Cornelius* was to enter the country of the *Samnites*. *Valerius* poſted his troops near mount *Gaurus* in *Campania*; and being there advantageouſly ſituated, he was in no haſte to come to a battle, but tried the *Samnites* in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, to learn their way of managing their arms. At length he aſſembled his troops, exhorted them *not to be afraid of new enemies, or of a new manner of fighting*; bid them remember *their former Victories, and by what General they were now commanded*; *that it was* Valerius, *who had thrice obtained the* Conſulſhip, not by Intrigue, or the Nobleneſs of his Birth *(to which* Rome *had now no regard) but by his Bravery alone*; reminded them, *that he was deſcended from the Great* Poplicola, *and had himſelf been always a* Poplicola *in the true meaning of the word. Go then*, ROMANS, he added, *fall upon the enemy, and in return for my affection to you, gain me the honours of a Triumph.*

Never was Conſul more popular; never was General more tenderly beloved by his ſoldiers. He took a pleaſure in mixing with them, and ſharing the labours of the meaneſt among them. *Valerius* frequently made one at their diverſions, whether Wreſtling or Running, and did not diſdain to enter the liſts with a common ſoldier. He always kept his temper, and, whether victorious or vanquiſhed in theſe exerciſes, his countenance never changed. He was continually beſtowing favours, but with a juſt regard to times and perſons. He was eaſy in his private converſation, and gave every man full liberty to expreſs his ſentiments in his own manner; but as for himſelf, he ever maintained a certain dignity in his diſcourſes. It was natural for Troops to love and reſpect a General of this character. They march'd out of the camp with a more than uſual ardour for victory. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 33.

When the two armies were drawn up, and faced each other, their numbers appear'd to be pretty equal. The battle was fought with wonderful reſolution on both ſides, but the *Samnites* began at length to give ground, when the night put an end to the conflict. The *Romans* had never engaged with more ſtubborn enemies, and perhaps would not have known that they had gained much advantage, if the *Samnites* had not deſerted their camp in the night.

§. II. BUT whilſt *Valerius* was ſignalizing his courage in *Campania*, his Collegue *Cornelius Coſſus*, who had been advantageouſly poſted near *Saticula* on the confines of *Samnium*, left his camp (for what reaſon is unknown) and marched

Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J. C.* 342. 112 Conſul p. marched his Troops through a mountainous country into a foreſt, all the roads of which were narrow, and out of which there was but one paſſage, and that through a deep valley. It was not in his power to alter his march, when he diſcover'd, that both the wood and the valley were lined with *Samnites*, and that he was in a manner ſurrounded by the enemy. In this diſtreſs *P. Decius Mus*, a *Legionary Tribune*, propoſed to the *Conſul* to detach him with the *Principes* and *Haſtati* of one *Legion*, to take poſſeſſion of an eminence which overlook'd the *Samnites*, and which they had neglected. He added, *When you ſee me poſted there, continue your march, without fear, through the valley; the enemy will not dare to attack you while they are expoſed to our darts.* The *Conſul* approved of the motion. *Decius* was not diſcover'd by the enemy till he had juſt gain'd the eminence; and then the *Samnites* were in ſuch a ſurpriſe, that they could come to no determination what to do, whether to attack the *Conſul*, or *Decius*. In the mean time *Cornelius* took advantage of their irreſolution, and marched through the valley without moleſtation; and ſoon after the night came on.

Decius had at firſt expected to be attacked by the enemy on his hill, and hoped by the advantage of the ground to be able to cope with them. When he found that they neither came to aſſail him, nor yet raiſed any rampire between him and them, he aſſembled his ſoldiers, and exhorted them not to follow the enemy's example, but to form ſome deſign with expedition, and to execute it with courage. Then while it was yet day-light, changing his habit with a private ſoldier, and being accompanied by his *Centurions*, whom he made do the like, that the enemy might not diſtinguiſh them to be Officers, he took a view of all the avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return ſilently to the main body, at the ſecond watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were reaſſembled, he laid before them the neceſſity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to ſtay for day-light, or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy while they were aſleep. The latter being univerſally approved, *Decius* led his troops down from the rock in great ſilence; but when they had got half way through the enemy's camp, a *Roman* ſoldier ſtruck his foot againſt the buckler of a *Samnite*, and the noiſe awakening a centinel, he gave the alarm in that quarter. The *Samnites* ran to arms, without knowing whether it were *Decius* with his troops, the *Conſul* with his army, or ſome *Samnite* of the camp, who had diſturbed their reſt. In the midſt of this uncertainty, *Decius* order'd his men to give a great ſhout, which ſo encreaſed the conſternation of the *Samnites*, that they were in a manner frozen with fear, and the *Romans* eaſily made their eſcape. When they were come near the *Conſul*'s camp, *Decius* commanded them to halt: *It is not fit*, ſaid he, *that after ſo glorious an exploit you ſhould enter the camp in ſilence and darkneſs; reſt yourſelves therefore here till the light returns.* The next morning *Decius* and his troops marched into the camp, with the acclamations of the army, who called them their *Preſervers*,

A. *A Roman Soldier in the* Sagum.
B. *A Roman General in his* Paludamentum.

fervers, and gave thanks to the Gods for their happy return. But when the *Conſul* (having ſummon'd all his ſoldiers to hear his harangue) was beginning to make the Panegyric of *Decius*, this brave Tribune adviſed him, inſtead of loſing time in Panegyrics, to march away immediately, and ſurpriſe the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had ſent out detachments in queſt of him. This advice was followed; the *Romans* ſurpriſed the *Samnites* ſcatter'd about the hills and woods, and purſued them into their camp, where thirty thouſand of them were cut to pieces. Y. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J. C.* 342. 112 Conſul-p.

This ſucceſs added much to the glory of *Decius*, who was honour'd with all the military rewards that were ever given to a Subaltern. Beſide a Crown of Gold, he received from the General a preſent of an hundred Oxen, and a white Bull with gilded horns. As for the ſoldiers of his detachment, the Conſul, in recompence of their merit, aſſigned them a double quantity of Corn, not only for the preſent, but during life, and he gave each of them two *Saga*[a]. The army likewiſe ſhewed their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an *Obſidional Crown*[b]. *Aul. Gell.* B. 5. And laſtly his own detachment, which he had brought ſafely out of the danger into which he had led them, beſtowed a mark of diſtinction on their leader, and crown'd him with a *Civic* Crown, or a Crown of Oak-leaves, which was deem'd the moſt honourable of all rewards. Thus adorn'd with three Crowns, he offer'd up his white Bull in ſacrifice to *Mars*, and diſtributed his hundred Oxen among the companions of his danger and ſharers of his glory. Author of the Lives of Illuſt. Men.

§. III. BUT the campaign was not yet ended. The *Samnites* having recover'd their courage, and raiſed new forces, appeared before *Sueſſula*, a town ſituated between *Nola* and *Capua*. *Valerius* march'd againſt them, and when he came within a ſmall diſtance of them, encamp'd his troops within as narrow a compaſs as he poſſibly could, and by this he deceiv'd the enemy; for they taking a view of his camp, and finding it ſo ſmall, imagined the *Romans* to be but weak in number, and therefore, full of confidence, offer'd them battle. *Valerius* kept cloſe within his intrenchments, and made ſuch a ſhew of fear, that the *Samnite* ſoldiers were for immediately forcing his lines. However, the officers reſtrained their impetuoſity; and believing that the *Romans* muſt ſoon want proviſions, they judged it a wiſe part to continue quiet in their camp, and watch them, not reflecting that the *Romans* were in a friend's country, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport them. In ſhort, the *Samnites* themſelves were *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 37.

[a] The *Sagum* of the *Romans* was a military habit, open from top to bottom, and uſually faſten'd on the right ſhoulder with a buckle, or claſp. It was not different in ſhape from the *Chlamys* of the *Greeks*, and the *Paludamentum* of the Generals. The only difference between them was, that the *Paludamentum* was made of a richer ſtuff, was generally of a purple colour, and both longer and fuller than the *Sagum*. The adjoining Plate will ſhew the form of this garment, which the *Latin* authors call *Sagum*, and *Chlamys* and *Paludamentum*.

[b] It was cuſtomary among the *Romans* for the garriſon of a beſieged place to crown the General who came to its relief, and raiſed the ſiege, with a Chaplet or Garland made of the Graſs growing in the place. It was called *Corona Obſidionalis*.

A. of *R.* 410. Bef. *J. C.* 342. 112 Conſul-p. the firſt who wanted neceſſaries, and were obliged to ſend out large detachments to convoy proviſions to their camp. *Valerius* obſerving this, ſeized the moment when the greater part of the enemy's troops were diſperſed about the country, attacked their camp, forced it, made a great ſlaughter there, and then with his cavalry chaſed the ſeveral parties that were abroad foraging. In this action the *Romans* took one hundred and ſeventy ſtandards from the enemy.

Theſe ſucceſſes of *Valerius* and *Cornelius* (to whom the Senate decreed the honours of the TRIUMPH) made the Republic reſpected abroad; the *Faliſci* enter'd into a treaty of alliance with her, and that whole *Lucumony* of *Hetruria* became *Roman*. The *Latines*, who had ſtood neuter to ſee the event of the war, commenced hoſtilities againſt the *Peligni* (a *Samnite* nation) as it were to aſſiſt the *Romans*; and laſtly, the *Carthaginians* ſent a compliment of congratulation to the Republic, with a preſent of a Gold Crown of twenty five pounds weight to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of thankſgiving for her victories.

Euſeb. Chron. By a *Cenſus* taken this year it appear'd, that the number of *Romans* able to bear arms amounted to 160,000.

CHAP. IX.

§. I. C. Marcius Rutilus *is elected (the 4th time) to the Conſulate, and with him* Q. Servilius Ahala. *The former marches an army into* Campania. *He finds a general depravation of manners in ſome Cohorts of* Roman *ſoldiers, who had been left in* Capua *all the winter; and diſcovers that they had plotted to make that delightful City their own, and to ſettle there. To diſappoint this ſcheme, he artfully contrives to ſend away the moſt mutinous and enterpriſing, without treating them diſgracefully, or letting his deſign appear. The ſoldiers at length ſuſpecting it, are alarmed with the apprehenſion of puniſhment. All the ſoldiers of one Cohort deſert. Theſe having poſted themſelves advantageouſly near* Anxur, *are ſoon joined by great numbers of malecontents from the City and the Camp. They force one* Quinctius, *an old ſoldier, whom they find employ'd in huſbandry, to be their leader to conduct them to* Rome. Valerius Corvus *is hereupon named* Dictator, *to march an army againſt the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from* Rome, *comes to a parley with them, and being a man extremely beloved by the ſoldiers prevails with them to ſubmit; yet the Rebels, beſides pardon, obtain ſome conceſſions from the Republic.*

A. of *R.* 411. Bef. *J. C.* 341. 113 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 7. ch. 38, 39, &c. §. I. THE *Conſuls* for the new year were *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian* (now raiſed to that dignity a fourth time) and *Q. Servilius Ahala*, a *Patrician*. The latter encamped the army allotted him in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, while the former marched with another into *Campania*. A body of *Romans* had, at the requeſt of the *Campanians*, been left in *Capua* all the winter to defend them from the enemies incurſions. When *Marcius* arrived in that City, he perceived a great alteration in thoſe ſoldiers of the Republic.

Diſcipline

Diſcipline had been neglected; their auſterity of manners was changed into effeminacy, and their ſobriety into intemperance. The charms of the climate and the air, which they breathed in idleneſs, had ſo far bewitched them, that they did not care to hear their own country mentioned; and the leſs, as at home they were oppreſſed by their creditors. They had enter'd into a plot among themſelves, to drive the natives out of *Campania*, ſeize it for their own poſſeſſion, and ſettle there. *Marcius* was informed of all this; and as he was a man of great experience and prudence, he made uſe of the gentleſt methods to induce them to drop their deſign. He check'd the ſedition for the preſent, by indulging them in the hope that they might put their ſcheme in execution whenever they pleaſed: For he cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that they ſhould ſpend the following winter in the ſame places. This hope prevailed likewiſe among the other *Romans* diſperſed up and down in *Campania*. In the mean time he contrived, under various pretences, to ſend away the moſt factious, at firſt one by one, and afterwards by whole *Cohorts*; yet ſo, that no ſoldier was diſmiſſed with diſgrace. But at length the Troops obſerved the General's conduct, and penetrated into his intentions. They preſently imagined, that their companions had been tried and condemn'd at *Rome*, and that they themſelves muſt undergo the ſame fate. In this apprehenſion, the firſt expedient that occurr'd to them was deſertion; and the ſoldiers of one *Cohort* were ſo bent upon it, that they ſtrait march'd away and poſted themſelves near *Anxur* in *Lautulæ*, which was the name the *Romans* gave to the narrow paſs there, between the ſea on one ſide, and high mountains on the other. To theſe deſerters all thoſe whom the *Conſul* had diſmiſs'd, or who were oppreſs'd by debts, reſorted; and new deſertions following cloſe upon the firſt, the malecontents in a little time encreaſed to a moderate army. But ſtill they were at a loſs for a leader. To ſupply this want, they ſurpriſed by night in his bed one *T. Quinctius* (an eminent ſoldier, who had retired from publick life to his farm) and forced him to go along with them, and lead them as their General to *Rome*.

Y. of *R.* 411. Bef. *J. C.* 341. 113 Conſul-p.

The City was ſo terrified at the approach of theſe Mutineers, that the Republic had recourſe to her uſual remedy in great emergencies; the *Conſuls* named a *Dictator*. *Valerius Corvus* was the man pitch'd upon, and he at the head of an army met the Rebels eight miles from *Rome*, in the *Appian Way*. The *Dictator* had always diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by a tender love for his ſoldiers; and theſe very mutineers were a part of the victorious army which he had commanded the laſt year. He endeavoured therefore to bring them back to their duty by gentle methods; and, advancing into the middle ſpace between the two armies, expoſtulated with them in the ſofteſt terms on their ſtrange and unaccountable behaviour, ſo contrary not only to the tender regard they owed their country, but even to the grateful returns which he himſelf might have expected from them, conſidering how zealous he had ever been for their intereſts, and with what condeſcenſion and kindneſs he had always treated them in the higheſt ſtations

Faſt. Capit. Livy, B. 7. Auth. of the Lives of Illuſt. Men.

Y. of *R.* 411. Bef. *C.* 341. 113 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 7.

ſtations to which he had been promoted, as well as in his private capacity. He told them, that his prayer to the Gods before he left *Rome*, had not been to conquer them in battle, but to reconcile them to their country; and that he was ſo far from deſiring to reduce them by force of arms, that if they reſolved to fight, they muſt be the firſt to ſound the trumpet for the charge, and muſt begin the attack too, before he would draw his ſword againſt them. Then addreſſing himſelf to *Quinctius*, "Whether it be willingly or by force, T. QUINCTIUS, that you "are engaged on that ſide, you will do well, in caſe of a battle, to "retire into the hindmoſt ranks; for it will be leſs diſhonourable for you "to turn your back and fly before your fellow-citizens, than to fight "againſt your country. But if it be only in order to peace and reconci-"liation that you appear at the head of your party, you may conſiſtently "with your honour and duty continue there to be their interpreter. Speak "then, make your demands, aſk any conditions that are reaſonable, and "they ſhall be granted. Nay, it will be better to grant you even unrea-"ſonable terms, than that we ſhould begin a deteſtable Civil War, and "*Romans* imbrue their hands in *Roman* blood."

Valerius had no ſooner ended, than *Quinctius* turning to the rebels, told them with tears in his eyes, that he could be of no ſervice to their cauſe, unleſs in obtaining for them an advantageous peace; and he adviſed them to put themſelves entirely into the hands of the *Dictator*, who had a fatherly affection for them, and leave it to him to manage their intereſts at *Rome*. This motion was followed by a ſhout of approbation; and then the *Dictator* having given the Mutineers hopes of all reaſonable conceſſions, return'd to the City, and obtain'd from the Senate an Act of Grace, which was afterwards confirm'd by the People in *Comitia*. And in the ſame aſſembly, and at the requeſt of the Rebels, were paſſed ſome new Military Laws, which revenge alone inſpired them to demand. Particularly they inſiſted, that the pay of the Cavalry ſhould be reduced; and this becauſe not one ſingle man of that corps had joined them in their revolt. Some authors ſay, that at this time all Uſury was aboliſh'd in *Rome*, by a Law made at the motion of *Genucius*, a *Tribune of the People*; and that the Commons paſs'd likewiſe theſe other Laws; That no man ſhould have the ſame office twice within ten years, or poſſeſs two different offices in the ſame year; and, that the two *Conſuls* might be both choſen out of the *Plebeians*. If theſe articles were obtained at this time, it is evident that the Rebel Army muſt have been exceedingly formidable. *Livy* tells us, that the hiſtorians differ in moſt of the circumſtances of this event.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 41, 42.

CHAP. X.

§. I. *The* Romans *by theſe condeſcenſions to the Rebels loſe credit among their neighbours.* Privernum *revolts, but is quickly reduced by* C. Plautius Hypſæus *(now the 2d time Conſul.) His Collegue* L. Æmilius *lays waſte the*

the country of the Samnites, *who thereupon ſue for peace, and an alliance with* Rome. *Theſe being obtained, they turn their arms once more againſt the* Sidicini, *who being refuſed ſuccour by the Senate at* Rome, *even upon the terms of being ſubject to the Republic, give themſelves to the* Latines, *already in arms, to recover their independence. The* Campanians *follow the example of the* Sidicini. *An army formed of theſe three nations enter* Samnium, *but ſoon retire. The* Samnites *ſend an embaſſy to the Republic, to complain of her ſuffering the* Latines *and* Campanians *to commit hoſtilities in* Samnium. *They receive an anſwer unſatisfactory to them, offenſive to the* Campanians, *and which, ſeeming to betray a ſenſe of weakneſs in the* Romans, *elates the ſpirits of the* Latines. Manlius Torquatus *is promoted (a 3d time) to the Conſulate, with* P. Decius Mus. (Alexander *King of* Epirus, *uncle of* Alexander *the Great, comes into* Italy *on the invitation of the* Tarentines, *to make war with the* Bruttians, *and concludes an alliance of friendſhip with* Rome.) §. III. *The* Romans *ſummon ten of the* Latine *Chiefs to appear at* Rome, *and give account of their preparations for war. The* Latine *Council ſend* L. Annius *with nine more to* Rome, *to demand, as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that* one of the Conſuls and half of the Senate of *Rome* be for the future choſen out of the LATINES. *This demand is rejected with indignation, and war is declared.* §. IV. Manlius *and* Decius *having marched two armies into the field, and encamped near the enemy, dream both of them the ſame dream concerning the event of the war.* §. V. *The Conſul* Manlius *cauſes his own ſon to be beheaded, for having fought in ſingle combat with one of the enemies officers, tho' he proved victorious; becauſe he had fought without leave from his General.* §. VI. *The* Romans *come to a battle with the* Latines. *The wing where the Conſul* Decius *commands beginning to loſe ground, he, to recover the day to his party, and purſuant to the interpretation which had been given of his dream, devotes himſelf to death, ruſhing alone into the thickeſt of the enemy. His troops getting freſh courage and ſtrength from ſuperſtition, and* Manlius *conducting the battle with great ſkill, the* Latines *are totally routed, and fly to* Minturnæ. Manlius *gives them a ſecond overthrow, after which both they and the* Campanians *ſubmit, and are moſt of them diſpoſſeſs'd of their lands.* §. VII. *In the following Conſulate of* Q. Publilius *and* T. Æmilius *ſome of the* Latines *rebel, and form two armies.* Publilius *ſucceeding in an expedition againſt one of them, is decreed a Triumph.* Æmilius *not having equal ſucceſs againſt the other, is refuſed that honour. Hereupon he inveighs againſt the Senate, and incites the People to ſedition; and becauſe the Senate, to prevent diſturbances, order him to name a* Dictator, *he in revenge nominates to that dignity his* Plebeian *Collegue. The Dictator, during his whole adminiſtration, imploys his power and influence for the advantage of the* Plebeians, *and obtains ſome laws in their favour. The Senate to pique* Æmilius, *tender of his honour, enable the next year's Conſuls,* L. Furius Camillus *and* C. Mænius, *to finiſh with glory the war which he had left unfiniſhed.*

§. VIII. *The* Romans *determine the fate of the ſeveral conquered Cities. The* Latines, *from being* Allies, *are made* Subjects *of* Rome.

Livy, B. 7. ch. 42.

§. I. THUS was tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in *Rome*; but the condeſcenſions ſhewn to rebels, and the war in which the Republic was engaged with the *Samnites*, occaſioned ſome of her neighbours to quit her alliance. The *Privernates*, in the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Plautius* * *Hypſæus* and *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, were the firſt who by their revolt made it appear that the dread of her power was diminiſhed. However, theſe enemies were eaſily ſubdued by the troops which *Plautius* march'd againſt them. He took *Privernum*, and placed a ſtrong garriſon in it. On the other hand, *Æmilius* ſpread terror in the provinces of the *Samnites*, who were ſo weaken'd by their former loſſes, that they ſuffer'd their lands to be laid waſte without oppoſition, and at length ſued to the *Conſul* for a peace. He referr'd their Deputies to the Senate, of whom they demanded two things; to be admitted into the favour and alliance of the Republic, and to be allowed to make war on the *Sidicini*. Both theſe requeſts were granted, on the *Samnites* giving the *Roman* troops a year's pay, and furniſhing them with three months proviſions.

A. of *R.* 412. Bef. *J. C.* 340. 114 Conſul-p. * A 2d time, *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 1.

A peace being thus ſettled with the *Romans*, the *Samnites* turned their arms againſt the *Sidicini*; and theſe in their diſtreſs had recourſe to the Republic for protection, offering to make the ſame ſurrender of themſelves, their country and their liberty, as the People of *Campania* had done before: but the *Conſcript Fathers* refuſed the donation, as made too late, and only when extream neceſſity forced them to it; upon which they immediately gave themſelves to the *Latines*, who of their own accord had already taken up arms. Nor did the *Campanians* forbear to follow the example of the *Latines*, ſo much ſtronger an impreſſion had the injuries done them by the *Samnites* made on their minds, than the benefits received from the *Romans*.

A conſiderable army formed out of theſe three nations, and under the conduct of a *Latine* General, enter'd the territory of *Samnium*, laying waſte all before them; but not being able to bring the *Samnites* to a battle, ſoon retired out of their country.

§. II. THE retreat of the enemy gave the *Samnites* an opportunity of ſending Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, who when admitted by the Senate to an audience, complained of their hard fortune, in that they ſuffer'd no leſs ſince their alliance with the *Romans*, than they had done when in enmity with them; and humbly pray'd, that the *Romans* would be ſatisfied with having ſnatched out of their hands a certain victory over the *Campanians* and *Sidicini*, and not ſuffer them alſo to be ſubdued by thoſe the moſt baſe and cowardly People of all *Italy*. *If the* Latines *and* Campanians, added the Deputies, *are ſubject to you, why don't you forbid them to enter our country in a hoſtile manner? If they are rebels, why don't you chaſtiſe them?* Theſe queſtions puzzled the Senators, unwilling to own their

weakneſs, and that they had no longer power over the *Latines*, and fearing at the ſame time to alienate them entirely by a new provocation. The Conſul *Plautius* therefore in the name of the Senate gave this cautious anſwer: *The* Campanians *are our ſubjects, and we will therefore force them to deſiſt from troubling you: But as for the* Latines, *our Treaty of Alliance with them does not oblige them not to enter into any war without our conſent; and therefore we can promiſe nothing in relation to them:* An anſwer which as it left the *Samnites* in a melancholy uncertainty with relation to the intentions of the Republic, ſo it provoked the *Campanians* by the imperious ſtyle of it; and as for the *Latines*, they grew ſo proud upon it, as to imagine they could now demand nothing which the *Romans* would dare to refuſe them. Under colour of preparing to carry on the war with the *Samnites*, they convened frequent aſſemblies of their Chiefs, where they formed deſigns againſt *Rome*, in all which the *Campanians* took part. But tho' they endeavoured to keep their conſultations as ſecret as poſſible, the Senate were fully informed of what was doing; and becauſe the impending war ſeemed like to be a long one, the *Fathers* obliged the preſent *Conſuls* to abdicate, reſolving to bring on the election of new ones before the uſual time. But ſome religious ſcruples, concerning the holding the *Comitia* by *Conſuls* depoſed before the expiration of their year, being thrown in the way, the Government was firſt reduced to an *Inter-regnum*, and then the *Centuries* choſe *T. Manlius* * *Torquatus* and *Decius Mus* to be *Conſuls* for the next year.

V. of *R.* 412. Bef. *J. C.* 340. 114 Conſul-p.

V. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p. * A 3d time.

At this time *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and brother to *Olympias*, the mother of *Alexander the Great*, came into *Italy*, being invited thither by the *Tarentines* to aſſiſt them againſt the *Bruttians*. He had hoped to find as plentiful a harveſt of glory in *Sicily*, *Italy* and *Africa*, as his nephew had reaped in *Perſia* and the reſt of *Aſia*. But his ſucceſs was not equal to his expectations[a]; for tho' he gained ſome ſlight victories over the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians* at his firſt coming, he was forced to ſeek the friendſhip of the more powerful nations of *Italy*, and particularly of the *Romans*, who readily made an alliance of friendſhip with him, it being of more importance to them to ſuppreſs the revolt of the *Latines*, than to protect the *Bruttians* from the *Greeks*.

Livy, B. 8. ch. 3.

§. III. AND the firſt ſtep the *Conſuls* took in order thereto, was, to cite ten of the chief leaders of the *Latines* to appear at *Rome*, and give an account of the preparations they were making againſt the *Samnites*. The *Latines* had choſen themſelves two *Prætors*, or Preſidents of their great Council (who were likewiſe to be the managers of the war) *L. Annius* and *L. Numicius*, the one a native of *Setia*, the other of *Circeii*, two *Roman* colonies. Theſe men being eſpecially ſummoned by name, aſſembled the Council, acquainted them with the ſummons, pointed out the heads

[a] *Aulus Gellius* (B. 17. ch. 21.) tells us, that this Prince uſed to ſay, that the country he propoſed to conquer was a country of *Men*; whereas the provinces which his nephew *Alexander* went to ſubdue were inhabited by *Women* only.

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p. upon which they preſumed their examination would turn, and aſked what anſwer they ſhould make to the *Roman* Senate. The members of the Diet were divided in their opinion; upon which *Annius* in a long harangue laid before them their own ſtrength and flouriſhing condition; the credit they had with their neighbours, ſo as to be able to engage even the *Roman* colonies in their cauſe; the preſent weakneſs of the Republic, ſufficiently diſcover'd in the anſwer given by the Senate to the *Samnite* Deputies; and in concluſion exhorted the aſſembly to ſhake off all dependance upon *Rome*, and even to refuſe an alliance with her, unleſs ſhe would conſent that one of her *Conſuls*, and the half of her *Senate* ſhould for the future be choſen out of the *Latines:* And he offer'd to go in perſon to *Rome*, and make this demand in the preſence of the *Senate* and *People*, and even of *Jupiter Capitolinus* himſelf.

This motion being univerſally applauded, *Annius* with nine more Envoys appear'd ſoon after in preſence of the *Conſcript Fathers* aſſembled in the *Capitol*. The *Conſul Manlius* ſpoke firſt, and in the name of the Senate forbad the *Latines* to make war againſt the *Samnites*. To this *Annius*, more like a conqueror who had taken the *Capitol* by force of arms, than an Ambaſſador protected by the law of nations, anſwer'd, *That the* Romans *had choſen an ill time to give their orders in ſuch an arbitrary manner, when the* Latines *were in nothing inferior to them. That in a union between two nations, where the ſtrength on both ſides was equal, the authority likewiſe ſhould be equally ſhared*; and then he made the demand before mentioned: which ſo highly provoked the *Conſul*, a man no leſs haughty and paſſionate than the *Latine Prætor*, that not being able to contain his anger, he loudly declared, *That if the Conſcript Fathers ſhould ever fall into ſuch a madneſs, as to receive the law from a Citizen of* Setia, *he would himſelf enter the Senate-houſe ſword in hand, and kill every* Latine *he ſhould find there.* Then turning to the ſtatue of *Jupiter*, he invoked the God to be witneſs of the pride and ingratitude of the *Latines*. The reſt of the Senators joined their exclamations full of diſdain to thoſe of the *Conſul*; while *Annius*, as ſome ſay, in return to their repeated invocations of the Gods, who had been witneſſes of the leagues and treaties between the Republick and the *Latines*, raiſed his voice, and ſcoffed at the *Roman Jupiter*. Certain it is, that he left the Senate-houſe in a rage, and retired with ſuch precipitation, that ſtumbling at the threſhold of the door he fell from the top of the ſteps to the bottom, and for ſome time lay ſenſeleſs. *Manlius* coming out of the aſſembly to diſmiſs the Ambaſſadors, and ſeeing *Annius* lying ſtretched on the ground, cried out, *Happy omen for the war we are going to begin! Can we any longer doubt whether there be a God that governs the world? or whether we have reaſon to dedicate this Temple to* Jupiter? *Why do we delay one moment to take arms, after ſo happy an Augury, ſo plain a declaration of the will of the Gods? I will hereafter lay the* Latine *Troops as low, as you ſee here one of their Commanders.* Theſe words were highly applauded by the People, in whom they raiſed ſuch a ſpirit, that the care of the Magiſtrates, rather

Livy, B. 8. ch. 6.

than any regard to the law of Nations, preſerved the Ambaſſadors from being inſulted at their departure. Inſtantly the Senate paſs'd a decree for a war with the *Latines*, which the People ratified in their *Comitia*. Then the two *Conſuls* raiſed two armies, conſiſting entirely of *Romans*; becauſe they were now going to engage with their old allies, and their uſual companions in victory. Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p.

§. IV. MANLIUS and DECIUS march'd into *Campania*, and encamp'd near the enemy at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*. The night before the battle, which ſoon followed, they are ſaid to have both dreamt the ſame dream. A man of a gigantic ſtature and majeſtic look appeared to them, and told them, *That the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whoſe General ſhould devote himſelf to the* Dii Manes. As ſoon as it was day the Generals communicated their dreams to each other; and the *Aruſpices* being conſulted, pretended to make ſuch diſcoveries in the entrails of the victims, as confirmed the dreams. Upon this it was agreed in a council of war, that *Manlius* ſhould command the right wing, and *Decius* the left; and that he whoſe troops ſhould firſt give way, ſhould ruſh into the midſt of the enemy's battalions, and devote himſelf to certain death to ſave his country.

§. V. IN the ſame council of war it was determin'd, that the ancient ſtrict diſcipline ſhould be obſerved, and that no officer or ſoldier ſhould dare to fight with the enemy out of his rank; and this was proclaimed through all the camp; a precaution extreamly neceſſary at this time, when the *Romans* were at war with the *Latines*, with whom they were perſonally acquainted (having often ſerved together) who ſpoke the ſame language, were arm'd after the ſame manner, and obſerv'd the ſame way of fighting, and of marſhalling their troops. It happened ſoon after, that young *Manlius*, the *Conſul*'s ſon, being at the head of a detachment of horſe, met an advanced ſquadron of the enemy, whoſe Commander knowing him, challenged him to ſingle combat. *Manlius*, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late order of the Generals, accepted the challenge, kill'd his adverſary, ſtript him of his armour, and, loaded with the glorious ſpoils, came ſtrait to his father's tent. *Father*, ſaid he, *I have followed your example, and proved my ſelf your ſon: I was challenged, like you, by an enemy to ſingle combat; I have ſlain him, and I here lay his ſpoils at your feet.* The *Conſul* hearing theſe words, turned his back upon his ſon, ordered the troops to be aſſembled, and then in their preſence made him this reply: *Since you*, Titus Manlius, *in contempt of the Conſular Dignity and the Authority of a Father, and in contradiction to my expreſs orders have been ſo raſh as to leave your rank to fight the enemy; ſince you have deſtroyed, as far as in you lay, that Military Diſcipline which has been hitherto the ſupport of the* Roman *People, and reduced me to the hard neceſſity of forgetting my ſelf and mine, or the regard I owe to the publick intereſt,* Rome *muſt not ſuffer the puniſhment of your fault; we muſt expiate it ourſelves. A ſad example ſhall we be, but a wholſom one to the youth of the* Roman *Soldiery. As for me, both the innate affection of a* Livy, B. 8.

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p.

Father for a Son, and that ſpecimen which thou, deceived by a vain appearance of honour, haſt given of thy valour, move me exceedingly: But ſince either the Conſular *Authority muſt be eſtabliſhed by thy death, or quite deſtroyed by thy impunity, I cannot think, if there be any of the* Manlian *blood in thee, thou wilt be backward to repair the breach thou haſt made in the Military Diſcipline, by undergoing the puniſhment due to thy offence.* This ſaid, he order'd [b] the *Lictors* to tie him to a ſtake and ſtrike off his head. All preſent were ſtunn'd at the cruel ſentence, as if it had been pronounced againſt themſelves; and if they continued quiet, it was more out of fear than modeſty. But no ſooner was the young man beheaded, and his blood ſeen to guſh out, than they recover'd themſelves, and vented their anger in imprecations and invectives againſt their General. They cover'd the body of the young man with the ſpoils of the enemy he had vanquiſhed, and expreſs'd their affection by the moſt pompous obſequies they could perform for him in the field. This ſeverity of *Manlius* however made his army wonderfully tractable for the future, and ſtrictly obſervant of diſcipline, which proved of great moment in the general engagement with the enemy a few days after.

§. VI. THE *Romans* on a day of battle drew up their ſoldiers in three lines, diſtinguiſh'd by the names of the HASTATI, the PRINCIPES, and the TRIARII.

The HASTATI, who compoſed the firſt line, had their name from the javelins called *Haſtæ* which they bore.

Varro, B. 4. de Ling. Lat.

The PRINCIPES, who made the ſecond line, were ſo call'd becauſe originally they were placed in the front of the battle, and *began* [c] the attack; and in thoſe times they were generally the richeſt and the nobleſt of the *Roman* youth. They fought with ſwords.

The TRIARII were ſo named becauſe they made the *Third* line. They were commonly veterans, or hardy old ſoldiers, the main ſtrength and hopes of their party. They bore the javelin called *Pilum*, whence they had the name of *Pilani Milites*; and for the ſame reaſon the ſoldiers of the two lines *before* them had that of *Antepilani* [d].

[b] According to *Zonaras*, B. 7. *Manlius* firſt crowned his ſon as a Victor.

[c] Mr. *Kennet* thinks it probable, that this was before the inſtitution of the *Haſtati*.

[d] How differently ſoever the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii* might be arm'd in theſe times, they afterwards bore much the ſame arms; and therefore *Polybius* has not divided them in his deſcription, but ſpeaks of them all together.

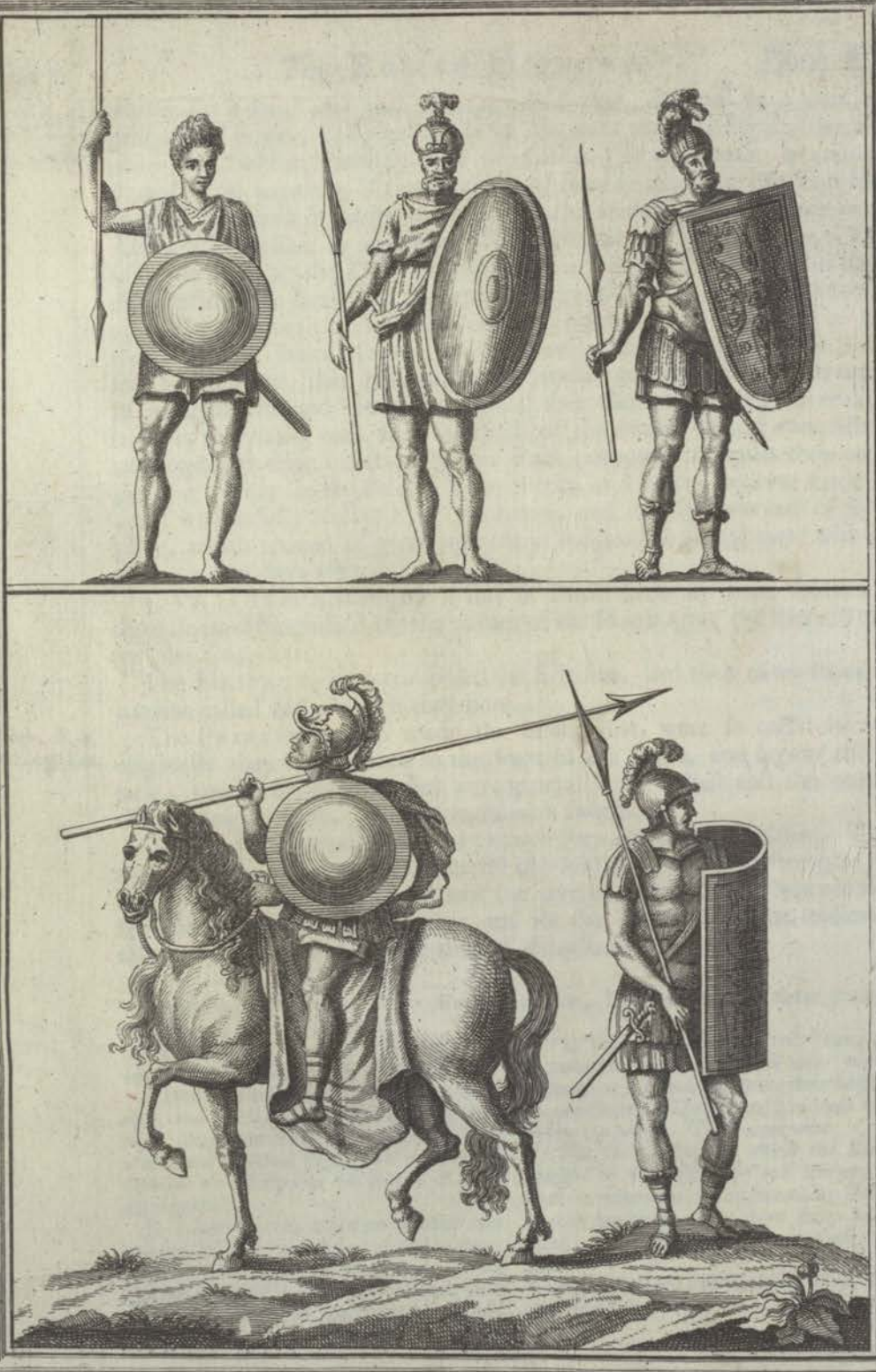
In *Polybius*'s time, a Legion of 4000 men had 600 *Triarii*, 1200 *Principes*, and as many *Haſtati*; the reſt were VELITES. If the Legion happen'd to be more numerous, each of the three laſt corps was increaſed in proportion, but the TRIARII never exceeded 600.

The VELITES were commonly young men of mean condition; they had their name *à Volando*, or *à Velocitate*, from their ſwiftneſs or expedition. They hover'd in looſe order before the army. Their arms were

The *Spaniſh Sword*, which the *Romans* thought of the beſt ſhape and temper, and fitteſt for execution, being ſomething like the *Turkiſh* Scymitar, but more ſharp at the point. The ſoldiers wore it on their right ſide.

Haſtæ, or light and ſlender javelins. Each man had ſeven.

Originally



The different sorts of Roman *Bucklers.*

Originally each of theſe three lines was entire, there were no breaks or intervals between the *Manipuli* or companies that compoſed it; nor were

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p.

Parma, a kind of round buckler 3 foot in diameter, of wood cover'd with leather.

Galerus, a light caſque for their head, generally made of the ſkin of ſome wild beaſt.

The arms of the HASTATI, PRINCIPES, and TRIARII (beſide the ſword above mentioned) were the *Scutum*, the *Pilum*, the *Galea*, and the *Lorica*.

The *Scutum* was a buckler of wood, the parts being joined together with little plates of iron, and the whole cover'd with a bull's hide. An iron plate went about it without to keep off blows, and another within to hinder it from taking any damage by lying on the ground. In the middle was an iron Boſs or *Umbo* jutting out, very ſerviceable to glance off ſtones and darts, and ſometimes to preſs violently upon the enemy, and drive all before them. They are to be diſtinguiſh'd from the *Clypei*, which were leſs, and quite round, belonging more properly to other nations, tho' for ſome little time uſed by the *Romans*. The *Scuta* themſelves were of two kinds; the *Ovata* and the *Imbricata*; the former is a plain oval figure, the other oblong, and bending inward like half a cylinder. *Polybius* makes the *Scuta* four foot long, and *Plutarch* * calls them ποδήρεις, *reaching down to the Feet*. And 'tis very probable that they cover'd almoſt the whole body, ſince in *Livy* ‡ we meet with ſoldiers who ſtood on the guard, ſometimes ſleeping with their head laid on their ſhield, having fix'd the other part of it on the earth.

The *Pilum* was a miſſive weapon, which in a charge they darted at the enemy. It was commonly four-ſquare, but ſometimes round, compoſed of a piece of wood about three cubits long, and a ſlip of iron of the ſame length, hooked and jagged at the end. They took abundance of care in joining the two parts together, and did it ſo artificially, that 'twould ſooner break in the iron itſelf than in the joint. Every man had two of theſe *Pila*; and this number the Poets allude to:

Bina manu lato criſpans haſtilia ferro.
VIRG. *Æn.* i. 317.

Quæ duo ſola manu geſtans acclivia monti
Fixerat, intorquet jacula———
STATIUS *Theb.* 2.

C. *Marius* in the *Cimbrian* war contrived theſe *Pila* after a new faſhion; For before where the wood was join'd to the iron, it was made faſt with two iron pins; now *Marius* let one of them alone as it was, and pulling out the other, put a weak wooden peg in its place; contriving it ſo, that when 'twas ſtuck in the enemies ſhield, it ſhould not ſtand outright as formerly; but the wooden peg breaking, the iron ſhould bend, and ſo the javelin ſticking faſt by its crooked point, ſhould weigh down the ſhield. *Plut.* in *Mar.*

The *Galea* was a Head-piece, or Morrion, coming down to the ſhoulders, commonly of braſs.

The *Lorica* was a Brigandine, or Coat of Mail, generally made of leather, and work'd over with little hooks of iron, and ſometimes adorn'd with ſmall *ſcales* of thin gold; as we find in *Virgil*;

Loricam conſertam hamis. Æn. iii. 467.

And,

Nec duplici ſquamâ lorica fidelis & auro.
Æn. ix. 707.

Sometimes the *Loricæ* were a ſort of Linen Caſſocks, ſuch as *Suetonius* attributes to *Galba*, and like that of *Alexander* in *Plutarch*; or thoſe of the *Spaniſh* troops deſcribed by *Polybius* in his account of the battle of *Cannæ*.

The poorer ſoldiers, who were rated under a thouſand Drachms, inſtead of this Brigandine, wore a *Pectorale* or breaſt-plate of thin braſs about twelve fingers ſquare; and this, with what have been already deſcribed, render'd them compleatly armed; unleſs we add the *Ocreæ*, or Greaves, which they wore on their legs; which perhaps they borrowed (as many other cuſtoms) from the *Grecians*, ſo well known by the title of —ἐυχνημίδες Ἀχαιοί.

In the elder times of the *Romans*, their horſe uſed only a round ſhield, with a helmet on their head, and a couple of javelins in their hands, great part of their body being left without defence. But as ſoon as they found the great inconveniencies to which they were hereby expoſed, they began to arm themſelves like the *Grecian* Horſe, or much like their own Foot, only their ſhield was a little ſhorter and ſquarer, and their launce or javelin thicker, with ſpikes at each end, that if one miſcarried, the other might be ſerviceable. *Kenn.* Antiq. P. II. B. IV. Ch. IX.

there

* *Plut.* in *P. Æmil.* ‡ B. 44.

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef *J.C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p.

there any void ſpaces left between the lines, ſo that the whole body of Infantry was cloſe and compact, like the *Macedonian Phalanx*.

But at the time of this war of the *Romans* with the *Latines*, the method of marſhalling the troops was different.

Juſtus Lipſius de Mil. Rom. B. 4. c. 1.

Between the firſt and ſecond lines was a ſpace of fifty foot; and the TRIARII were drawn up at the diſtance of an hundred foot behind the PRINCIPES.

And as ſpaces were left between the lines, ſo likewiſe between the MANIPULI, or companies of each line. But theſe openings were not ſo diſpoſed, as to yield a *direct* paſſage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear. The *Manipuli* of the ſecond line ſtood behind the openings [e] of the firſt, and the *Manipuli* of the third behind thoſe of the ſecond, ſo that the order of the whole reſembled that of a *Quincunx*.

When the HASTATI happened to be overpower'd, they retired ſoftly toward the PRINCIPES, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and together with them renewed the fight. But if the PRINCIPES and the HASTATI thus joined were too weak to ſuſtain the fury of the battle, they all fell back into the wider intervals of the TRIARII; and then all together being united into a firm maſs, they made another effort much more impetuous than any before: If this aſſault proved ineffectual, the day was entirely loſt as to the Foot, there being no farther reſerves [f].

Livy ſpeaks of the RORARII and the ACCENSI, as two corps of troops that were a kind of ſupernumeraries to the TRIARII, but not ſoldiers equal to them for ſtrength or courage.

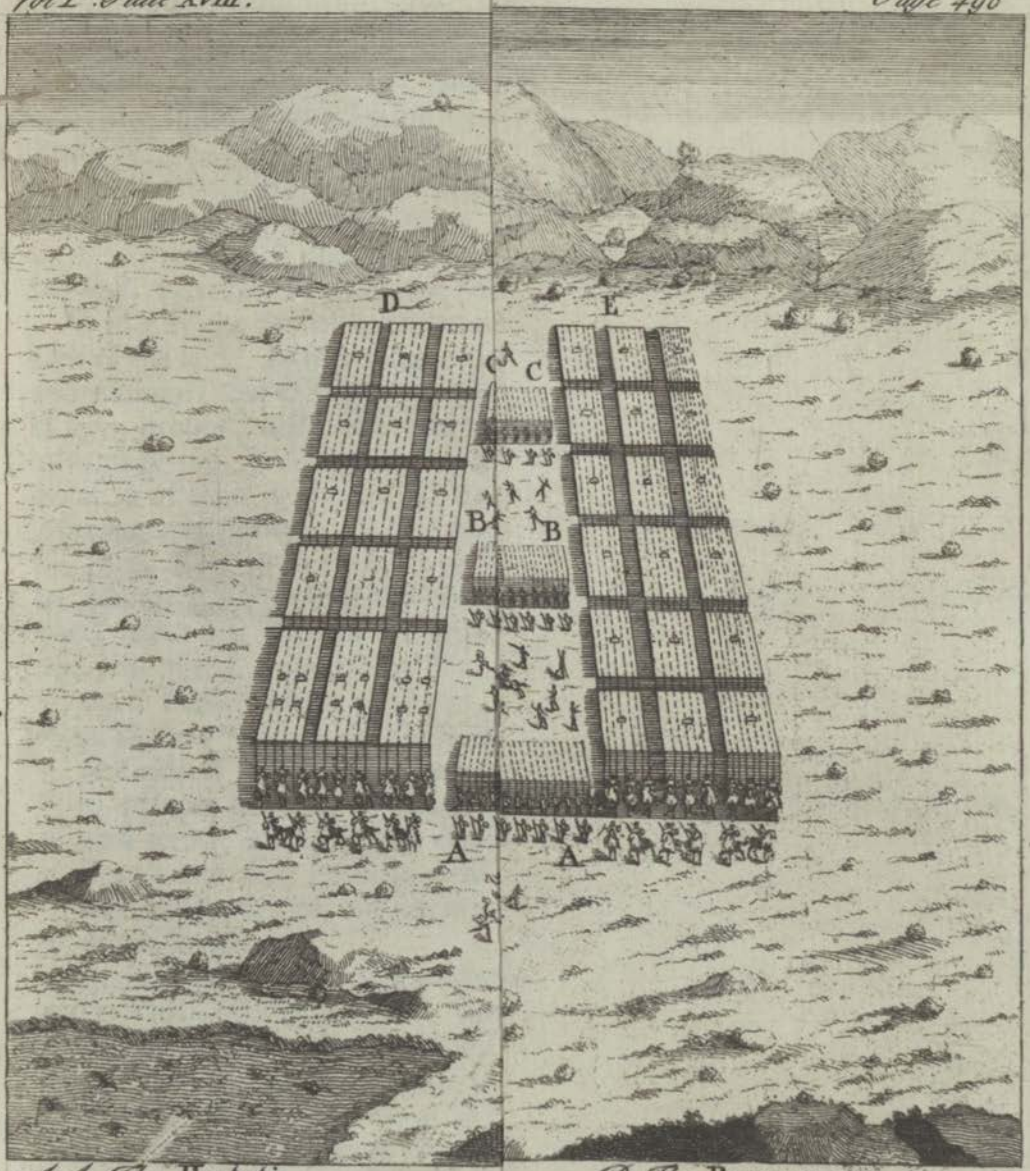
In the middle of the ſpace between the PRINCIPES and the TRIARII, where ſtood the *Roman* Eagles, the Conſuls and Lieutenant Generals took their poſts. Behind the Generals, the TRIARII (while the *Haſtati* and *Principes* were fighting) kept firm with their right knees on the ground, their great bucklers on their ſhoulders, and reſting themſelves on their ſpears, which, pointing upwards, form'd a kind of Paliſade before them.

As for the *Roman* Cavalry, they were always poſted at the two corners of the army, like wings on a body, and fought ſometimes on foot and ſometimes on horſeback, like our Dragoons. At this time they were not

[e] Tho' *Livy* ſpeaks on this occaſion of ſpaces between the *Manipuli* of the firſt line [*Manipuli diſtantes inter ſe modicum ſpatium*] there appears no reaſon for them, unleſs we are to ſuppoſe that certain light-arm'd ſoldiers, of whom he tells us every *Manipulus* of the firſt line had twenty, advanced before the line to ſkirmiſh (as the *Velites* afterwards uſed to do) and that thoſe openings were left for them to retire into, after they had made that charge in their looſe manner. He ſays, they bore a javelin to fight with in cloſe combat, and ſeveral of a lighter ſort to dart againſt the enemy at a diſtance.

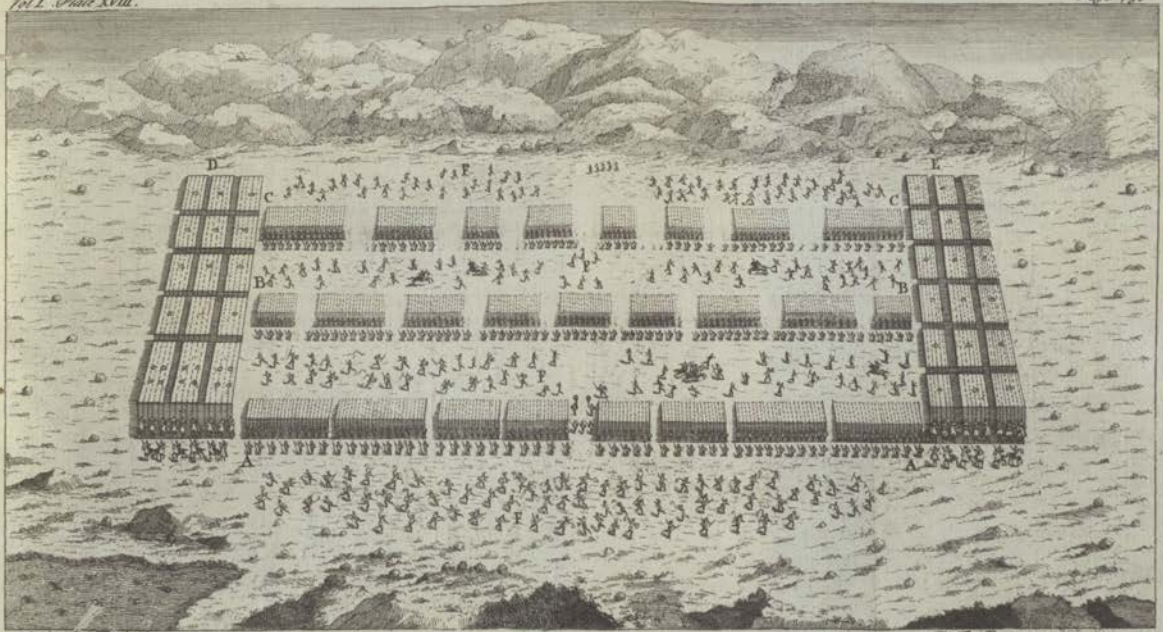
[f] The ſtratagem of rallying thus by means of theſe openings in the lines, has been reckoned almoſt the whole art and ſecret of the *Roman* diſcipline, and it was almoſt impoſſible it ſhould prove unſucceſsful, if duly obſerved: For fortune, in every engagement, muſt have failed them three ſeveral times, before they could be routed; and the enemy muſt have had the ſtrength and reſolution to overcome them in three ſeveral encounters for the deciſion of one battle; whereas moſt other nations, and even the *Greciani* themſelves, drawing up their whole army as it were in one front, truſted themſelves and their fortunes to the ſucceſs of a ſingle charge. *Kennet*'s Antiq. Part II. Book IV. Ch. X.

numerous



A A. The Hastati.
B. B. The Principes.
C C. The Triarii.

D. The Roman Cavalry.
E. The Cavalry of y Auxiliaries.
FFFF. Light-armed Soldiers.



A. A. The Hastati.
B. B. The Principes.
C. C. The Triarii.

A Roman Army drawn up in Battalia.

D. The Roman Cavalry.
E. The Cavalry of y Auxiliaries.
FFFF. Light armed Soldiers.

numerous in the *Roman* army, there being but 300 to a Legion of 5000 Foot. The forces of the preſent Conſuls conſiſted of four ſuch Legions and 1200 Horſe. Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 349. 115 Conſul. p.

The *Latine* troops being drawn up in the ſame manner with the *Romans*, it was probable that the ſeveral Officers of the two armies would encounter each other; and *Livy* tells us, that the *Romans* not being men of ſo much bodily ſtrength as the *Latines*, the Centurions of the *Roman* Legions obtain'd leave of the Conſuls to have each of them a *Sub-centurion* to defend and aſſiſt him.

The Conſuls *Manlius* and *Decius*, before they drew their troops out of the camp, offer'd ſacrifice to the Gods. The *Haruſpex* is ſaid to have ſhew'd to *Decius* the liver of his victim wounded in the inner ſide (a bad omen for him) but to have declared, that the ſacrifice was in all other reſpects acceptable to the Gods; and that as to *Manlius*, the ſigns were all as favourable as could be wiſh'd. *Decius* anſwer'd, that he was well ſatisfied, provided his Collegue had ſucceſs.

WHEN the day of battle came, *Manlius* commanded the right wing, *Decius* the left. It was fought on both ſides at firſt with equal ſtrength and courage; but at length the *Roman Haſtati* of the left wing were forced to give ground, and retire into the intervals of the *Principes*. This diſadvantage put *Decius* in mind of his agreement with his Collegue on occaſion of their dreams. He call'd out therefore to *Valerius* the *Pontifex Maximus*, to perform on him the ceremony of Conſecration, in order to his *Devotement* to death to ſave his Legions. *Valerius* commanded him to put on his Purple Robe (or *Prætexta*) cover his head, put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and then ſtanding with both his feet upon his javelin repeat after him the following words: "O *Janus Ju-* "*piter*, Father *Mars*, *Quirinus*, *Bellona*; O ye *Lares*, ye [g] *Novenſiles*, "ye Deified * Heroes, ye Gods who have power over us and our enemies, "ye Gods of Hell, I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you "to proſper the arms of the *Roman* People, and to ſtrike their enemies "with terror, affright, and death; and I do for the ſafety of the *Roman* "People and their Legions *devote* my ſelf, and with my ſelf, the Legions "and Auxiliaries of our enemies, to the Infernal Gods and the Goddeſs "of the Earth.

* *Indigetes.*

Decius having made this prayer, order'd his *Lictors* to go in all haſte, and tell his Collegue *Manlius*, that he had *devoted* himſelf for the ſafety of the *Roman* army. Then tucking up his robe, and girding it about him, he mounted his horſe and rode full ſpeed into the thickeſt of the enemies battalions. *Livy* ſays, that at firſt they were terrified at the ſight of him, and ſeemed as if they were planet-ſtruck; and that he was no ſooner fallen to the ground with numberleſs wounds, than the *Latine* Cohorts all around

[g] Nine Deities, according to *Varro*, brought to *Rome* by the *Sabines*; viz. *Lara*, *Veſta*, *Minerva*, *Feronia*, *Concord*, *Good Faith*, *Fortune*, *Chance*, *Health*. Some take them to be the nine Muſes.

him

Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J.C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p.

him diſperſed themſelves [h] and fled. As for the *Haſtati* and *Principes* of the *Roman* left wing, they now renewed the charge with more reſolution than ever; and they were ſtrengthened by the *Rorarii*, who came and joined them in the attack. The *Triarii* ſtill waited with their right knees on the ground, till the ſign ſhould be made for them to riſe.

When the news was brought to *Manlius* of his Collegue's death, he ſhed ſome tears, giving him the praiſes he deſerv'd. And now as the *Latines* had the advantage in ſeveral parts of the battle, he doubted a while whether he ſhould order the *Triarii* to riſe; but judging it better to reſerve them to the laſt extremity, he commanded the *Accenſi* [i] from the rear of all to advance to the aſſiſtance of the *Haſtati* and *Principes*. The *Latines* taking thoſe freſh troops to be the *Roman Triarii*, inſtantly order'd their own *Triarii* to the charge, and this proved the loſs of the battle to the *Latines*: For when they had wearied themſelves, and broken or blunted their weapons in repulſing the *Romans* once more, and when, after they had repulſed what they fancied to be the laſt reſerve of their enemies, they thought themſelves ſure of the victory, the *Roman Triarii* by order of *Manlius* appeared on a ſudden, as if they had ſtarted out of the ground. Their arms were ſhining and their ſtrength entire. Having received the *Haſtati* and *Principes* into the intervals of their ranks, they firſt gave a ſhout, that diſmayed the enemy, and then fell upon them with ſuch fury, and made ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that ſcarce a fourth part of the *Latine* army remained alive.

The *Samnites*, for whoſe ſake this battle was fought, continued all the time at a diſtance, but within ſight, drawn up in Battalia at the foot of mount *Veſuvius*, and only ſerved to keep the *Latines* a little in fear. The chief honour of the victory undoubtedly belonged to *Manlius*, both *Latines* and *Romans* agreeing afterwards in this, that the former would have conquered had *Manlius* been their General.

Thoſe of the *Latines* who eſcaped the ſlaughter fled in diſorder to *Minturnæ*, a little above the mouth of the *Liris*, where *Numicius* their General exhorted and encouraged them to try the fortune of arms once more with the *Romans*; and his motion was approved. In order to get an augmentation of his troops, he artfully cauſed letters to be ſpread about in *Latium* and the country of the *Volſci*, repreſenting the flight of the *Latines* as only an honourable retreat, and by this means he drew many to his camp, who had not aſſiſted at the late action; and having thus haſtily formed a new army, he marched immediately away, taking the road to

[h] *Cicero* (B. 3. de Nat. Deor.) derides that ſuperſtitious credulity, which aſcribed ſuch wonderful effects to theſe *Devotements*. He could not conceive how men of ſenſe could form to themſelves any ſuch beings as miſchievous Gods, who thirſted after human blood. So that he looked on theſe voluntary *Devotements* as no more at bottom than heroic acts of valour, or the laſt efforts of Generals, who, when their troops were diſheartened and broken, threw themſelves into the midſt of the enemy's battalions, in order to engage their ſoldiers to follow them.

[i] Father *Rouillé* on this occaſion ſpeaks of the *Accenſi*, as light arm'd ſoldiers, who fought with ſlings; but if ſo, how could the *Latines* miſtake them for the *Roman Triarii?*

Capua.

Capua. *Manlius*, informed of the enemy's motions, met them in their march, gave them another overthrow, and then enter'd *Latium* to lay it waſte. He met with no reſiſtance; the *Latine* towns ſurrender'd at diſcretion, as did *Privernum* in the territory of the *Volſci*. *Campania* was likewiſe totally brought into ſubjection to its former maſters. The *Conſul* diſpoſſeſſed the *Campanians*, *Latines*, and *Privernates* of their eſtates, and diſtributed them among the Commons of *Rome*. However, the *Latines* and *Campanians* were not all deprived of their eſtates without diſtinction. The *Laurentini* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian* Knights to the number of ſixteen hundred, had not been concerned in the revolt; and they were therefore continued in their poſſeſſions and privileges; nay, the latter were made *Citizens* of *Rome*, but without right of ſuffrage; and an annual penſion, to the value of near thirty ſhillings, was aſſigned each of them out of the publick revenues of *Campania*. Y. of *R.* 413. Bef. *J. C.* 339. 115 Conſul-p.

Manlius had deſerved the honours of a Triumph, and doubtleſs he obtained them: But he could not recover the good will of the *Roman* youth, who bore him an implacable hatred for his ſeverity. It is not improbable that his uneaſineſs on this account had an effect upon his health, for he ſoon after fell ſick; and as a *Roman* General was wanted in the field, to oppoſe ſome freſh incurſions of the *Antiates*, he named to the Dictatorſhip *L. Papirius Craſſus*, who appointed *L. Papirius Curſor* to be his *Maſter of the Horſe*. The *Dictator* kept his troops ſome months in the field at free quarter, and then returned to *Rome* to preſide at the election of new *Conſuls*. *Faſt. Capit.*

§ VII. IT had been cuſtomary, for ſome time paſt, to obſerve the law which directed to chuſe one of the two *Conſuls* out of the *Plebeians*; and now *Q. Publilius*, a *Plebeian*, was joined with *Tib. Æmilius*, a *Patrician*, in the Government. The former proving ſucceſsful in an expedition againſt a body of *Latines* (rebelling on account of their lands being taken from them) who had got together near *Ferentinum*, obtained the honours of a Triumph. Upon which *Æmilius*, jealous of his Collegue's glory, demanded the ſame honours, as the reward for ſome advantage he had gained over another body of *Latines* aſſembled at *Pedum*, though he had not finiſhed his expedition; but the *Conſcript Fathers* abſolutely refuſed his requeſt, till he ſhould take that place either by ſurrender or aſſault, a refuſal ſo highly reſented by *Æmilius*, that never did any *Tribune of the People* inveigh more bitterly againſt the Nobility, than the *Patrician Conſul* did on this occaſion. The ſubject of his ſeditious harangues was the unequal diſtribution the Senate had made of the lands in *Latium*; and he began to raiſe a diſturbance. The Senate, to put an end to it, order'd him to name a *Dictator*, under pretence of carrying on the war more vigorouſly with the *Latines*. *Æmilius* obey'd, but at the ſame time revenged himſelf on the *Conſcript Fathers*, by nominating his *Plebeian* Collegue *Publilius*, who appointed *Brutus Scæva*, another *Plebeian*, to be his *General of the Horſe*. The *Dictator* being a man entirely devoted to the People, immediately ſeized this favourable opportunity to eſtabliſh their Y. of *R.* 414. Bef. *J. C.* 338. 116 Conſul-p.

Y. of *R.* 414. Bef. *J. C.* 338. 116 Conſul p. rights on a ſolid foundation, and even to extend their privileges. And theſe things he effected, firſt, by reviving an old law paſs'd in the year 304, but ſince neglected, That the Decrees made by the Commons, at the requeſt of their Tribunes, ſhould be obſerved by all the ſubjects of the Republic in general, and not by the Commons only; ſecondly, by a new law, That for the future the laws which were to be paſs'd by the *Centuries* ſhould be firſt approved by the Senate before they were brought to the *Comitia*, whereas hitherto the *Comitia* uſed to paſs the laws firſt, and the Senate had a power of accepting or rejecting them; and thirdly, by getting it enacted, *That one of the* Cenſors *ſhould always for the future be* Plebeian.

Livy, B. 8. ch. 13. The Senate, who were much mortified at this downfal of the *Patricians*, reſolved to revenge themſelves on *Æmilius*; and, knowing how tender he was of his honour, attacked him on that ſide. To ſhew the *Romans* how negligently he had conducted himſelf in the diſcharge of the commiſſion he had received to finiſh the *Latine* war, they order'd the

Y. of *R.* 415. Bef. *J. C.* 337. 117 Conſul-p. new *Conſuls*, *L. Furius Camillus*, grandſon of the Great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a *Plebeian*, to undertake the ſame enterprize, and to lay ſiege to *Pedum*. And that the Generals might not be foil'd in the attempt, they plentifully furniſh'd them with men, ammunition, arms, and proper engines. Upon the report of *Camillus*'s march to beſiege *Pedum*, the forces of *Tybur*, *Præneſte*, *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, *Velitræ*, and *Antium* haſten'd to relieve the place; but theſe troops were defeated, and *Camillus* the ſame day took the town by aſſault. The *Conſuls* having finiſhed the war, and totally ſubdued *Latium*, returned to *Rome*, where they not only had the honours of a Triumph, but, by order of the Republic, two *Equeſtrian* ſtatues erected for them in the *Forum*.

And now the great affair in the Senate was to determine the fate of the conquer'd. *Camillus*, in his harangue upon this occaſion, told the *Fathers*, that the ſucceſs of their arms againſt the *Latines* had been ſuch, that it now depended on their pleaſure *whether* LATIUM *ſhould be any more*; but that it deſerved their conſideration, whether it would not be of greater advantage to the Republic to ſhew mercy to the conquer'd, and admit them to the privileges of *Roman Citizens*, thereby increaſing the number of her ſubjects, than utterly to exterminate them, and reduce their country to a deſert. The *Conſul* declared himſelf for the firſt, and the *Conſcript Fathers* in general were inclined to clemency: But as ſome of the *Latine* Cities had been more criminal than others, they made a diſtinction in their treatment of them. *Lanuvium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, were made *Roman* [k] *Municipia*; their ſoldiers were to be incorporated in the *Legions*, and to be no longer upon the foot of *Auxiliaries*. *Tuſculum*

[k] The privileges granted by the *Romans* to the Municipal Towns were more or leſs, according to the ſervices they had done the Republic. The Citizens of ſome *Municipia* had only the *Title* of *Roman* Citizens. Others enjoyed all the privileges properly belonging to that title. They were enrolled in the Tribes, had a right of ſuffrage, could ſtand candidates for offices, and ſerved in the army upon the foot of Legionaries.

had

had had the ſame privilege before, and it was now confirm'd. But *Veli-* V. of *R.* 415.
træ was razed, and its Senate and inhabitants baniſh'd to another city, Bef. *J. C.* 337.
beyond the *Tyber*, becauſe it had often rebell'd ſince it was made a *Roman* 117 Conſul-p.
Colony (in the year 261.) *Antium* was not deſtroy'd; the *Antiates* were granted the freedom of *Roman Citizens*; but they were forbidden the ſea; and their fleet, conſiſting of ſix * Gallies, was partly burnt and partly * *Flor.* B. 1.
carried away into the *Roman* ports. With the braſs *Beaks* [*Roſtra*] of ch. 11.
theſe veſſels the *Conſul Mænius* adorned the Pulpit from whence the *Ro-* *Livy*, B. 8.
man Magiſtrates harangued the People, and hence it was ever after call'd ch. 14.
the *Roſtra*. The inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneſte* were deprived of all their lands, for having formerly aſſiſted the *Gauls*; and laſtly, all the *Latines* in general were forbidden to aſſemble their Diets as formerly; to marry out of their reſpective cities; or to have common markets or fairs for trade.

As for *Cumæ* and *Sueſſula*, and the other cities of *Campania*, they were treated as *Capua* had been, i. e. their lands were all taken from them and divided among the *Romans*. Thus a three year's war ended in the ſubduing of two fine countries to the Republic; and the *Latines*, from being the *Allies* of *Rome*, became her *Subjects*.

CHAP. XI.

§. I. *In the following Conſulate of* C Sulpicius Longus *and* P. Ælius Pœtus, PUBLILIUS, *tho' a* Plebeian, *obtains the* PRÆTORSHIP; *ſo that all the great Dignities in the State, except thoſe of the Prieſthood, are now common to the two Orders.*

From this year 416, *to the year* 425, *the moſt memorable events are, The invention of Moveable Towers and Cover'd Galleries, by the Conſul* Atilius Regulus *(in the year* 418) *at the ſiege of* Cale, *the chief City of the* Auſones, *allies of the* Sidicini. *The Republic's changing the cuſtom of raiſing a new army upon every change of Conſuls. The reduction of the* Sidicini *(probably in* 420.) *The addition of* 2 *new Tribes (in* 421) *to the* 27 *old ones. A plot formed (in* 422) *by ſome hundreds of* Roman *Women to poiſon their Huſbands. The revolt of* Privernum (*in* 423.) *The reduction of that City (in* 424,) *and the couragious and noble anſwer given by one of the Citizens, when queſtioned by the* Roman *Senate concerning the conduct which the* Privernates *would obſerve for the future.*

§. I. *ROME* had never been in a better condition to attempt the Conqueſt of all *Italy* than now, when thoſe warm contentions for power at home, which had often retarded the progreſs of the *Roman* arms abroad, were at an end. The *Plebeians* Y. of *R.* 416.
ſhared almoſt all the great offices in the State with the *Patricians*; the Bef. *J. C.* 336.
Conſulſhip, *Quæſtorſhip*, *Ædileſhip*, and *Cenſorſhip*: they were excluded 118 Conſul-p.
only from the *Prætorſhip* and the *Sacerdotal Dignities*. And in the following year, when *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *P. Ælius Pætus* were in poſſeſſion of the *Faſces*, *Publilius* a Plebeian ſtood candidate for the *Prætorſhip*,

Y. of *R.* 416. Bef. *J. C.* 336. 118 Conſul-p. and obtain'd it. The *Conſul Sulpicius* had refuſed to admit his name among thoſe of the other candidates; but the Senate were eaſy in the matter, thinking it perhaps unreaſonable and abſurd that a *Plebeian*, who had been *Conſul* and *Dictator*, ſhould meerly on account of his birth be excluded from the *Prætorſhip*. And thus the People being arrived at the height of their deſires, (for they did not yet pretend to the *Prieſthood*) all pretences for faction were entirely taken away. Real, perſonal merit, not high birth, not the merit of mens anceſtors, was now chiefly regarded in the diſtribution of honours: So that this period of time may more properly than any of the former be called *The Age of* ROMAN VIRTUE.

The Republic, thro' the indolence of her preſent *Conſuls*, neglected to revenge the *Aurunci* on their enemies the *Sidicini*, who this year had invaded their country, and made themſelves maſters of their principal City. The *Aurunci* had ſubmitted to the *Romans* in the Conſulſhip of *Manlius Torquatus*, and had continued faithful amidſt all the confuſions of the *Latine* war. They well deſerved therefore to be ſuccour'd; and accordingly

Y. of *R.* 417. Bef. *J. C.* 335. 119 Conſul-p. the *Conſuls* of the new year, *L. Papirius* and *Cæſo Duilius*, were now order'd to lead an army to their aſſiſtance; and tho' the *Auſones* joined their neighbours the *Sidicini*, theſe united forces were eaſily put to the rout. They fled for ſhelter behind the walls of their Cities; and the *Conſuls* return'd to *Rome* without reaping much glory from the campaign.

Y. of *R.* 418. Bef. *J. C.* 334. 120 Conſul-p. But in the following Conſulſhip of *M. Valerius Corvus* (now raiſed to that dignity a fourth time) and *M. Atilius Regulus*, the former (to whom his Collegue at the requeſt of the Senate had yielded the command of the army without drawing lots) laid ſiege to *Calé*, the chief city of the *Auſones*. He invented *Cover'd Galleries* and *Moveable Towers* for the ſcreening of his men, and the carrying on of the attacks, and at length took the place by aſſault.

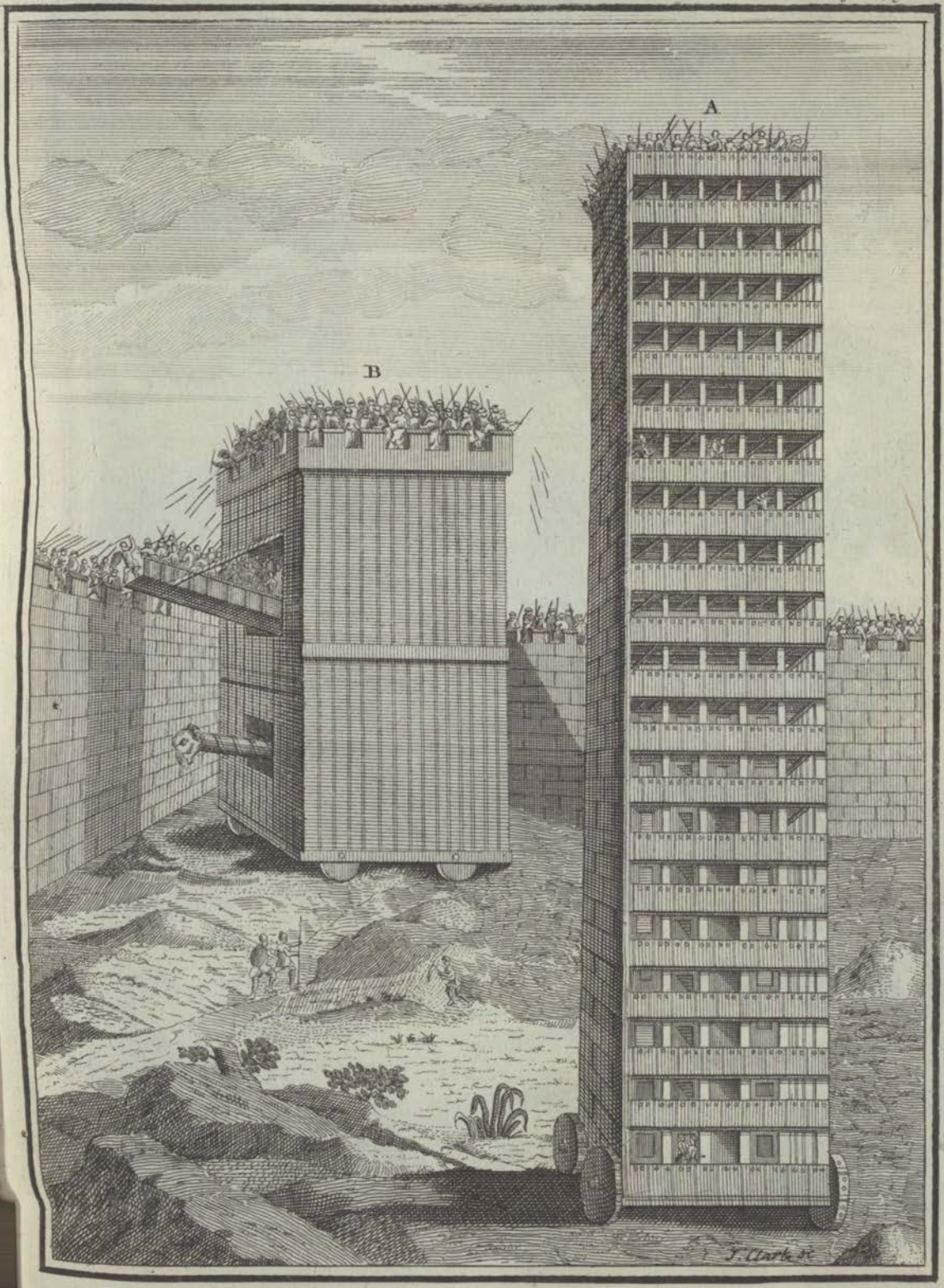
Faſt. Capit. After this the two *Conſuls*, having firſt nominated a *Dictator* to preſide at the enſuing elections, joined their forces, and marched againſt the *Sidicini*; but notwithſtanding that they uſed all expedition to finiſh their conqueſt before the expiration of their year, they were forced to leave the

Y. of *R.* 419. Bef. *J. C.* 333. 121 Conſul-p. completion of it to their ſucceſſors *T. Veturius Calvinus* and *Sp. Poſthumius Albinus*. As ſoon as theſe new Magiſtrates were named, and before they enter'd on their office, they, to make themſelves acceptable to the Commons, ſollicited and obtained a decree for ſettling a *Colony* of *Roman Citizens* at *Calé*, and dividing the diſtrict of that City among them; and that the diſtribution of the lands might be made the more equally,

Livy, B. 8. the Senate choſe out three men of known equity to conduct and ſettle the *Colony*, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men.

The *Romans* ſeem at this time to have quite aboliſhed that cuſtom they formerly had, of raiſing a new army upon every change of chief Magiſtrates. An army raiſed by one General now paſſed from him to his ſucceſſor, and ſo on till the end of the war. Accordingly *Veturius* and *Poſthumius* put themſelves at the head of the troops which *Corvus* had commanded, and enter'd the country of the *Sidicini*; who, to avoid a

A. *Different Sorts of* Covered Galleries.
B. Vine *for covering Besiegers.*



A. *A Tower of twenty Stories.* B. *A Tower with a Draw-Bridge.*

A. A. Terraſſes.

battle, ſuffer'd their territory to be laid waſte, and appeared no more in the field. Nevertheleſs, a report was ſpread at *Rome*, after the return of the *Conſuls*, that the *Sidicini* had once more aſſembled a formidable army, and were joined by the *Samnites*, which cauſed ſo great an alarm, that the *Conſuls* by order of the Senate named a *Dictator*, as in a time of imminent danger. Their choice fell upon *P. Cornelius Rufinus*. This ſupreme Magiſtrate however ſoon abdicated, upon ſome pretended defect in his inauguration. Nay, ſuperſtition prevailed ſo far at this time, that becauſe a plague raged at *Rome*, and becauſe the College of *Augurs* declared that all the *Auſpices* of the year had been infected by the contagious air, the chief Magiſtrates were all diſplaced, and the Republic fell into an *Inter-regnum*.

Y. of *R.* 419. Bef. *J. C.* 333. 121 Conſul-p.

Livy *ſays nothing of what happen'd in the year* 420, *when* L. Papirius Curſor *and* C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus *were* Conſuls, *according to the* Faſti Capitolini. It was probably a year barren of events, unleſs the *Sidicini* were then ſubdued, which is not unlikely, ſince we find no other epoch of their reduction.

Y. of *R.* 420. Bef. *J. C.* 332. 122 Conſul-p.

In the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *A.** *Cornelius* and *Cn. Domitius*, a rumour that thoſe terrible enemies the *Gauls* were preparing for a war with the Republic, occaſion'd the ſudden nomination of *M. Papirius Craſſus* to be *Dictator*; but, while he was levying troops to oppoſe their attempts, more certain accounts came that all was quiet on that ſide. The report which was ſoon after ſpread, that the *Samnites* were forming deſigns againſt the *Roman* ſtate, did not ſtrike ſo much terror: Nevertheleſs the *Dictator*, not to be wanting in precaution, continued an army, that was already encamped in the country of the *Sidicini*, in the ſame poſt. The *Samnites* were indeed raiſing troops, but it was to defend *Italy* againſt *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, who, under pretence of ſuccouring the *Tarentines* (then at war with the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*) had made a deſcent at *Pœſtum*, and began to grow formidable to all the eaſtern parts of *Italy*. What ſuſpended the progreſs of his arms, is unknown; but, after ſome ſmall advantages obtained againſt the enemies of the *Tarentines*, and after making a Treaty with the *Romans*, *Metapontani*, and *Pediculi*, he left *Italy*.

Y. of *R.* 421. Bef. *J. C.* 331. 123 Conſul-p. * A 2d time.

The *Romans* being freed from the fear of the *Gauls* on one hand, and of the *Samnites* on the other, applied themſelves to works of Peace. The late addition of ſo many new *Citizens* as *Rome* had received ſince the reduction of the *Latines* made it neceſſary to take a new *Cenſus*, and to increaſe the number of the *Tribes*. To the twenty ſeven already in being were added the *Mœcian* and *Scaptian*; the firſt near *Lanuvium*, the ſecond between *Tybur* and *Prœneſte*.

Vell. Paterculus, B. 1. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 17.

But in the midſt of this repoſe from foreign alarms, and in the beginning of the new *Conſulſhip* of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Valerius Potitus*, there ſprung up in the boſom of the Republic a new kind of monſters, more terrible than any army of invaders from abroad. Some women of diſtinction, to the number of 170, according to ſome, or 360, according to others, formed a plot to poiſon their huſbands, and took the opportunity

Y. of *R.* 422. Bef. *J. C.* 330. 124 Conſul-p. St. *Auguſt.* de Civ. Dei. *Oroſ.* B. 3. *Val. Max.* B. 2. *Liv.* B 8. c. 18.

Y. of *R.* 422. Bef. *J.C.* 330. 124 Conſul-p. nity of an epidemical diſtemper to put their deſign in execution. Their wickedneſs being diſcovered to *Fabius*, one of the Curule Ædiles, by a ſhe-ſlave of one of the Ladies, and their perſons being ſeized, two of the priſoners, *Sergia* and *Cornelia*, both *Patrician* women, were brought before the aſſembly of the People. Being there examined, they denied that in the medicines which they had prepared, and which had been found with them, there were any poiſonous ingredients. The ſlave, to verify her accuſation, propoſed, that the two Ladies ſhould take their own potions; and the experiment was immediately ordered to be made. Upon this *Cornelia* and *Sergia* deſired to confer with their accomplices, which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poiſon, and ſo delivered themſelves from a more lingering death. The Republic aſcribed this unheard of prodigy to a ſpirit of madneſs, ſent as a puniſhment from the angry Gods; to appeaſe whom they nominated a *Dictator* to drive a Nail into the Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

Y. of *R.* 423. Bef. *J.C.* 329. 125 Conſul-p. † A 2d time. This tranſient *Dictatorſhip* quickly gave way to the *Conſulſhip* of *L. Papirius* † *Craſſus* and *L. Plautius Venno*. In the beginning of their adminiſtration, a deputation came to *Rome* from the *Poluſcans* and the inhabitants of *Fabrateria* (both in the territory of the *Volſci*) to demand protection againſt the *Samnites*, by whom they were threaten'd with an irruption. The Senate, ever fond of being the protectors of the oppreſſed, did not reject their petition, but ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire the *Samnites* to put a ſtop to their hoſtilities againſt thoſe two nations. The *Samnites* complied, and then the Republic immediately turned her arms againſt the *Privernates*. Theſe rebels, in conjunction with ſome of the inhabitants of *Fundi*, were headed by *Vitruvius Vaccus*, originally of that town, which after the *Latine* war had been admitted to the rights of *Roman Citizenſhip*. *Vitruvius* had made himſelf an inhabitant of *Rome*, and had enjoyed all the privileges of a Citizen born there, but through the meer vanity of commanding an army, had excited his countrymen to revolt. However, he durſt not keep the field when the *Conſuls* appear'd; he fled for refuge to *Privernum*. *L. Plautius* with one part of the army enter'd the territory of *Fundi*, the Senators of which City came out to meet him, and endeavour'd to juſtify themſelves from having any ſhare in the revolt. The *Conſul* wrote to *Rome* in their favour, and then march'd to rejoin his Collegue, who had already block'd up *Privernum*. The ſiege of this place was not yet over, when the Senate recall'd one of the *Conſuls* to *Rome*, to preſide in the *Comitia* for electing new ones.

Livy, B. 8.

The *Romans* were the terror of their neighbours, but the *Gauls* in *Italy* were the terror of the *Romans*. And the Republic being alarm'd at the news of the *Gauls* being in motion, thought fit to bring on the elections before the uſual time, in order to provide fit Generals for ſo important a war.

In the midſt of theſe apprehenſions the *Romans* did not forget their ſports and diverſions. They at this time built ſumptuous Porticoes at the entrance of the *Circus*, for a ſhelter to the Horſes, which were before ſo expoſed to the ſun, that they were often fatigued before they began the race.

L. * *Æmilius* and *C. Plautius*, the new *Conſuls*, entered on their office the very day of their election, and they drew lots for their commands. It fell to *Æmilius* to act againſt the *Gauls*; his Collegue was to carry on the ſiege of *Privernum*. How much the very ſhadow of the *Gauls* terrified *Rome*, may be judged of by the extraordinary preparations at this time to oppoſe them. The levies were made with the utmoſt rigour; no excuſe was allowed; the meaneſt artificers, and thoſe of ſedentary occupations, were without diſtinction put into the roll. But after all theſe precautions and many other, advice came that the *Gauls* were quiet; ſo that *Æmilius* joined his Collegue before *Privernum*. The town was taken, and the rebel *Vitruvius* being made priſoner, was condemned by the Senate to be firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. *Æmilius* and *Plautius* both triumphed on account of this new conqueſt; and the former, who had ſpent but little time before the place, obtained the ſurname of *Privernas*. The *Romans* are ſometimes reproach'd with unjuſtly giving all the glory of an enterprize to the laſt General concerned in it, and who finiſhed it, notwithſtanding that the former commanders had brought it to ſuch a maturity, as to be paſt the danger of abortion. But it ſhould be conſider'd, that this conduct in a people whoſe chief aim was to extend their empire was founded in wiſe policy: By giving all the honour of a ſucceſsful war to him who ended it, they animated their Generals to exert themſelves on all occaſions to make a rapid conqueſt. Y. of *R.* 424. Bef. *J. C.* 328. 126 Conſul. p. * A 2d time.

What now remained was to puniſh the *Privernates*. Thoſe of their Senators who had ſtaid in *Privernum* after its revolt, were condemned to the ſame puniſhment which had been inflicted on the Citizens of *Velitræ*, that is, they were baniſhed beyond the *Tyber*, and forbid to appear any more on this ſide of it under the penalty of a great fine. And tho' the *Conſul Plautius* interceded with the Senate for the innocent multitude, and particularly for the priſoners taken in the war, whom he brought to the door of the Senate-houſe, he did not immediately draw the *Conſcript Fathers* over to his ſentiments; they were divided in opinion. One of the *Privernates*, by an haughty anſwer, endanger'd all his fellow-captives. Being aſked by a Senator, who inclined to rigour, what puniſhment he thought the *Privernates* deſerved, *The ſame*, ſaid he, *which is due to men who think themſelves worthy of* LIBERTY. So briſk an anſwer exaſperated ſome of the aſſembly, which *Plautius* perceiving endeavour'd to prevent the ill effect of it, by putting a milder queſtion to the priſoner, and which ſhould naturally draw a ſofter anſwer from him: *Suppoſe*, ſaid the Conſul, *we ſhould pardon you*; *In what manner may we expect you will behave yourſelves for the future?* The priſoner anſwer'd, *If the peace you grant us be a good one, we ſhall maintain it faithfully and inviolably*; *if the terms of it be hard, don't count upon us long*. Theſe words made different impreſſions on the judges. Some conſtrued them as menaces, and as indications of a diſpoſition to a new revolt; but the greater part and the wiſer found a magnanimity in them worthy of a man and of a free man. Thoſe eſpecially of the Senators who had been CONSULS adhered to *Plautius*'s opinion,

Y. of *R.* 424. Bef. *J. C.* 328. 126 Conſul-P. nion, who loudly declared, and repeated it often, *That a people whoſe only deſire was* LIBERTY, *and whoſe only fear was that of loſing it, were worthy to become* ROMAN. Accordingly the Senate paſs'd a decree in favour of the priſoners, and *Privernum* was made a *Municipium.*

CHAP. XII.

§. I. *The next year (in the Conſulate of* C. Plautius Proculus *and* P. Cornelius Scapula) *the* Romans *give umbrage to the* Samnites, *by planting a Colony in their neighbourhood. And the* Palæpolitans *make an irruption into the* Roman *Territory.* §. II. *A remarkable inſtance of the* Romans *abhorrence of Malice, in the proſecution of a criminal.* § III. *The* Faſces *being transferred to* Q. Publilius *(now a 2d time Conſul) and* L. Cornelius Lentulus, *the former marches an army againſt the* Palæpolitans. Cornelius *encamps another near* Capua, *to keep in awe the* Campanians, *who are thought to be gain'd over by the* Samnites, *between whom and the Republic there is a new rupture.* §. IV. *The next year's Conſuls,* C. Pætelius Libo *and* L. Papirius Mugillanus, *having their forces ſtrengthened by the* Lucanians *aud* Apulians, *take ſome Towns from the* Samnites. *And* Publilius *(who with the Title of* PROCONSUL *is continued at the head of the ſame army he had commanded the laſt year when Conſul) takes* Palæpolis *by means of a ſtratagem laid and executed by two of the Citizens. For this exploit* Publilius, *tho' but a* Proconſul, *is decreed a* TRIUMPH. §. V. *The* Tarentines *having loſt their protector King* Alexander *of* Epirus, *and being jealous of the growing power of* Rome, *by an artful ſtratagem deprive her of all aſſiſtance from the* Lucanians, *ſeducing them into a league with the* Samnites. §. VI. *About this time the infamous paſſion of a* Roman, *named* Papirius, *for one of his inſolvent Debtors, occaſions the paſſing of a law at* Rome, *whereby* CREDITORS *are diſabled from* ſeizing the Perſons *of their* DEBTORS.

§. I. IT was now cuſtomary for the *Romans* either to ſend *Colonies* to the conquered Cities, or to give the inhabitants the right of *Roman Citizenſhip.* For they had found to their coſt the ill conſequences of that independence in which they had left the *Latines* after their firſt reduction of them. In purſuance of this new po-

Y. of *R.* 425. Bef. *J. C.* 327. 127 Conſul-P. licy, the Senate in the *Conſulſhip* of *C. Plautius Proculus* and *P. Cornelius Scapula,* ſent a Colony of *Romans* to *Fregellæ,* a City in the Territory of the *Sidicini,* which the *Romans* had rebuilt after the *Samnites* had raz'd it. The repairing and fortifying of this place, and the planting a *Colony* in it, gave umbrage to the *Samnites,* and proved the occaſion of that furious war which ſoon after broke out between them and the Republic.

In the mean time the inhabitants of *Palæpolis* made incurſions into the *Roman* Territory. Theſe People were originally *Eubœans,* who came into *Italy* and built *Cumæ.* From thence they ſpread themſelves farther; and

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each. — A Map of GREAT GREECE and of the Islands of SARDINIA and CORSICA (By Mons. Delisle First Geographer to the King of France, and Member of The Royal Academy of Sciences.

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Plate XXII

and a *Colony* of *Cumans* built *Naples*, or *Neapolis*, i. e. *The New City*; and finding in the neighbourhood of *Naples* a Town ready built, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of it and call'd it *Palæpolis*, or *Palaiopolis*, i. e. *The Old City*. Y. of *R.* 425. Bef. *J. C.* 327. 127 Conſul-p.

§. II. THE news of this irruption of the *Palæpolitans* was brought to *Rome* juſt before the holding of the aſſemblies of the *Tribes* and of the *Centuries*; the firſt for the Election of *Tribunes of the People*, the ſecond for that of *Conſuls*. It is remarkable, that in the *Comitia* by *Tribes* the People at this time choſe one *Q. Flavius*, a man of a moſt infamous character, to be one of their *Tribunes*. The occaſion of it was extraordinary. He had been accuſed not long before of doing violence to a Lady. *Valerius*, one of the *Curule Ædiles*, was his chief proſecutor; and the evidence was clear. Fourteen of the twenty nine *Tribes* had already voted him guilty, when the accuſed, in order to move the reſt of his judges to favour him, made vehement proteſtations, and call'd heaven and earth to witneſs his innocence. Upon this *Valerius* cried out with a louder voice, *What is it to me whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou be deſtroyed?* The *Tribes* were ſo offended at theſe words, that they acquitted the criminal by a majority of ſuffrages. *Flavius*, ſoon after, loſt his mother; and it being then cuſtomary to offer ſacrifices in honour to the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than uſual, and, in gratitude to the People for their late favour, diſtributed the fleſh among them. They in return now choſe him *Tribune*, though abſent. *Val. Max.* B. 8. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 22.

§. III. THE *Comitia by Centuries* appointed *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Q. Publilius* Philo* to be the new *Conſuls*. *Publilius* marched an army towards *Palæpolis*, and foreſeeing that this place would not eaſily be taken while ſupplied with men and proviſions from *Naples*, he prudently encamped his troops in the narrow tract of ground between the two Cities. In the mean time *Cornelius*, who had poſted himſelf with another army near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in awe (who were thought to be gain'd over by the *Samnites* to join them againſt *Rome*) receiv'd undoubted intelligence, that the *Samnites* openly ſollicited the *Roman Colonies* to revolt. Upon this the Senate diſpatched Ambaſſadors into *Samnium*, to learn the reaſon of a conduct ſo contrary to the faith of Treaties. The Ambaſſadors met with a haughty reception. The *Samnites* complained of the proceedings of the Republic, and particularly of the rebuilding and fortifying of *Fregellæ*, which (they ſaid) was a wrong done to the *Samnite* nation; and to reproaches they added even menaces. The Ambaſſadors, without loſing their temper, propoſed to refer the matter to the arbitration of their common allies. *Arbitrators!* cried the *Samnites*, *we will have none, but the Gods and our Swords; Battles will determine our pretenſions better than Words and Judges*; Mars *ſhall put an end to our diſputes, in the plains of* Campania. *Let our armies face each other between* Capua *and* Sueſſula, *and there try, whether the* Samnites *or the* Romans *ſhall be Lords of* Italy. The Ambaſſadors replied, *We ſhall not go whither our enemies invite us; but whitherſoever our Generals ſhall think fit to lead us.* Y. of *R.* 426. Bef. *J. C.* 326. 128 Conſul-p. * A 2d time.

Y. of *R.* 426. Bef. *J.C.* 326. 128 Conſul-p.

§. IV. SUCH was the ſituation of affairs abroad when the time drew near for the new Elections. The Senate, without recalling the *Conſuls* to *Rome*, ordered a *Dictator* to be named to preſide at them. But when *Cornelius* had nominated *M. Claudius Marcellus*, a *Plebeian*, the *Augurs* pretended, for ſome frivolous reaſon, that the nomination was invalid; and though the People murmured at that ambitious College, who, they ſuppoſed, made Religion the pretence, when their view was only to wound the *Plebeian* intereſt, the Government fell into an *Inter-regnum*, and then the *Comitia* choſe *C. Pætelius Libo* and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, *Conſuls* for the enſuing year. They both put themſelves at the head of the army which *Cornelius* had commanded, and with which he had already enter'd *Samnium*, and they had the good fortune to be joined by the People of *Lucania* and *Apulia*, two nations to which the *Romans* had been hitherto almoſt utter ſtrangers. With this reinforcement they penetrated farther into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and took three Towns from them.

Y. of *R.* 427. Bef. *J.C.* 325. 129 Conſul-p.

But theſe conqueſts were of little conſequence in compariſon of that made by *Publilius*, whom the People at the motion of their *Tribunes* had continued in the command of the army before *Palæpolis*, with the title of *Proconſul*. He had already, as was before mention'd, cut off the communication between that place and *Naples*, ſo that the beſieged were much ſtraiten'd for want of proviſions. Nor was this the greateſt calamity which the *Palæpolitans* ſuffer'd. Four thouſand *Samnites* and two thouſand of the inhabitants of *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, under pretence of defending *Palæpolis*, had, before it was inveſted, got into the Town, where they kept the citizens in a ſtate of cruel ſlavery, treating them as priſoners of war, and even doing violence to their wives and to their children of both ſexes. In this diſtreſs having long waited in vain for relief from the *Tarentines*, whoſe preſence they hoped would deliver them from the oppreſſion of their defenders, the inhabitants at length reſolved to put the place into the hands of the *Romans*. The *Palæpolitans*, as has been obſerved, were originally *Greeks*, and the ſtratagem they made uſe of had in it much of *Grecian* artifice. *Nymphius* and *Charilaus*, the two chief Magiſtrates of the City, undertook, with the conſent of the principal inhabitants, to act two different parts in order to the execution of the common deſign. *Charilaus* eſcaped as a deſerter to the *Roman* camp, where he applied himſelf to the *Proconſul*, and imparted to him the deſire of his countrymen to purchaſe the friendſhip of the *Romans* by ſurrendering their City to them. He declared, that he had nothing in view but the intereſt of his Country and of the *Roman* Republic, and demanded no condition to his own private advantage. *Publilius* received him kindly, applauded his generoſity, and readily enter'd into the ſcheme propoſed. He put him at the head of 3000 *Romans*, who at a proper time were to attack the place in that part which was defended by the *Samnites*. In the mean time *Nymphius*, who had ſtaid in *Palæpolis*, inveighed moſt vehemently againſt his Collegue for his deſertion, and by his

his counterfeited anger ſo effectually blinded the *Samnite* Commanders, that without any ſuſpicion they fell into the ſnare he had prepared for them. He adviſed them, as the ſureſt method to force the *Romans* to withdraw their troops from the neighbourhood of the City, immediately to equip the Fleet which lay in the Port, and make a deſcent in the *Roman* Territory; and he offer'd to undertake in perſon the execution of his project. This motion was highly approved, and as the ſhips lay dry on the ſhore, all diligence was inſtantly uſed to ſet them afloat. *Nymphius* contrived to have the *Samnite* Troops chiefly employed in that laborious work, which, under pretence of better concealing the deſign, he order'd to be done in the night; and when by this means he had left that part of the wall, by which the *Romans* were to enter, but weakly guarded, he gave notice to his Collegue, with whom he all along kept a private correſpondence, to begin the attack. *Charilaus* with his 3000 *Romans* advanced without loſs of time, and, being favoured by the inhabitants, eaſily made himſelf maſter of the place. As for the *Samnites* (who were moſt of them buſied without the Town) finding themſelves betrayed, they made the beſt of their way to their own country without arms or baggage, being ever after the deriſion of their countrymen, who continually reproached them with the *Palæpolitan* Equipment. V. of *R.* 427. Bef. *J.C.* 325. 129 Conſul-p.

Notwithſtanding that the *Romans* had got poſſeſſion of the Town by the good will of the inhabitants, yet inaſmuch as it was by means of the ſiege that the latter were brought to take thoſe meaſures they did in favour of the Republic, the *Proconſul* was decreed a Triumph for his ſucceſs. *Livy* obſerves, that two particular honours were done *Publilius*, which had never been done before to any *Roman:* The being continued after the expiration of his Conſulſhip at the head of the ſame army he had commanded when *Conſul*, and the being decreed a Triumph for exploits performed in an inferior ſtation. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 26.

§. V. THE taking of *Palæpolis* made the *Tarentines* jealous of the growing power of the Republic. They had a little before this loſt their chief ſupport by the death of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, who being warn'd by an Oracle to avoid the Waters of *Acheron* and the City of *Pandoſia*, had left his own country, in which were a City and River of thoſe names, and met his fate in *Italy*, where there happen'd to be another *Pandoſia* and another *Acheron*. The ſtory, as related by *Livy*, is to this effect. The King of *Epirus* had made a ſecond deſcent in *Italy* to aſſiſt the *Tarentines* againſt the *Bruttians* and *Lucanians*; and having taken ſome Towns of importance from the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and encamped them on three different hills ſeparated by deep vallies. The *Italian Acheron* roll'd its waters in one of thoſe vallies, and the little City of *Pandoſia* ſtood on the banks of it. The violent rains, which came on a ſudden, filled up the vallies, and cut off the communication between *Alexander*'s three bodies of Troops. The enemy ſeized this occaſion to attack them ſeparately, while they could not aſſiſt each other, and having eaſily defeated the two diviſions of the *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 24.

Y. of *R.* 427. Bef. *J. C.* 325. 129 Conſul. P.

army where the King was not, they ſtrait encompaſſed the hill where he had poſted himſelf. *Alexander* by his bravery forced a paſſage through the enemy, and having rallied his ſcatter'd ſoldiers, came to a river, where the freſh ruins of a bridge, which the flood had broken down, pointed out the right road for him to take. While they attempted to paſs the ſtream, uncertain whether it were fordable or not, an *Epirot* ſoldier, oppreſſed with fear and fatigue, made this ſudden exclamation, *Juſtly indeed art thou called* Acheron! (*i. e River of Sorrow.*) The King hearing this, and remembering the Oracle, ſtopt ſhort, unreſolved whether to go forward or not; but in that inſtant *Sotimus*, one of his Pages, telling him that his own Guards (conſiſting of 200 *Lucanian* Exiles, whom he had taken into his ſervice) had in concert with the enemy plotted his deſtruction, and the King ſeeing them in reality advancing to aſſault him, he ſword in hand puſh'd on his horſe, and had almoſt reached the oppoſite ſhore, when one of thoſe faithleſs guards at a diſtance lanced a javelin at him, which pierced him through, and killed him.

Livy, B. 8. ch. 27.

THE uneaſineſs of the *Tarentines* was much encreaſed by the conduct of the *Lucanians* and *Apulians*, who had gone over to the *Romans*, and declared for them againſt the *Samnites*. The *Tarentines*, being very ready at tricks and artifices, contrived to deceive the *Lucanians*, and bring them off from the party they had eſpouſed. They bribed a company of young *Lucanians*, of good families, tho' of little honour, to tear their backs with whips, and then ſhew themſelves to the People, pretending, that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the *Roman Conſuls*, to whoſe camp curioſity had led them. The *Lucanians* were ſo ſtupid a people, that without examining into the truth of ſo improbable a fact, they immediately demanded a National Aſſembly, which being convened, it was there decreed, That war ſhould be declared with the *Romans*; that the ancient alliances ſhould be renewed with the *Samnites*; and that an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to the latter for that purpoſe. The *Samnites* could ſcarce believe the deputation real; and, before they would hearken to the Ambaſſadors, demanded hoſtages, and inſiſted on the Towns of *Lucania* receiving *Samnite* garriſons. Theſe things were readily granted, nor was the cheat diſcover'd till it was too late to repent.

§. VI. AT this time the poor Debtors at *Rome* had the good fortune to ſhake off the heavieſt yoke that lay upon them. By one of the laws of the *Twelve Tables*, Creditors were impowered to ſeize the Perſons of their inſolvent Debtors, and keep them in irons. Theſe wretches, till they had diſcharged their debts by their labour or otherwiſe, were in all reſpects ſlaves, except in name. They were called *Nexi*, i. e. *Bound*, whereas the Slaves were called *Servi*. A young *Plebeian*, named *Publilius*, of extraordinary beauty and of a good family, had voluntarily made himſelf a ſlave to one *Papirius* in order to pay his father's debts. *Papirius* conceived a deteſtable paſſion for the young man, and, upon his refuſing to comply, cauſed him to be whipt unmercifully. *Publilius* made his eſcape out of the houſe, complained publickly of the cruel

Varro de Lingua Lat. B. 6.

uſage,

uſage, and told the occaſion of it. The ſtory filled the People with compaſſion for the young man, and with reſentment and fury againſt his maſter. They gather'd together tumultuouſly, and having by their clamours obliged the *Conſuls* to aſſemble the Senate, preſented *Publilius* before them with his back all bloody and torn, and then on their knees demanded juſtice. The Senate had regard to their intreaties; and tho' they decreed nothing againſt *Papirius* (perhaps for want of ſufficient proof) they paſs'd a law, which was afterwards confirmed by the People in *Comitia*, *That for the future no perſon whatſoever ſhould be held in fetters or other bonds, unleſs for ſome crime that deſerved it, and only till the criminal had ſuffered the puniſhment due by law; and that* CREDITORS *ſhould have a right to attach the* Goods *only, and not the* Perſons *of their* DEBTORS. Y. of *R.* 427. Bef. *J. C.* 325. 129 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 8. ch. 28.

CHAP. XIII.

§. I. *The* Veſtini, *a People on the coaſt of the* Adriatic *ſea, take arms againſt* Rome, *in the Conſulate of* L. Furius Camillus *and* D. Junius Brutus. Brutus *defeats them in battle.* §. II. Camillus, *who was to act againſt the* Samnites, *falling ſick, names to the Dictatorſhip* L. Papirius Curſor, *who appoints* Quintus Fabius Rullianus *to be his General of the Horſe. The* Dictator *having taken the field againſt the* Samnites, *returns ſoon after to* Rome *on account of ſome Religious Scruple, but firſt forbids* Fabius *to hazard a battle with the enemy during his abſence.* Fabius *nevertheleſs attacks the* Samnites, *and gains a notable victory; after which he burns all the ſpoil, that it may not do honour to the* Dictator *by being carried in his Triumphal Proceſſion.* Papirius *haſtens back to the camp to puniſh his diſobedient* General of the Horſe. Fabius *is reſcued out of the hands of the* Lictors, *and eſcapes to* Rome. *His father immediately gets the Senators together, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him.* Papirius *arrives on a ſudden, takes his place in the Senate, and orders his* Lictors *to ſeize young* Fabius. *The father hereupon appeals to the People.* Papirius, *though the thing is unprecedented, does not diſpute the legality of the appeal; but the People themſelves, when the affair comes before them, are unwilling to interpoſe by an act of power; they chuſe rather to become interceſſors with the* Dictator, *who at their requeſt pardons the offender.* §. III. Papirius *returns to the camp with a new General of the Horſe, and finding his army ill affected to him becauſe of his ſeverity in command, changes his manner on a ſudden, becomes familiar with the ſoldiers, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the* Samnites *to ſue for peace.* §. IV. *The Senate grant the* Samnites *only a year's truce, which the latter break ſo ſoon as they hear that* Papirius *has quitted the* Dictatorſhip: *They are joined by the* Apulians. *Little progreſs is made in the war this year, when* C. Sulpicius Longus *and* Q. Aulius Cerretanus *are* Conſuls. *But their ſucceſſors* Q. Fabius (*who had been General of the Horſe to* Papirius) *and* L. Fulvius Curvus, *by ſkilful conauct obtain a compleat victory over the enemy.*

§. V.

§. V. *The* Samnites *repenting of their breach of the Truce, endeavour to pacify the* Romans *by making reſtitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the Treaty.*

Y. of *R.* 428. Bef. *J. C.* 324. 130 Conſul-p.

§. I. THE Republic, in the following Conſulate of *L. Furius Camillus* and *D. Junius Brutus*, began to be embarraſſed by the great number of enemies ſhe had to deal with. Beſide the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, the *Veſtini* had declared againſt her. Theſe were themſelves an inconſiderable people upon the coaſt of the *Adriatic* ſea; but they had powerful neighbours, who in all probability would arm in their defence if the Republic ſhould attack them. This conſideration made the Senate demur; but at length pride prevailed over prudence; it was not for the honour of *Rome* to let herſelf be inſulted without revenging it. The two *Conſuls* therefore took their commands by lot, and it fell to *Camillus* to conduct the war againſt the *Samnites*, and to *Brutus* to act againſt the *Veſtini*. *Brutus*'s firſt care was to hinder the *Veſtini* from joining the *Samnites*, which he did, by encamping on the frontiers between the two nations. He ſoon after defeated them in battle, and took from them *Cutina* and *Cingilia*.

§. II. *CAMILLUS*, who had made it his buſineſs to keep the *Samnites* upon the defenſive in their own country, fell ſick, and was obliged to return to *Rome*; and, being there order'd to name a *Dictator*, he pitched upon *L. Papirius Curſor*, the greateſt Captain the Republic could then boaſt of, who appointed *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to be his *General of the Horſe*. Theſe took poſſeſſion of the command of the army in *Samnium*: But there having been ſomething obſcure in the *Auſpices* conſulted before their departure from *Rome*, ſcruple and ſuperſtition tormented the *Dictator* when he came to enter upon action. To remove the pain of his doubts and fears, he return'd to the City to renew the *Auſpices*; but firſt forbad *Fabius*, with whom he intruſted the command of the army in his abſence, to venture a battle with the enemy.

Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illuſtr.

Fabius being fond of glory and beloved of the army, and diſdaining to have his hands ſo tied up, reſolved to hazard an action, notwithſtanding the *Dictator*'s prohibition. He attacked the *Samnites*, whom he found in leſs diſorder than he had at firſt expected, and was once very near loſing the day: But then the *Roman* Cavalry, unbridling their horſes, drove upon the enemy with ſuch a ſudden and irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that the latter were put into confuſion, and entirely broken and defeated. Twenty thouſand of them remained dead upon the field of battle. This victory made the young Conqueror grow inſolent; and inſtead of lodging the ſpoils of the enemy in the *Quæſtor*'s hands, to be ſold for the advantage of the public, he cauſed them all to be burnt, that they might not do honour to the *Dictator*, by being carried in his Triumphal Proceſſion; neither did he ſend any account of his victory to the *Dictator*, but only to the *Senate*, an inſtance of great diſreſpect to the General under whoſe *Auſpices* he had fought.

Val. Max. B. 3. c. 2.

Livy, B. 8. ch. 30.

Theſe

Theſe proceedings incens'd *Papirius*, and he haſten'd to the camp to puniſh his diſobedient *General of the Horſe*. *Fabius* having timely notice of his coming, and of his deſign, called together the troops, and made an harangue to them, wherein he inveighed againſt the *Dictator*, *Whoſe reſentments*, he ſaid, *threaten'd not only* his *life*, *but the lives of many of the other Officers*, *and even of the private Soldiers*, *who had help'd him to gain the victory*. *That therefore it was the common intereſt of the army to protect him*; *and that to them he committed the defence of his life and fortune*. The ſoldiers with one voice cried out to him to take courage, and they promiſed to defend him to the laſt breath. *Papirius*, not long after, arrived. Having inſtantly aſſembled the Troops, he ordered the Crier to call *Quintus Fabius*, *General of the Horſe*, to appear before him. When *Fabius* was come near the *Tribunal*, and ſilence made, the *Dictator* queſtion'd him concerning his violation, not only of the common laws of Military Diſcipline, but of the expreſs orders of a *Dictator*, whom he could not but know to have a ſovereign authority in the Republic, and whom even the *Conſuls* themſelves, Magiſtrates who ſucceeded to the Regal Power, obey'd. *Fabius* had a bad cauſe to defend, and was confuſed in his anſwers; one while complaining that the *Dictator* was both accuſer and judge, and then exclaiming loudly, that he would ſooner loſe his life, than the glory of his exploits; this moment he attempted to excuſe himſelf, and the next accuſed the *Dictator*: which provoking *Papirius* ſtill more, he commanded the *Lictors* to ſtrip the criminal, and prepare their Rods and Axes. But when theſe executioners were beginning to tear off his clothes, he cried out to the Soldiers for aſſiſtance, and by ſome means made his eſcape, retiring among the *Triarii*. Theſe things put the army into a great commotion, and raiſed a clamour throughout the whole aſſembly; ſome beſeeching, others threatening. The officers who were near the *Dictator* endeavoured by reaſoning and by intreaties to mitigate his reſentment againſt a young man of great hopes, and of a family ſo highly and ſo juſtly honoured in *Rome*. They repreſented to him the danger to which he might expoſe himſelf by too far exaſperating the multitude, who, blind with anger, might be carried to do ſomething extravagant and deſperate. All was in vain, *Papirius* continued inflexible; and their remonſtrances ſeemed more to encreaſe his indignation, than to ſoften him towards *Fabius*. But when he would have commanded ſilence, the noiſe was ſo great that neither his criers nor himſelf could be heard, and night alone put an end to the tumult. *Fabius*, tho' ſummoned to appear again the next day, did not think it prudent to ſtand a ſecond trial, but eſcaped to *Rome*, there to preſent himſelf before leſs paſſionate judges.

Y. of *R.* 428. Bef. *C.* 324. 130 Conſul-p.

Val. Max. B. 2.

Livy, B. 8.

Eutrop. B. 2.

As ſoon as he arrived, his father (who had been thrice *Conſul* and once *Dictator*) thought it neceſſary to get the Senate aſſembled without delay, and obtain a favourable decree for him before the return of the *Dictator*. The Senate was met, young *Fabius* had already work'd upon the *Fathers* and made them think *Papirius* both unjuſt and barbarous, when on a ſudden a great noiſe was heard at the door of the Tem-

Y. of *R.* 428. Bef. *J.C.* 324 130 Conſul-p.

ple where they were ſitting. It was *Papirius* himſelf, attended by his *Lictors*, who were diſperſing the crowd at the entrance of the ſanctuary. Upon his appearance the ſcene changed. He took his place, order'd his *Lictors* to ſeize young *Fabius*, and was immediately obey'd. In vain did the oldeſt and moſt venerable Senators intercede for the criminal; *Papirius* was inexorable: ſo that the father of the young man having no other remedy left, appealed to the people in *Comitia*; and, though the thing was unprecedented, the *Dictator* did not hold it expedient to diſpute the ſuperior authority of the *Roman* People.

When the *Comitia* were form'd, both the *Fabii* aſcended the *Roſtra* with *Papirius*; which he obſerving, ſternly order'd the *Maſter of the Horſe* to be pull'd down. Young *Fabius* immediately deſcended, and his father followed him; but then the father, placing himſelf at the foot of the *Roſtra*, broke out into bitter invectives againſt *Papirius* for his haughtineſs and barbarity; he cited ſome former[a] caſes (not much to the purpoſe) where faulty Generals had not been ſo ſeverely puniſhed; he complained, that no diſtinction was made between a fortunate and an unfortunate diſobedience; and, in ſhort, omitted nothing that could be ſaid in ſo bad a cauſe. He clamour'd, he brangled, he complained, he called upon Gods and men for help, and, embracing his ſon, wept a flood of tears. The whole aſſembly was moved. On the ſide of the *Fabii*, ſays *Livy*, were the majeſty of the Senate, the favour of the People, the aid of the Tribunes, and a remembrance of the abſent army. *Papirius*, on his own part, ſpoke in high ſtrain, of the Dignity of his Office, the Military Laws, *Dictatorial* Edicts, reverenced as the Oracles of Heaven, *Manlius*'s rigour to his own ſon. He reproach'd the *Romans* with a degeneracy from that heroic love of their country, which uſed to prevail over all paternal affection and private conſiderations. He urged the ill conſequences to the Republic of admitting appeals from a *Dictator* to the *People*, and eſpecially in caſes of diſobedience in war; and concluded with aſking the *Tribunes*, whether they were willing to anſwer thoſe conſequences with their heads.

Livy, B. 8. ch. 34.

His diſcourſe threw both the People and their *Tribunes* into great perplexity: For tho' to receive Appeals from the ſentence of a *Dictator* was to extend the exerciſe of the People's power, yet they were afraid of the conſequence of interpoſing (in ſuch a cauſe eſpecially) againſt that high authority, which they had ſo often found it neceſſary for the ſafety of the Republic to lodge with a ſingle Magiſtrate. Inſtead therefore of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they only became interceſſors for the criminal, humbly beſeeching the *Dictator* in the moſt earneſt manner to pardon his *General of the Horſe*. The *Fabii* themſelves likewiſe fell proſtrate at his feet, and implored his clemency. Upon this *Papirius* order'd ſilence to be made, and then declared, That he was ſatisfied: MILITARY DISCIPLINE *has prevailed*, the DICTATORIAL

[a] The caſe of *Minucius* (*ſee p.* 294.) and that of *L. Furius* (*ſee p.* 437.)

AUTHORITY *has gain'd the victory. The delinquent is not acquitted, but condemned, and is pardoned at the interceſſion of the* Roman People *and of their* Tribunes: *They have ſuccoured him, not as innocent, not by a juſt exerciſe of power, but by their prayers for mercy on a convicted criminal.* Live *then,* QUINTUS FABIUS, *more fortunate in this unanimous conſent of your Country to your preſervation, than in the victory you a while ago ſo inſolently boaſted of.* Live, FABIUS, *tho' you have dared to commit a crime which your own Father, in my place, would not have forgiven. You ſhall be received again into* my *favour——at your own pleaſure. But as for the* Roman People, *to whom you owe your life, the beſt return you can make to* them, *is to let this day teach you, whether in war or in peace, to obey your lawful Commanders. Go, you are at liberty.* Thus ended this affair; and the *Romans* afterwards confeſs'd, to the *Dictator*'s honour, that the peril into which he brought *Fabius* had conduced as much to the ſupport of Military Diſcipline, as the death of young *Manlius*, condemn'd by his own father. Y. of *R.* 428. Bef. *J. C.* 324. 130 Conſul-p.

§. III. BUT while *Papirius* ſtaid in *Rome*, the *Samnites* took advantage of his abſence to inſult his army; whoſe Commander *M. Valerius*, a Lieutenant General, was ſo intimidated by the example of *Fabius*, that he durſt not oppoſe the hoſtilities of the enemy. He ſuffer'd a party of his foragers to be cut in pieces, rather than ſtir out of his camp to relieve them. This accident help'd to exaſperate the Troops yet more againſt the *Dictator*; who when he came to the camp (with *L. Papirius Craſſus*, a relation of his own, whom he had appointed to command the Horſe in the room of *Fabius*) found all his men ſo ill-affected to him, and ſo little diſpoſed to gain him glory, that he had no hopes of making any progreſs with them in the war. However, as the enemy offer'd him battle, and he could not in honour decline fighting, he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, and drew up his Troops with ſo much dexterity, that it was not poſſible for them to be entirely defeated. When the battle was over (in which, though they had fought but faintly, they had not been routed) *Papirius* acted a part which ſurprized every body. Not one officer or ſoldier, who had behaved himſelf negligently in the fight, was ſo much as reprimanded by him. He went about with his Lieutenants viſiting the wounded ſoldiers, put his head into their tents, aſked them how they did, charging their officers to have particular care of each of them by name; and all this he ſeems to have done without the leaſt appearance of affectation: for we find that the army, which had always held him in eſteem, came in a ſhort time to have a moſt tender affection for him. Y. of *R.* 429. Bef. *J. C.* 323.

The People at *Rome* being informed of this great alteration in the diſpoſitions of the ſoldiers towards their commander, continued him in his employment for ſix months longer, and no *Conſuls* were choſen for the year 429. As for *Papirius* he no longer doubted of victory, and he ſoon gave the enemy a total overthrow; after which he over-ran *Samnium* (leaving all the booty to his ſoldiers) and reduced the *Samnites* ſo low, that

Y. of *R.* 429. Bef. *J. C.* 323. they ſued for peace, which he granted them on three preliminary conditions: That they ſhould cloath all his Troops, give them a year's pay, and get the Treaty confirmed by the Senate.

Livy, B. 8. §. IV. *PAPIRIUS* having *Triumphed* for his late victories, held the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, where *C. Sulpicius Longus* and *Q. Aulius Cerretanus* were choſen *Conſuls* for the next year. When the *Conſcript Fathers* came to conſider of the Peace to be made with the *Samnites*, they diſapproved of the terms offered by them, and therefore granted only a Truce for a year, which the *Samnites* broke ſo ſoon as they heard that *Papirius* was no longer in command. At the ſame time the *Apulians* declared for them againſt *Rome*. The Republic thought it neceſſary therefore to divide her forces between the two *Conſuls*. *Aulius* led an army into *Apulia*, and *Sulpicius* another into *Samnium*; but both *Samnites* and *Apulians* keeping themſelves cloſe in their fortified places, the *Roman* Generals reaped little glory from the campaign. The *Conſuls* for the following year were *Quintus Fabius* (who had been General of the Horſe to the Dictator *Papirius*) and *L. Fulvius Curvus*. They marched their joint forces againſt the *Samnites* (who had raiſed a formidable army) and gave them an entire overthrow, but not without great difficulty. The *Samnites* had ſurpriſed the *Romans*, while they were encamped in a place very diſadvantageous both for ſubſiſting their army and for ſuſtaining an attack. The latter therefore attempted to retire in the night; but the *Samnites* watched them ſo narrowly, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that the next day they found themſelves under a neceſſity of hazarding a battle. It laſted from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, without either ſide's giving way, or ſo much as changing the order in which they were firſt drawn up. The imprudence of the *Samnite* Cavalry turned the fortune of the day in favour of the *Romans*. The *Conſuls* had deſignedly ſent the baggage of their army to ſome diſtance under a thin guard. The *Samnite* Troopers having notice of this, wheel'd off to go and ſeize it; and the *Roman* Generals, to whom the news was preſently brought, gave them ſufficient time to put themſelves into diſorder, and load their horſes with the plunder. When the *Conſuls* thought they were no longer in a condition to make a defence, they detached all the *Roman* Cavalry to fall upon them, which was done with ſo much expedition and ſucceſs, that few of them eſcaped. Then the *Roman* Horſe fetching a compaſs, fell upon the rear of the *Samnite* Infantry. This unexpected attack ſtruck them with terror, and ſoon after threw them into confuſion. The *Romans* purſued their advantage, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy: Thoſe of the *Samnites* who kept their ground, were cut in pieces by the *Roman* Foot; and thoſe who fled, fell moſt of them by the ſwords of the Horſe, and, among the reſt, the General himſelf.

Vell. Paterc. B. 1. *Livy*, B. 8. Y. of *R.* 430. Bef. *J. C.* 322. 131 Conſul p. Y. of *R.* 431. Bef. *J. C.* 321. 132 Conſul p. *Faſt. Capit.* Auth. of Lives of Illuſt. Men.

§. V. SO terrible a defeat made the *Samnites* reflect ſeriouſly on their unjuſt breach of the Truce with the *Romans*; and they imputed their late misfortune to the anger of the Gods, whom they ſuppoſed to be offended at the violation of their oaths. To appeaſe them, they reſolved to ſacri-

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fice the chief author of that breach; and one *Brutulus Papius*, a man of diſtinction, but of a turbulent ſpirit, was univerſally pitch'd upon to be the victim. They paſs'd a decree, that he ſhould be deliver'd up to the *Romans*; and that the ſpoil and captives taken within the time of the Truce, and, in ſhort, whatever their *Feciales* had demanded, ſhould be reſtored to them. In purſuance of this decree, *Brutulus*, with all his effects, was put into the hands of ſome *Samnite* ambaſſadors, to be carried to *Rome*; but he kill'd himſelf before he got there. However, they ſurrender'd his dead body to the *Romans*, who, of what was offer'd by way of reſtitution, accepted only the captives and a part of the effects, rejecting whatever could not be claimed by any private *Roman* as his own. Y. of *R.* 431. Bef *J.C.* 321. 132 Conſul-p.

After this the *Conſul Fulvius* return'd to *Rome*, while his Collegue *Fabius* led an army into *Apulia*. That he ſucceeded in his expedition, appears by the *Capitoline Marbles*, where he is ſaid to have triumph'd over the *Samnites* and *Apulians*, *Fulvius* over the *Samnites* only. One *A. Cornelius* was this year choſen *Dictator*, but it was only to preſide at the *Games* in the abſence of the *Conſuls*, and during the ſickneſs of the *Prætor*. However, *Livy* finding that at the time of the defeat of the *Samnites* the Government was in the hands of a *Dictator*, aſcribes by miſtake that exploit to him. The *Capitoline Marbles* rectify the error. *Faſt. Capit.*

CHAP. XIV.

§. I. *The* Samnites *being refuſed a Peace, notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction they have made for the breach of the Truce, prepare to carry on the war with vigour: and they appoint one* Pontius, *an able Officer, to be their General. At* Rome T. Veturius *and* Sp. Poſthumius *are choſen* Conſuls. Pontius *by a ſtratagem draws theſe Generals with their Legions into a dangerous paſs (called afterwards the* Caudine Forks) *where they are ſurrounded by the* Samnites, *and have no poſſibility of forcing their way out of it. The* Samnite *General being undetermined in what manner to treat the* Romans, *is adviſed by his father, either in a friendly way to ſet them all free, or without mercy to cut them all off. The ſon rejecting this advice, will ſpare the lives of the* Romans, *but demands as the condition,* That they all paſs unarm'd under the Yoke, Officers and Soldiers; that they engage to draw all their forces out of *Samnium*, and give hoſtages for the performance of this article. *The* Romans, *after ſome demur, ſubmit to the terms impoſed, being exhorted to it by* L. Lentulus, *a conſiderable Officer in the army. The* Conſuls, *at their return to* Rome, *being aſhamed to appear in publick, inſtantly name a* Dictator *to hold the* Comitia *for electing new* Conſuls. *This election however is not made till the Government falls into an* Inter-regnum. §. II. *And then the* Faſces *are given to* Papirius Curſor (*a* 2*d time*) *and to* Publilius Philo (*a* 3*d time.*) *The Treaty made with the* Samnites *being laid before the Senate,* Poſthumius (*one of thoſe* Conſuls *who had been parties to it*) *declares that the* Roman *People are not bound by it, as not being made by their orders;*

that the honour of the Republic will be ſaved by ſurrendering him and the reſt of the Officers concerned in that Treaty to the Samnites, *which he moves may be forthwith done. This propoſal is approved, and put in execution by a* Fecialis *appointed thereto*; *but* Pontius, *the* Samnite *General, reproaching the* Romans *with baſeneſs and breach of faith, refuſes to accept the priſoners in ſatisfaction of the Treaty.* §. III. Satricum *revolts from the* Romans; *and the* Samnites *ſurprize* Fregellæ, *a* Roman *Colony, and, after a promiſe of quarter, burn the inhabitants alive.*

§. I. IT had been a conſtant maxim with the *Romans* to pardon the nations which ſubmitted, and to treat none with rigour but the proud and untractable: But their late ſucceſſes made them now deviate from this rule; and notwithſtanding that the *Samnites* ſued to them for a peace, and endeavoured to merit it by the methods which have been related, the Senate rejected their petition, and thereby put them under a neceſſity of continuing the war at all hazards. And
Y. of R. 432. *Bef. J.C.* 320. 133 Conſul-p. while the *Centuriate Comitia* at *Rome* were chuſing *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Poſthumius Conſuls* for the new year, the *Samnites* in their Diet appointed one *Pontius*, an able General, to command their troops. *Pontius* exhorted the aſſembly not to fear a war with a People who had received reſtitution of wrongs with haughtineſs, and had refuſed peace when offered upon the moſt reaſonable terms. *The Gods*, ſaid he, *are now no longer our enemies*; *Juſtice accompanies our arms, and we cannot fail of ſucceſs.* He then immediately led his troops near to *Caudium* (a little Town in *Samnium*) and there encamp'd as covertly as poſſible. When the *Conſuls* were come within a league of him, he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the *Samnite* army was laying ſiege to *Luceria* in *Apulia*; and the more effectually to deceive the *Romans*, he ordered ten of his ſoldiers in the habit of herdſmen to lead ſome cattle into different parts, but ſtill in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with inſtructions to agree all in the ſame report when taken priſoners by their Foragers. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. The *Romans* in a council of war reſolved to march to the relief of *Luceria*; and there being two ways thither, one broad and open, but farther about than the other, which was through certain ſtreights (called ſince *The Caudine Forks*) they choſe the latter. The nature of the ground was this. Between two circling ridges of mountains, ſo covered with trees and briars as to be abſolutely unſurmountable, was a pretty large marſhy meadow, through the middle of which was the road. At the hither end, the way into it was very deep and narrow through a hollow rock; the way out at the farther end was yet more narrow, deep, and difficult. When the *Romans* having paſs'd the firſt came to this, they found it quite barr'd up with huge ſtones and trees laid acroſs; and then they alſo diſcerned great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences. To avoid being inveſted, they inſtantly turned back; but the *Samnites* had already blocked up the way by which they had entered. When the *Romans* found themſelves ſhut in, without a poſſibility of eſcaping, their conſternation was inexpreſſible.

Frontin. de Coloniis.

Livy, B. 9. *Eutropius, Florus, Zonaras, Oroſius*, &c.

They ſtood ſilent and fix'd their eyes on one another, each to ſee whether he could diſcover any glimmering of hopes in his companions looks. At length the ſoldiers ſeeing the *Conſuls* tent pitched, and preparations making towards fortification, ſet themſelves to work, without waiting for orders, to raiſe a rampart along the water, tho' they well knew it to be a fruitleſs labour, and were all the while ſcoffed at by the enemy. As ſoon as the army was encamped, the chief Officers all repaired of their own accord to the *Conſuls* tent; but the caſe was ſuch, that there was no room for counſel or debate. The Gods themſelves, ſays *Livy*, could ſcarcely have given them any aſſiſtance. Night came on; but without taking any refreſhment, officers and ſoldiers ſpent the hours of reſt in diſcourſing on their unhappy ſituation. Y. of *R.* 432. Bef. *J.C.* 320. 133 Conſul-p.

On the other hand, the *Samnites* could not come to any determination what to do with their enemies, who were abſolutely at their mercy. After much debate it was at length univerſally agreed to conſult *Herennius*, the father of *Pontius*, a wiſe old man, whom they look'd upon as a kind of Oracle. The meſſenger whom they ſent to him for his advice, brought back this anſwer: *That he counſelled them not to do the leaſt harm to the* Romans, *but to open them a free paſſage home.* This advice being rejected, the ſame meſſenger was diſpatched a ſecond time; and then the old man ſent word, *That he would not have them ſpare the life of one ſingle Roman.* The ſtrange difference between theſe two anſwers made the *Samnites* imagine that there was ſome myſtery in the matter, and they preſſed *Pontius* to have his father brought to the camp, that he might explain himſelf. When the wiſe *Herennius* was come, he let them know, that in good policy there was no *medium* between treating the *Romans* in the kindeſt manner, and deſtroying them abſolutely. That by the firſt (which he thought the beſt) they would gain the friendſhip of a powerful nation; that by the ſecond they would greatly leſſen the ſtrength of a dangerous enemy; but that no third way could produce any advantage of either ſort. However, this prudent advice was not followed. *Pontius* and his Officers choſe a middle way, ſuch as their fooliſh vanity ſuggeſted: They would ſpare the lives of the *Romans*, but at the ſame time treat them as conquered enemies.

Whilſt the *Samnites* were in theſe deliberations, the *Romans* ſent a deputation to them to deſire a truce upon equitable terms, and in caſe of refuſal to invite them to a battle. *Pontius*, with a haughty air, anſwer'd, *That the* Samnites *had no battles to fight; that the victory was already gain'd; and that not a man of the* Roman *Legions ſhould eſcape, till they had been diſarm'd, and had paſs'd one by one* under the Yoke: *That, beſide this, he expected that the* Romans *ſhould quit* Samnium, *and withdraw their* Colonies *from all the Cities they had uſurped from the* Samnites. And he concluded with forbidding the Deputies *to appear any more in his preſence, if the* Conſuls *did not accept the terms propoſed.*

The report of this anſwer threw the *Legions* into the utmoſt deſpair. The *Conſuls* were ſtruck dumb, and durſt not declare themſelves for ſo

ſhameful

Y. of *R.* 432. Bef. *J. C.* 320. 133 Conſul. p.

ſhameful a Treaty. *L. Lentulus*, a conſiderable Officer in the army, and who had been at the head of the Deputation to the *Samnites*, was the firſt who broke ſilence; addreſſing himſelf to the *Conſuls*, he ſpoke to this effect: *I have often heard my Father ſay, that, when the* Gauls *beſieged the* Capitol, *he was the only man in the Senate, who oppoſed the redeeming of* Rome *with Gold; and the reaſon he gave for his opinion was, that the enemy not having ſhut up the* Capitol *by intrenchments, nor raiſed any rampart round it, it was ſtill poſſible for the* Romans, *tho' difficult, to force a paſſage through the beſiegers. Were the caſe with us the ſame, were there any poſſibility of eſcaping; could we make ſallies, as they ſometimes did, or could we force the* Samnites *to a battle, I ſhould ſoon convince you by my counſel, that I have the ſame courage as my father; I ſhould ſpeak the ſame language, and endeavour by my example, as well as words, to animate you to the fight, tho' in never ſo diſadvantageous a ſituation for it. For my own part, I would gladly ruſh into the midſt of the enemy, and* devote *my ſelf for the* Roman *People, if that could be of any avail to their preſervation; for I am truly ſenſible, that no fortune can be ſo glorious as to die for the ſafety of our Country. But our Country at preſent is here; its chief ſtay and ſtrength, the* Roman Legions, *are in this valley. Shall they devote themſelves to death for their own preſervation? To what end then? To ſave the* Walls *of* Rome? *the* Houſes? *the crowd of People that inhabit the City?—And which way can even theſe be preſerved, if this army periſh? Will a weak, unarm'd, deſpondent multitude defend them? Juſt as they did againſt the* Gauls *after the battle of the* Allia. *But it is ſhameful, ſay you, to give up our arms like cowards. I grant it: Yet the love of our Country ſhould be ſuch, as to make us ready, if need be, to ſuffer* Ignominy *as well as* Death; *to ſacrifice, not only our* Lives, *but our* Glory *to preſerve it. For the ſake of* ROME *then let us ſubmit to the conditions impoſed, be the indignity never ſo great; nor ſcruple any longer to obey Neceſſity, to which the* GODS *themſelves are ſubject.*

This advice was followed. The *Conſuls* ſignified to *Pontius*, that they conſented to lay down their arms, and paſs *under the Yoke*; upon which they obtained a conference with him. As to a Treaty of Peace, they declared, *That they could not conclude any that would be binding on the* Roman *People without their approbation, and the miniſtry of the* Feciales. *That their power extended no farther than to make promiſes, which they were ready to ſtrengthen by giving Hoſtages.* The ſtipulation was accepted on theſe terms, and the *Conſuls*, *Lieutenant Generals*, *Quæſtors*, and *Legionary Tribunes* all ſigned the Convention; ſix hundred *Roman Knights* were to be given as Hoſtages; and the *Samnites* were to have power to cut off their heads, in caſe the Republic did not perform the *Conſuls* promiſes.

When the day came for the *Roman* army to paſs *under the Yoke*, or Gallows, the ſix hundred Knights march'd firſt out of the camp, unarm'd, and with only their under garment; and theſe were taken into ſafe cuſtody. The *Conſuls* followed next, then the inferior Officers, and at laſt the Soldiers one by one. The *Samnites* inſulted them as they paſs'd; and if any *Roman* return'd but a fierce look, he was immediately knock'd down or kill'd.

The *Romans* could have reach'd *Capua* the ſame day; but partly out of diſtruſt of that City, and partly out of ſhame to be ſeen there in ſo wretched a condition, they threw themſelves on the ground in the neighbourhood of it, reſolving to paſs the night in the open air; which when the Magiſtrates of *Capua* underſtood, moved with compaſſion, they ſent clothes, horſes and arms, *Lictors* alſo and *Faſces* to the *Conſuls*, and food for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the Senate and People went out to meet them with all demonſtrations of kindneſs. Nevertheleſs the *Romans*, overwhelmed with ſhame, ſeemed unaffected with this hoſpitality: They kept their eyes fix'd on the ground, and ſhunn'd all diſcourſe. They were accompanied to the frontiers by ſeveral young men of the *Campanian* Nobility; but they ſtill obſerved the ſame behaviour, and ſhewed the ſame dejection of mind; which, when it was reported to the Senate of *Capua* by the young Nobles at their return, made the aſſembly in general conclude, that the *Roman* courage was for ever loſt, and their affairs deſperate. One of them however, a venerable old man, declared, that he judged differently of the dumb confuſion of the *Romans*. *I perceive*, ſaid he, *in this obſtinate ſilence the marks of a rage which ferments without evaporating. Their eyes, fixed on the ground, ſhew how much their thoughts are bent on Revenge; and their refuſing to be comforted is a proof, that they will never forgive the affront they have received. The* Romans *will have it always before their eyes; but the* Samnites *will not always have* Caudine Streights *to ſhut them up in.* Y. of *R.* 432. Bef. *J. C.* 320. 133 Conſul-p.

In the mean time the People at *Rome*, without orders from the Senate, and as it were by tacit conſent, put on the deepeſt mourning. No invectives were ſpared againſt the Cowards (as they were termed) before their arrival; but as ſoon as they appeared, the public indignation changed into pity. Nevertheleſs, they did not enter the city till night; and then every one ſtole home, and hid himſelf in his own houſe: even the *Conſuls* baniſhed themſelves from ſociety, after they had performed the indiſpenſible duty of naming a *Dictator* to hold the *Comitia*. They pitched upon *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus*; but ſome defect being found in the nomination, *Æmilius Papus* was ſubſtituted in his room. Nor did this *Dictator* hold the Aſſembly for the Elections; no Magiſtrate of this unfortunate year could pleaſe the People; the Government fell into an *Inter-regnum*.

§. II. AND now all eyes were caſt on two of the greateſt men in the Republic, *Papirius* * *Curſor* and *Publilius* ‖ *Philo*. Theſe were choſen *Conſuls* in the *Comitia*, and they entered upon their office the very day of their election. Their firſt care was to obtain a decree of the Senate, importing, that there had been no defect in point of religion in their inauguration: After which the ſtipulation made with the *Samnites* by the late *Conſuls* was taken into conſideration. *Poſthumius*, one of thoſe unfortunate Generals, was order'd to ſpeak firſt. He addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly with an air of great modeſty and humility, own'd the Treaty to be infamous, but declared, that the *Roman* People were not bound Y. of *R.* 433. Bef. *J. C.* 319. 134 Conſul-p. * A 2d time. ‖ A 3d time. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 8.

Y. of *R.* 433. Bef. *J.C.* 319. 134 Conſul-p. bound by it, ſince it had been made without their orders; and that the Republic was obliged in juſtice to nothing more, than to deliver up into the hands of the *Samnites* thoſe of the army who had ſigned it. And he adviſed therefore that the new *Conſuls* ſhould lead a new army into the field, but that before they enter'd upon action, they ſhould ſurrender to the mercy of the *Samnites* his Collegue and him, with all the other officers who had been parties to the convention. The Senators were ſtruck with admiration at the generoſity of *Poſthumius*; and their compaſſion for him was equal to their eſteem of his heroic virtue. However, they all approv'd of the propoſal, except two *Tribunes of the People*, who had (probably) been raiſed to that office ſince their return from the *Caudine Forks*. Theſe contended, not only *that the motion made by* Poſthumius *was unjuſt with regard to the perſons concern'd in the Treaty, but that it was by no means ſufficient to diſcharge the demands which the* SAMNITES *had upon* Rome; *and that as to themſelves, they were* Sacroſanct Magiſtrates, *inviolable, and not to be deliver'd up to the enemy.* To the laſt of theſe pleas *Poſthumius* replied, *That the Senate might defer the delivering up of the* Tribunes *till their* Holineſſes *were out of Office, and then (if his advice might be followed) cauſe them to be beaten with rods in the public* Forum, *by way of Uſury for the delay.* But as to himſelf, and the reſt of the *Profane* Officers concern'd in the Treaty, he preſs'd the immediate execution of his propoſal; and he offered ſuch plauſible arguments to prove the invalidity of the *Caudine* Convention, and the ſufficiency of the ſatisfaction deſigned for the *Samnites*, that the Senate, whether convinced or not, were univerſally pleaſed with his diſcourſe, and acquieſced in his project. Nay, the two Tribunes themſelves, who had at firſt oppoſed it, conſented at length to follow the fate of their companions, and to that end abdicated their office.

Poſthumius's propoſal was no ſooner paſs'd into a decree of the Senate, but it diſpell'd that cloud of ſorrow, with which the *Romans* had been covered ever ſince the misfortune of *Caudium*; it ſeem'd to them like the breaking out of the ſun upon the city after a total eclipſe. Nothing was talk'd of but the generoſity of *Poſthumius*, whoſe *Devotement* they compared to that of *Decius*; and the *Roman* youth were ſo animated, that there needed no orders to raiſe Troops; a new army was formed almoſt wholly of Voluntiers, and the *Caudine Legions* were again enrolled. As ſoon as theſe forces came near the enemy's camp, preparations were made for ſurrendering up the *Roman* Officers in due form by a *Fecialis*. *Cornelius Arvina* was the perſon appointed for this purpoſe; who having conducted the priſoners bound into *Pontius*'s preſence, addreſſed himſelf to him in the following words: *Since theſe men undertook without any commiſſion to conclude a Treaty of Peace with you, and committed a crime in ſo doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourſelves from any ſhare in the puniſhment, which they alone have deſerved.* The *Fecialis* had ſcarce utter'd theſe words, when *Poſthumius*, as if offended with what he had ſaid, gave him a hard blow on the thigh with his knee, and looking ſternly at him, *I am now*, ſaid he, *a* Samnite, *and you an Ambaſſador*

Ambaſſador of Rome: *I have therefore by this blow violated the Law of Nations, and you are thereby authoriſed to make war upon us.* But this little, low artifice ſerved only to raiſe the indignation of the *Samnite* General, and make him deſpiſe the author of it. He laid before *Poſthumius* and the *Fecialis* the injuſtice and baſeneſs of their proceedings. He told them, that if the *Roman* People would preſerve their honour untainted, and maintain the rules of equity, they muſt either perform the conditions of the Treaty, or ſend the *Roman* army again into the *Caudine Forks.* And as to *Poſthumius*'s behaviour to the *Fecialis*, he thus expoſtulated: *Will you be able to impoſe on the Gods by theſe thin diſguiſes? Will they take* Poſthumius *for a* Samnite, *and conſider the blow he has given, as an inſult offer'd to the* Roman *People by a* Samnite? *Is it thus that you ſport with Religion and the Faith of Treaties? Are ſuch ludicrous tranſactions becoming the Gravity of a* Conſul, *and the Dignity of a Great Nation?* Lictors, *untie the Priſoners, and leave them free to go where they pleaſe.* And thus the *Romans* were diſmiſſed. Y. of *R.* 433. Bef. *J. C.* 319. 134 Conſul p.

§. III. BUT now the *Samnites* repented too late of their not having hearkened to the wiſe counſels of old *Herennius*; they had a foreboding, ſays *Livy*, of the misfortunes that afterwards befell them; while the *Romans* on the other hand look'd upon the liberty they had obtained of making war as equal to victory. Not long after, the inhabitants of *Satricum* joined with a body of *Samnites*, who ſurpriſed *Fregellæ*, a *Roman Colony*, in the night, and, having by a promiſe of quarter engaged the greater part of the inhabitants to lay down their arms, burnt them afterwards alive. *Capua* likewiſe at this time prepared for a revolt; the chief Citizens enter'd into a plot to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke. This, with ſome other alarms, induced the Republic to name a *Dictator*, the *Conſuls* being employed in the war. *C. Mænius* was choſen to that dignity, and he appointed *M. Foſlius* to be his General of Horſe. The new *Dictator*'s commiſſion extended only to the making enquiry into State Crimes, and puniſhing them. And there needed no more to put a ſtop to the revolt of *Capua*; for the terror of a judge from whom there lay no appeal became ſo great throughout all *Campania*, that the heads of the conſpiracy kill'd themſelves to avoid puniſhment. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 26.

After this, the *Dictator* pretending that the powers given him by his commiſſion were not confined to the taking cognizance of traiterous perſons and practices at CAPUA only, but of all conſpirators and conſpiracies whatſoever and whereſoever againſt the *Roman* State; and pretending alſo that all intriguing and canvaſſing for offices was a kind of Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth, he cited ſeveral of the *Patricians* to appear before him on accuſations of that kind. The accuſed having no other reſource, called upon the Tribunes to interpoſe their negative, and put a ſtop to the proſecution; but not one of them would interfere in the matter. Hereupon the whole body of the Nobles took the alarm. They exclaimed in all places, that the *Patricians*, to whom, being nobly born, the way (if not obſtructed by indirect practices) was naturally open and

Y. of *R.* 433. Bef. *J.C.* 319. 134 Conſul-p.

eaſy to all Honours and Dignities, were not the perſons on whom this crime ſhould be charged; but certain upſtart Gentlemen, ſuch as the *Dictator* himſelf and his *Maſter of the Horſe*, who indeed ought rather to be proſecuted themſelves, than ſit as judges of other men; and they threatened that they would make the two inquiſitors know this, ſo ſoon as their Magiſtracy ſhould be expired.

Mænius, tho' free from guilt, yet fearing leſt his reputation ſhould ſuffer by the calumny, aſſembled the People, and laid before them the uprightneſs of his intentions and the impartiality of his conduct; and then, to give them a farther proof of his innocence, abdicated the *Dictatorſhip*, that he might be brought to a trial. *Foſlius* alſo, for the like purpoſe, reſigned his office at the ſame time. The Senate, by a ſpecial commiſſion, appointed the *Conſuls* of the year (probably recalled to *Rome* on this occaſion) to be their judges; who having heard the witneſſes, and fully examined the affair, honourably acquitted the accuſed [b].

This kind of inquiſition deſcended afterwards to men of leſs diſtinction, and in a ſhort time was entirely ſtopt by force of thoſe very intrigues and cabals againſt which it was levelled.

[b] The account which has been given of MÆNIUS's affair is taken from *Livy*, who adds, that PUBLILIUS alſo was ſoon after brought to a trial on the ſame ſort of accuſation, and acquitted; but then *Livy* refers both theſe trials to the year 439, when *Mænius* was indeed *Dictator*, according to the *Capitoline Marbles*, but *Publilius* was not *Conſul*.

If *Publilius* ſtood his trial the ſame year that he was *Conſul*, we muſt ſuppoſe that he alſo, as the *Jeſuites Catrou* and *Rouillé* have well obſerv'd, abdicated his office in order thereto. Theſe learned Fathers conjecture that this was the caſe, and that *Papirius* being thereby left ſole *Conſul*, named to the Dictatorſhip *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, who appointed *Papirius* to be his General of the Horſe, intending to be govern'd in all difficulties by his advice, as the ableſt man in all the Commonwealth to conduct the preſent war: and what confirms the opinion, that the war was conducted by PAPIRIUS this year in quality only of *Maſter of the Horſe*, is, that he had no TRIUMPH for his conqueſts.

What induces the *Jeſuites* (who have been followed in the Text) to place the trial of *Mænius* in the year 433, is not the authority only of the *Capitoline Marbles* (which make *Mænius* Dictator this year) but a paſſage of *Livy** himſelf, who in the year 443 makes *Sempronius* the Tribune ſpeak of MÆNIUS *being created Dictator, to enquire into State Crimes, and of his abdication in order to ſtand his own Trial*, as things which had happen'd *within ten years*: an expreſſion which he probably would not have uſed, if thoſe events had happened but four years before.

It is indeed very difficult to reconcile the *Capitoline Marbles* with *Livy*, who ſeems to be at a loſs in this part of the Hiſtory, and to have made ſome confuſion of times and events, not diſtinguiſhing the ſeveral Dictatorſhips of *Mænius* as they are mark'd on thoſe Marbles.

The Marbles give us three Dictators this year, *C. Mænius*, *L. Cornelius*, and *T. Manlius*. *Livy* mentions only the ſecond, and in this manner: tho' he aſcribes the exploits of the campaign, we are going to enter upon, to *Papirius* and *Publilius*, the *Conſuls* of the year, yet he owns that the thing is doubtful, and that ſome give thoſe exploits to *L. Cornelius* created *Dictator*, and *Papirius Curſor* his *Maſter of the Horſe*.

* *Liv.* B. 9. ch. 34.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

§. I. Cornelius Lentulus *being created* Dictator, *leads an army againſt the* Samnites *encamped near* Caudium, *and gives them a great overthrow.* Papirius Curſor, *his General of the Horſe, takes from them* Luceria *(in* Apulia) *and reſcues the* 600 Roman *Knights, who had been given as Hoſtages upon the Treaty with* Pontius. §. II. Papirius *is choſen (a 3d time) and* Q. Aulius Cerretanus *(a 2d time) to the Conſulate. The latter takes* Ferentum, *the former recovers* Satricum *from the* Samnites. *The Character of* Papirius. § III. *In the Conſulate of* L. Plautius *and* M. Foſlius *a two year's Truce is granted to ſome Cities of* Samnium. *The* Roman *Arms proſper in* Apulia. Campania *is turned into a* Roman Præfecture. *Two new Tribes are formed, which make the whole number* 31. §. IV. *The next year* (Q. Æmilius *and* C. Junius *being Conſuls) all* Apulia *is ſubdued.* Antium *receives laws from* Rome *for its future government. The ſucceeding Conſuls,* Sp. Nautius *and* M. Popilius, *name a* Dictator *to begin the ſiege of* Saticula, *a* Campanian *City in alliance with the* Samnites; *and notwithſtanding that thoſe two great men,* Papirius Curſor *and* Publilius Philo, *are both choſen (the 4th time) to the Conſulate for the year following, the carrying on of that ſiege is committed to another Dictator,* Q. Fabius, *the enemy and rival of* Papirius. Fabius *having taken* Saticula *marches to beſiege* Sora *(in the country of the* Volſci) *which had gone over to the* Samnites. *By an artful ſtratagem he defeats the* Samnites *in the field, but leaves the ſiege of* Sora *to be finiſhed by the next year's Conſuls,* M. Pætilius, *and* C. Sulpicius *(who is now choſen the 3d time.) Theſe Generals take* Sora *by means of a ſtratagem ſuggeſted to them by a deſerter from the place.* §. V. *The* Romans *ſurprize three Cities of the* Auſones *in one day.* Luceria *in* Apulia *rebels, and is again reduced. The* Samnites *are once more defeated in battle by the* Romans. *The next year, when* L. Papirius Curſor *(a 5th time) and* C. Junius Brutus *(a 2d time) are Conſuls,* C. Pœtelius Libo *is named Dictator to carry on the war. He recovers ſeveral Cities from the* Samnites. *The year following, when* M. Valerius *and* P. Decius *are in the Conſulate, the* Romans *being alarmed with the apprehenſions of a war with all* Hetruria, *appoint* C. Sulpicius Longus *Dictator to conduct it; but no hoſtilities enſue on either ſide.*

§. I. IT ſeems highly probable from ſome paſſages of *Livy*, joined with the authority of the *Capitoline Marbles*, that the operations of the campaign this year were govern'd by *Papirius Curſor*, not in quality of *Conſul*, and Collegue to *Publilius*, but of *General of the Horſe* to *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, created *Dictator.*

The chief view of the *Roman* Generals being to reſcue the 600 *Knights*, who had been deliver'd up to the *Samnites* as hoſtages, they to that end divided their forces. *Cornelius* put himſelf at the head of the ſame troops

Y. of *R.* 433. Bef. *J.C.* 319. 134 Conſul-p.

that had paſs'd *under the Yoke*, and encamped them near *Caudium*, while *Papirius* marched towards *Luceria* in *Apulia*, where the *Roman* hoſtages were kept priſoners. *Pontius* the *Samnite* General was for ſome time in ſuſpence, whether to march to the relief of *Luceria*, or ſtay to make head againſt the *Dictator*. He feared that, if he marched, the enemy would fall upon his rear; and that, if he did not march, *Luceria* would be loſt. His reſolution at length was to put all to the hazard of a battle. The *Dictator* no ſooner perceivd the intention of the enemy, but he aſſembled his ſoldiers, and would have exhorted them, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions, to behave themſelves with the courage becoming *Romans*; but he found his harangue to be entirely needleſs. The ſoldiers were ſo eager to fight, that they gave no attention to him; with one voice they all cried out, *To Battle.* When they drew near the *Samnites*, they preſs'd their *Enſigns* to march faſter, and, being ſpirited by revenge to a degree of fury, ruſh'd upon the enemy without obſerving their uſual order, or waiting the command of their General. Nothing could ſtand before them; the *Samnites* were routed, and their camp taken and plunder'd.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 13.

On the other hand *Papirius* having entered *Apulia*, and being aſſiſted by the people of *Arpi* (old enemies of the *Samnites*, their neighbours) had laid ſiege to *Luceria*, but was ſo ſtraitened by the difficulty of getting proviſions, that the arrival of the victorious army at his camp proved very ſeaſonable. The *Dictator* diſperſed his *Legions* about the country, intercepted the convoys that were going to the beſieged, and facilitated the bringing of proviſions to the camp of *Papirius*. The *Samnites*, who had likewiſe an army encamp'd near *Luceria*, finding that the place could not hold out long, reſolved to give the beſiegers battle. Every thing was getting ready on both ſides for a general action, when Ambaſſadors arrived from *Tarentum*, to put a ſtop to all hoſtilities by their mediation; and they threatened to declare themſelves againſt which-ever party ſhould perſiſt in carrying on the war. *Papirius* pretending to liſten ſeriouſly to what they ſaid, told them, that he would conſult the *Dictator*; and accordingly he did ſo, but it was only on the meaſures to be taken in the engagement, for which he inſtantly prepared. While the *Romans* were ſacrificing, as was cuſtomary before a battle, the *Tarentine* Ambaſſadors came for their anſwer. *The Chickens*, cried *Papirius*, *feed perfectly well*; *ſo the Keeper of them tells us. The Gods too are much pleaſed with* our Sacrifices: *under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive.* He then led his troops out of the camp, ridiculing the vanity of a little inſignificant People, who would needs make themſelves mediators of a peace between two powerful nations, when at the ſame time *Tarentum* could hardly ſupport itſelf under its own inteſtine diviſions.

But now the *Samnites* abſolutely declined the fight, alledging that *Papirius* had deceived them by falſe hopes of an accommodation, and declaring, that out of reſpect to the *Tarentines* they would keep themſelves upon the defenſive within their camp. This timorouſneſs of the enemy encouraged the *Romans* to attack them in their intrenchments, which

which they did with ſo much ſucceſs, and with ſuch a ſpirit of vengeance, that ſcarce any of the *Samnites* would have eſcaped the ſlaughter, if the *Roman* Generals had not reſtrained the fury of their troops, in regard to the ſix hundred *Knights* in *Luceria*, whom the beſieged might perhaps, in revenge and deſpair, put to death. The Town being ſorely diſtreſſed by famine, the garriſon ſent an offer to releaſe the ſix hundred Hoſtages, on condition that the *Romans* would raiſe the ſiege. *Papirius* told the Deputies who came to him with this propoſal, that they ſhould have conſulted *Pontius* about the treatment proper to be expected by the vanquiſhed; and he peremptorily inſiſted, that all the ſoldiers in the place, to the number of 7000, ſhould unarmed, and with only one garment each, paſs *under the Yoke*, and *Pontius*, who had thrown himſelf into the Town, at the head of them. Theſe conditions were accepted; and thus the *Romans* retaliated the ignominy they had undergone at the *Caudine Forks*, and recovered their hoſtages.

Y. of *R.* 433. Bef. *J. C.* 319. 134 Conſul-p. *Oroſ.* B. 3. ch. 15. and others.

§. II. AFTER the return of *Papirius* with the army to *Rome*, *Cornelius* laid down his *Dictatorſhip*, and another *Dictator*, *T. Manlius*, was choſen (as it ſeems probable) only to hold the Centuriate *Comitia*, where *Papirius* * *Curſor* was again raiſed to the *Conſulate*, and *Q. Aulius* † *Cerretanus* given him for a Collegue. The latter defeated the *Samnites* in *Apulia*, and took *Ferentum*, a town in that country. The former reduced *Satricum*, a City of *Latium*, which, as we have before obſerved, had gone over to the *Samnites*, tho' its inhabitants had obtained the privileges of *Roman Citizens*.

Faſt. Capit. * A 3d time. † A 2d time. Y. of *R.* 434. Bef. *J. C.* 318. 135 Conſul-p.

The *Satricans*, as ſoon as the *Roman* army appeared before the walls, ſent out a Deputation to ſue for Peace. *Papirius* refuſed to grant it, unleſs they would kill all the *Samnite* garriſon, or deliver them alive into his hands. And, when they expoſtulated with him, aſking, How it was poſſible for them, who were but weak and unarmed, to maſter a garriſon armed and ſtrong? he bid them adviſe with thoſe by whoſe counſel they had receiv'd that garriſon into the Town. The *Satrican* Senate, upon the report of this anſwer from the *Conſul*, were divided in opinion what meaſures to take, one part conſiſting of thoſe who had counſelled the revolt to the *Samnites*, the other of the adherents to *Rome*. It happened that the garriſon, for want of proviſions to hold out a ſiege, had reſolved to march away the night following. That faction therefore which had called the *Samnites* in, thought it ſufficient to give the *Conſul* notice at what hour they would begin to move, through what gate they were to paſs, and what road they were to take; but the other party, not content with this, opened another gate to the *Romans* at the ſame hour: ſo that the *Samnite* garriſon were ſurpriſed and cut to pieces, and the town ſeized the ſame inſtant. *Papirius*, after an inquiſition by torture concerning the chief authors of the revolt, cauſed the moſt guilty to be ſcourged and beheaded, diſarm'd all the *Satricans*, and placed a ſtrong body of troops in the place.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 16.

For this conqueſt *Papirius* at his return to *Rome* had the honour of a Triumph, which had not been granted him for his more important exploits

the

Y. of *R.* 434. Bef. *J.C.* 318. 135 Conſul-p.

the year before, (probably) becauſe he had acted under the *Auſpices* of a ſuperior Magiſtrate.

This *Papirius* is the man whom *Livy* repreſents as a Hero, who would have been a match for *Alexander the Great*, had that Conqueror turned his arms Weſtward, and come into *Italy*. He was no leſs remarkable for his vigour of mind, military ſkill and courage, than for his ſtrength of body, and wonderful agility in running, which got him the ſurname of *Curſor:* and whether it were owing to his robuſt conſtitution, or continual exerciſe, no body ate or drank more than he; but he was alſo indefatigable in war, ſharing the ſevereſt toils of it without hurting his health. Never had the *Roman* Horſe or Foot a General that kept them to harder ſervice. 'Tis reported of him, that his Cavalry having taken the freedom to deſire a little relaxation from their fatigues, after an expedition which had been ſucceſsful, he anſwer'd, *Yes, by all means; when you alight from your Horſes, I excuſe you from the trouble of ſtroaking their backs.* *Papirius*, ſo ſevere in point of diſcipline, was naturally facetious, but not very gentle even in his jeſts. Walking one day before the door of his tent, while he was *Dictator*, he order'd a certain *Prætor* of *Præneste*, who in a battle had behaved himſelf ſhamefully, to be called, and, as ſoon as he appeared, bid the LICTOR *prepare his Ax:* When he ſaw the poor *Prænestine* ready to die with fear at the ſound of thoſe words, he preſently added, *Diſpatch*, Lictor, *cut away this ſtump of a tree that ſpoils my walk:* After which he only fined the *Prætor*, and diſmiſſed him. Such was the character of the renowned *Papirius*.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 16.

Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illuſtr.

Y. of *R.* 435. Bef. *J.C.* 317. 136 Conſul-p.

§. III. IN the following *Conſulſhip* of *L. Plautius Venno* and *M. Foſlius Flaccinator*, many of the *Samnite* Cities ſent Deputies to the *Roman* Senate to aſk Peace; but theſe being referred to the People in *Comitia* (where the *Caudine* Legions doubtleſs made a part of the aſſembly) the *Samnites* could obtain, by urgent intreaties, no more than a two year's Truce.

And now the terror, ſpread throughout *Apulia* by the *Roman* army which *Plautius* conducted thither, was ſo great, that the two Cities of *Teanum* and *Canuſium* ſurrendered, to avoid being pillaged. *Capua* likewiſe being ſo divided by inteſtine ſeditions, as to be no longer in a condition to govern herſelf, deſired the *Romans* to give her a Governor and new Laws; and it was at this time that the *Romans* firſt turn'd *Campania* into a *Præfecture*[a], and ſent thither a *Præfect*.

[a] All the Cities which the Republic ſubdued were not upon the ſame foot. Some were called *Colonies*, ſome *Municipia*, and ſome *Præfectures*.

The *Colonies* choſe their Governors out of their own inhabitants, and, tho' ſubject to the *Roman* People, were a kind of petty Republics, modelled after the plan of *Rome*.

The *Municipia* kept their old laws, and the cuſtoms they had among them before they became *Roman*.

The *Præfectures* were in a worſe condition than either the *Colonies* or *Municipia*. The *Præfects*, who were ſent to them annually from *Rome*, had a power of changing their laws, and wholly ſwallowed up the authority of the other Magiſtrates. Some of theſe *Præfects* were choſen by the *Roman* People; and others received their commiſſions from the *Prætor* of *Rome*, and were properly ſpeaking no more than his ſubſtitutes in the Provinces. The diſcord among the *Campanians* gave the firſt occaſion to the inſtitution of *Præfects*. And afterwards the *Romans* eſtabliſhed this form of Government in ſeveral parts of *Italy*.

It

It was perhaps to make the *Campanians* ſome ſort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up, or rather to keep them to their duty, that a new *Roman* Tribe was formed in their country. It was called the *Falerian Tribe*, doubtleſs from the hill *Falernus*, this Tribe poſſeſſing the delightful plain which ſurrounded that hill. Another Tribe was alſo eſtabliſhed on the borders of the *Uſens*, and was therefore called *Tribus Uſentina*. So that the *Romans* had now thirty one Tribes, all which had a right of ſuffrage in the *Comitia by Tribes*. Y. of *R.* 435. Bef. *J. C.* 317. 136 Conſul-p.

By a *Cenſus* taken this year, the number of men in *Rome* fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred and fifty thouſand. *Faſt. Capit.* *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 19.

§. IV. THIS happy year was followed by another as proſperous, under the adminiſtration of *Q. Æmilius Barbula* and *C. Junius Brutus*, who ſubdued and quieted *Apulia*. *Antium* followed the example of *Capua*, in aſking a Governor and Laws from *Rome*. But this City was not made a *Roman Præfecture*, nor did ſhe receive laws from a ſingle Magiſtrate ſent thither for that purpoſe. The care of making the laws by which the Magiſtrates were to govern was left to the Patrons of the *Colony*. It was then cuſtomary not only for private families, but likewiſe for Cities and Provinces to have their Patrons, who were often of the principal Nobility of *Rome*. The Patrons of the *Municipia* were generally of the families of thoſe *Conſuls* who had conquered them; and the Protectors of the *Colonies* were the children of thoſe who had received the commiſſion to plant them. Y. of *R.* 436. Bef. *J. C.* 316. 137 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 20.

The ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius*, were ſcarce entered upon their office, when the Republic, either from a diſtruſt of their abilities, or for ſome other reaſon unknown, obliged them to nominate a *Dictator*, to carry on the war. They named *L. Æmilius*, who immediately put himſelf at the head of the *Legions*. He inveſted *Saticula*, a City of *Campania*, in alliance with the *Samnites*, and defeated the *Samnite* army that came to relieve it; but his Dictatorſhip expired before he could take the place. The *Samnites* not hoping to defend it, laid ſiege to *Pliſtia*. Y. of *R.* 437. Bef. *J. C.* 315. 138 Conſul-p.

The *Romans* had now got ſuch a habit of ſuffering none but *Dictators* to command their armies, that tho' the famous *Papirius* * *Curſor* and *Publilius Philo* † were choſen *Conſuls* for the following year, we find *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who had been formerly General of the Horſe to *Papirius*, and ever ſince his implacable enemy, raiſed at this time to the *Dictatorſhip*, and commiſſion'd to carry on the ſiege of *Saticula*. While he was making his attacks, the *Samnites* came from before *Pliſtia*, and their cavalry inſulted the *Roman* camp, in which he had left his Cavalry under the command of *Aulius Cerretanus*, his General of the Horſe. *Aulius*, without conſulting the *Dictator*, ſallied out with the *Roman* Knights, and having diſcover'd the General of the *Samnites*, ruſh'd on him, and laid him dead with the firſt puſh of his lance; but having penetrated too far into the enemy's ſquadrons, he could not retire; and the *Samnites* gave their General's brother the glory of revenging his death: He diſmounted *Aulius*, and then ſtabbed him as he lay upon the ground. Hereupon the *Roman Knights* alighted from their horſes, to recover their General's dead body; Y. of *R.* 438. Bef. *J. C.* 314. 139 Conſul-p. * A 4th time. † A 4th time. *Faſt. Capit.* *Liv.* B. 9.

Y. of *R.* 438. Bef. *J. C.* 314. 139 Conſul-p. the *Samnite* cavalry did the ſame, and a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the *Romans* prevailed. The *Samnites* returned to the ſiege of *Pliſtia* * (a City in alliance with the *Romans*) and took it by aſſault.

* *The ſituation of this place is unknown.*

In the mean time *Saticula* capitulated, and then the *Dictator* marched to beſiege *Sora*, on the banks of the *Liris*, in the country of the *Volſci*. The *Sorans* had gone over to the *Samnites*, having firſt maſſacred a *Roman Colony* which had been ſettled in their city. To defend this place the *Samnites* followed the *Dictator* with all expedition. When *Æmilius* underſtood that they were not far behind him, he faced about, marched to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow paſs of *Lautulæ*. The ſucceſs of the battle was doubtful, night put an end to it, and both armies continued their march towards *Sora*

And now the *Dictator* choſe a new General of the Horſe, *L. Fabius*, a kinſman of his own, to ſucceed *Aulius*. He ordered him to go to *Rome*, fetch thence ſome freſh levies, conceal his march from the enemy, and, when he had poſted his men in ſome ſecure place near *Sora*, to wait the ſignal for moving. This was no ſooner executed, than the *Dictator* pretended fear, and kept cloſe within his intrenchments, in hopes thereby to draw the *Samnite* army near his camp; and it did not fail to have the deſired effect. Then on a ſudden hoiſting over his tent the red ſtandard, the ſignal for battle, he ſallied out of his intrenchments, without letting the ſoldiers know the ſuccours he had in readineſs. They imagined it was ſome great diſtreſs, which made their General ſo ſuddenly change his reſolution; and he confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them that *their caſe was ſuch, that they muſt either conquer or periſh*; *That he had order'd fire to be ſet to their tents and baggage, but that they might ſoon make up the loſs, by the plunder of the rebellious cities.* However, his private orders were to ſet fire only to thoſe tents which were next the ramparts, and this was to be the ſignal for the General of the Horſe to move to his aſſiſtance, and fall upon the enemy in the rear. Every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, and by this ſtratagem the *Samnites* were entirely defeated, and their camp plundered; and the *Roman* ſoldiers had the farther joy of finding at their return to their own camp, that their tents and baggage were not burnt.

After this the *Dictator* laid ſiege to *Sora*, and the ſiege was continued by his ſucceſſors in the command of the army, *M. Pœtelius Libo* and *C. Sulpicius* * *Longus*, the new *Conſuls*. They pitched their camp almoſt cloſe to the walls of the Town. While they were deliberating and in doubt in what part to make their attacks, a deſerter from the beſieged offer'd a ſcheme, whereby he propoſed, with the help of ten choſen men only, to put the place into their hands. The *Conſuls* approved of the deſign, and in order to its execution removed their camp ſome miles diſtance from *Sora*. This threw the garriſon into a kind of ſecurity; and in the mean time the deſerter, at the head of the ten ſoldiers, ſtole in the night time into a part of the upper Town, probably uninhabited, and where the wall was unguarded, becauſe thought inacceſſible. Then placing his men in a

Y. of *R.* 439. Bef. *J. C.* 313. 140 Conſul-p. * A 3d time.

narrow ſteep path, that led from the Citadel to the lower Town, and where they might eaſily defend themſelves againſt a great multitude, he haſtily ran down into the lower Town, crying out, *To arms, to arms, the enemy are in poſſeſſion of the fortreſs.* A fright ſeized the inhabitants; they ruſhed out at the gates, and the *Romans* in the morning enter'd the Town without reſiſtance. Two hundred and twenty five of the priſoners, who had been the chief authors of the revolt, and of the maſſacre of the *Roman Colony* there ſettled, were ſent to *Rome*, where they were firſt beaten with rods and then beheaded. Y. of *R.* 439. Bef. *J. C.* 313. 140 Conſul-p.

§. V. THE reduction of *Sora* was followed by the ſurpriſing of three Cities of the *Auſones* (*Auſona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Veſcia*) on the ſame day and at the ſame hour. The *Romans* ſeized theſe places, and barbarouſly maſſacred all the inhabitants, meerly upon an accuſation (without proof) brought to the *Conſuls* by twelve traitors of the nation, of their having formed a deſign to revolt. But *Livy* tells us, that this barbarity was owing to the abſence of the Generals when the Towns were ſeized.

Luceria, which had rebelled, was next taken by aſſault. Not only the *Samnite* garriſon, but the Citizens were put to the ſword; and a *Colony* of two thouſand five hundred men was ſent thither from *Rome*, to ſecure it for the future againſt all attempts. *Diod. Sic.* B. 19.

Notwithſtanding all theſe examples of ſeverity, the reſtleſs *Campanians* prepared once more to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke; ſo that the Republic thought fit to name a Dictator, *C. Mænius*, to go with an army into their country, and keep them in awe. In the mean time the Conſul *Sulpicius* appear'd with his army near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* had drawn together a great body of troops, and were waiting for the inſurrection of the *Campanians*, who they hoped would join them. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Samnites* loſt thirty thouſand men, kill'd or taken. And the conqueror marched his army to *Bovianum*, one of the principal Cities, if not the Capital of *Samnium*. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 26. *Faſt. Capit.*

L. Papirius Curſor (a 5th time) and *C. Junius Brutus* (a 2d time) were now raiſed to the *Conſulate*; but ſoon after, for what reaſon is unknown, the Republic ordered a *Dictator* to be created. The nomination fell upon *C. Pætelius Libo*, and he was appointed to command the forces. He repaired to the camp near *Bovianum*, but in a ſhort time quitted that poſt to retake *Fregellæ* from the enemy. They evacuated the place without ſtanding a ſiege, and then the *Dictator* appeared before *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, which he quickly reduced, together with *Atina* and *Calatia*, both in the ſame province. And thus the *Romans* were employ'd for two years in recovering by force of arms the Cities which the *Samnites* had drawn off from them by their negociations. Y. of *R.* 440. Bef. *J. C.* 312. 141 Conſul-p. *Faſt. Capit.*

Whilſt *M. Valerius Maximus*, one of the *Conſuls* for the new year, was carrying on the war againſt the *Samnites*, and *P. Decius Mus*, the other, was lying ſick at *Rome*, the Senate received advice, that the *Hetrurians* threaten'd the Republic with an invaſion, upon which they order'd *Decius* to name a *Dictator*. *C. Sulpicius Longus* being promoted to that dignity, Y. of *R.* 441. Bef. *J. C.* 311. 142 Conſul-p.

Y. of *R.* 441. Bef. *J.C.* 311. 142 Conſul-p.

raiſed a powerful army, and made all the preparations which the apprehenſion of a war with ſo populous a nation and ſo near a neighbour required. Nevertheleſs he was not in haſte to enter upon action; he kept himſelf upon the defenſive, and waited till the *Hetrurians* ſhould begin the hoſtilities; and this moderation had the effect he deſired. The *Hetrurians* upon farther reflection ſuſpended their deſign, and continued quiet within their own bounds.

CHAP. XVI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *one of the* Cenſors *of* Rome, *diſpleaſes the Senate, by* admitting the SONS of FREED MEN into that Body. *The People reform this abuſe the next year* (*when* C. Junius (*the* 3*d time*) *and* Q. Æmilius (*the* 2*d time are* Conſuls) *and make ſome new regulations.* §. III. *During the adminiſtration of* Q. Fabius (2*d time Conſul*) *and* C. Marcius, *the Cenſor* Appius *obſtinately refuſes to quit his office, tho' his eighteen months* (*the legal time for its duration*) *are expired, preſuming on the favour of the People, becauſe he had made an Aqueduct to bring water to* Rome, *and a fine road between that City and* Capua. *He is proſecuted before the People; ſeven of the Tribunes are againſt him, but the other three taking him under their protection, he carries his point and keeps his poſt.*

§. I. BUT in the mean time the tranquillity of the Republic at home was a little diſturbed by the innovations of *Appius*, one of the *Cenſors*. He was an able *Civilian*, and an Oracle among the *Romans* in all knotty points of law, but a lover of Reformations, taking great delight in overturning the moſt ancient inſtitutions, and in ſetting up for a Legiſlator. Hitherto none but *Patricians*, or the moſt conſiderable of the Commons, had been admitted into the Senate; but *Appius* introduced there the *Libertini*, i. e. *the ſons of thoſe who had been ſlaves, and had obtained their liberty.* Having thus debaſed the Senate, he attacked the Prieſthood, which had always been confined to the Nobility. The oldeſt Prieſthood in *Rome* was that belonging to the Altar, called *Ara Maxima*, erected by *Evander* to *Hercules*; it had been given at that very time to an old man of the *Aborigines*, named *Potitius*, and had continued ever ſince in his family. The *Cenſor* prevailed with the *Potitii* [a] to reſign this Prieſthood to the Slaves belonging to the public, and imployed in the public works.

Pomponius de Origine Juris.

D. Hal. B. 1.

Val. Max. B. 1. *Livy*, B. 9. c. 29.

But if *Appius* thus brought a blemiſh on the Senate and Prieſthood, he made his country amends by the uſeful works he undertook with ſucceſs;

[a] *Livy* (B. 9. ch. 29.) ſpeaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the *Potitii*, conſiſting of 12 families, in which were thirty perſons at or paſt the age of puberty, periſhed within the year; a warning from the angry Gods not to attempt innovations in Religion: And that *Appius* alſo was ſtruck blind ſome years after, as a puniſhment for his profaneneſs.

particularly

particularly an Aqueduct seven miles long, whereby he supplied *Rome* with plenty of wholsome water, which it before wanted. He likewise made that famous road from *Rome* to *Capua*, which was called the *Appian Way*, and which *Julius Cæsar* afterwards continued from *Capua* to *Brundusium* on the *Adriatic*. It lasted entire above eight hundred years. Y. of *R* 441. Bef. *J. C* 311. 142 Consul-p. *Frontinus* de Aquæductis.

The succeeding *Consuls*, *C. Junius* * *Brutus* and *Q. Æmilius* † *Barbula*, were no sooner entered on their office, but they complained to the People in *Comitia* of *Appius*'s new list of Senators, and got it cancelled, so that the Senate resumed its former lustre. The People at the same time not only recovered an old privilege, but extended it farther than before: By a law in the year 391, the *Comitia* had assumed the privilege of chusing six out of the twenty four *Legionary Tribunes* in the *Consular* armies, consisting of four *Legions*. This privilege had been for some time past usurped from them by the *Consuls* and *Dictators*; but now it was decreed, that the People should, instead of six, name sixteen of the twenty four *Tribunes*. At this time likewise the People, at the motion of *Decius Mus*, one of their Tribunes, appointed two officers to take care of the Naval affairs of the Republic. Y. of *R* 442. Bef. *J. C.* 310. 143 Consul-p. * A 3d time. † A 2d time. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 30.

§. II. WHILST the *Romans* were employed in these regulations, their *Consuls* prepared to lead two armies [b] into the field. It fell to *Brutus*'s lot to carry on the war in *Samnium*, and to *Æmilius* to march against the *Hetrurians*, who had now begun hostilities. *Æmilius* found the enemy ready to lay siege to *Sutrium*, a Town in alliance with the *Romans*, about thirty miles from *Rome*, and a sort of key to the *Roman State* on that side. The *Hetrurians*, trusting to their numbers, ventured a battle, and were defeated by the *Consul*, who obtained a Triumph at *Rome*. Nor was *Junius Brutus* less successful against the *Samnites*. He first took *Cluvia* by assault, and then *Bovianum*, the spoils of which he gave to his soldiers. And now the *Samnites*, no longer daring to cope with a *Consular* army in the open field, had recourse to artifice, and endeavour'd to draw their enemies into new *Caudine Forks*. Between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania* was the forest of *Avernus*, so called from the lake *Avernus* in the middle of it, from whose sulphurous waters exhaled such a nauseous steam, that *Zonaras*, B. 8. *Liv.* B. 9. ch. 31.

[b] *Livy* tells us (B. 9. ch. 30) that while the *Romans* were burthened with the care of two dangerous wars, an adventure happened too trifling to be mentioned in History, were it not for the relation it had to Religion. All the public Pipers, or Players upon the Flute, ran away together on a sudden to *Tybur* in great dudgeon, because the *Censors* had forbid them to feast and carouse in the Temple of *Jupiter*, as they had used to do; so that there was no body to play during the pomp of the sacrifices. The Senate, with a pious concern, dispatched some Deputies to *Tybur*, who were to endeavour to prevail with the People of that place, that the Pipers might be sent back to *Rome*. The *Tyburtes* not being able to win upon these fellows, by persuasion, to return, contrived, on occasion of some festival, to make them all dead-drunk, and then sent them home in carts. When they awaked in the morning, they found themselves in the middle of the *Forum*. The People, who were got together about them, bid them stay, and not attempt any more such evasions; the privilege of feasting in the Temple was restored to them, and a new one was granted them of strolling about the city three days every year in masquerade, piping and singing. This custom still prevailed in *Livy*'s time.

Y. of *R.* 442. Bef. *J.C.* 310. 143 Conſul-p.

the birds which attempted to fly over it were believed to be ſuffocated by the exhalations. The Poets make it one of the vents of Hell. Into this foreſt, where the *Samnites* had poſted great numbers of men, they allured the *Roman* Troops by the hopes of booty. But the *Romans*, upon the firſt diſcovery of the ambuſh, drew up in order with ſuch expedition, and behaved themſelves with ſo much reſolution and bravery, that they defeated the enemy, and left 20,000 of them dead upon the ſpot.

Y. of *R.* 443. Bef. *J.C.* 309. 144 Conſul-p. * A 2d time.

§. III. IN the following *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Fabius* * and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the tranquillity and concord at home, to which ſo much proſperity abroad was owing, was much diſturbed by the ambition and obſtinacy of the *Cenſor Appius*. In the year 319, a law had been paſs'd, enacting, that no *Cenſor* ſhould continue in his office longer than eighteen months: But *Appius* refuſed to comply with this regulation, and to reſign the Cenſorſhip (tho' his Collegue did) at the expiration of his term, depending on the favour of the People, who were pleaſed with his Aqueduct and new Road. Nevertheleſs *Sempronius Sophus*, one of the *Tribunes*, made no ſcruple to impeach him for this infraction of the ÆMILIAN *Law*. *Appius*, upon a ſummons, appearing before the *Aſſembly of the People*, the *Tribune* aſked him, *how he would have behaved himſelf, had he been one of the* Cenſors *when that Law was paſs'd.* To this *Appius* anſwer'd, that his caſe was not the ſame with theirs, and that the Law in queſtion bound only the *Cenſors* of that year. *Sempronius*, finding that no body applauded this anſwer, immediately order'd him to priſon. But then *Appius* appealed to the whole body of the *Tribunes*, of whom three took him under their protection, while the other ſeven were againſt him; and as no perſon could be condemned at their Tribunal, unleſs they were all unanimous, he by this means eſcaped, and kept the *Cenſorſhip* alone, more than three years longer, contrary to the inclination and intereſt of the Public.

Pomponius de Origine Juris. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 33. *Frontinus* and the Author of the Lives of Illuſt. Men.

CHAP. XVII.

§. I. *The* Hetrurians *begin hoſtilities. The Conſul* Fabius *defeats them in battle near* Sutrium. *He penetrates into the* Ciminian *Foreſt, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a ſecond overthrow.* §. II. *The* Roman *army under the Conſul* Marcius *not having equal ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, *and the Conſul falling ſick, the Senate orders* Fabius *to name* Papirius Curſor *(the man he moſt hates) to be* Dictator *to carry on that war.* Fabius, *after ſome ſtruggle with himſelf, complies.* §. III. *He continues (with the title of* Proconſul) *to conduct the war againſt the* Hetrurians, *and routs them once more, tho' the ſoldiers of their army had bound themſelves by oaths to conquer or die.* §. IV. *The Dictator* Papirius *is no leſs ſucceſsful againſt the* Samnites, *who, to raiſe the courage of their Troops, had given them finer arms than uſual. He returns to* Rome, *and, being now very old, retires for the reſt of his life from public buſineſs.* §. V. Q. Fabius (*a 3d time*) *and* P. Decius Mus (*a 2d time*) *are choſen Conſuls.* Fabius *conducts the war with ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites,

aſſiſted by the Marſi *and* Peligni. Decius *reduces the* Hetrurians *to ſue for an Alliance with* Rome, *but they obtain only a Truce for one year. He ſubdues all* Umbria. §. VI. Appius Claudius, *the Cenſor, is choſen to the Conſulate with* L. Volumnius. Appius *ſtays at* Rome, *while* Fabius (*in quality of* Proconſul) *carries on the war proſperouſly in* Samnium, *and* Volumnius *leads an army with ſucceſs againſt the* Salentines. *In the following Conſulate of* Q. Marcius *and* P. Cornelius, *the* HERNICI *rebel and are ſubdued; and the* SAMNITES *are twice defeated. The* Faſces *being transferred to* Poſthumius Megellus *and* Tib. Minucius, *the* Romans *gain two more victories over the* Samnites, *but* Minucius *is ſlain in the 2d battle.* §. VII. *In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Sempronius Sophus *and* P. Sulpicius Saverrio, *the* Samnites *requeſt and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with* Rome. *The* ÆQUI, *who had lately rebelled, are totally ſubdued.*

§. I. THIS inteſtine diſturbance did not ſtop the progreſs of the *Roman* arms. *Fabius* marched againſt the *Hetrurians*, and defeated them near *Sutrium*. The run-aways took refuge in the *Ciminian* Foreſt, a foreſt, ſays *Livy*, more impaſſable and dreadful than thoſe of *Germany*, and which in all probability no one had ever paſſed thro' ſince the creation. *Fabius* was almoſt the only man in the army who had the boldneſs to think of entering into it: they were afraid of finding *Caudine Forks* in *Hetruria*. The General had with him at this time a near relation, named *Cæſo Fabius*, who had been educated at *Cæré* in *Hetruria*, and ſpoke the language of the country perfectly well. *Cæſo* undertook to examine the foreſt and the places about it. He was accompanied in this enterprize by only one ſervant, who having been brought up with him, was alſo well acquainted with the *Tuſcan* language. Before they ſet out, they took care to inform themſelves of the names of the ſeveral Governors, and of the nature and ſituation of the places through which they were to paſs, that in converſation they might not be diſcover'd through their ignorance of any thing that was notorious to all the natives. They were clad in the habit of ſhepherds, bearing each a cleaving bill and two javelins after the manner of the peaſants. But neither their dreſs, their arms, nor their familiar uſe of the language, was ſo good a ſecurity to them againſt a diſcovery, as the general notion that no ſtranger would dare to enter that foreſt. In this diſguiſe they are ſaid to have travell'd as far as to *Camerinum* [a] in *Umbria*, where they diſcover'd themſelves to be *Romans*, treated with the Senate of the City in the name of the *Conſul*, and obtained a promiſe from them to furniſh the *Roman* army with a reinforcement of men, and with thirty days proviſion, in caſe it ſhould come into thoſe parts.

Y. of *R.* 443. Bef. *J. C.* 309. 144 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 36.

[a] From *Sutrium*, whence *Cæſo* had ſet out to *Camerinum* in *Umbria*, it was a two day's journey.

Upon

Y. of *R.* 443. Bef. *J. C.* 309. 144 Conſul-p. Upon the report made by *Cæſo* at his return, *Fabius*, when it grew dark, firſt ſent away his baggage, and ſoon after his infantry, to enter the foreſt. He himſelf ſtay'd in the camp with his cavalry, and early the next morning began to ſkirmiſh with the advanced guards of the *Hetrurians* that were poſted without the wood. When by this means he had long enough amuſed the enemy, he retired into his camp, from whence he went out at another gate and overtook his main army before night. The next morning by day-break he reached the top of the hill *Ciminus* on the further ſide of the foreſt, and which gave name to it: From hence he ſurvey'd a while the fertile plains of *Hetruria*, and then ſent out a detachment of ſoldiers, who not only brought off a great booty, but defeated a tumultuous army that had got together to reſcue it out of their hands. After this the *Romans* returned to their camp near *Sutrium*, where they found two Tribunes of the People, with five Deputies from the Senate, diſpatched expreſly to forbid *Fabius* to enter the *Ciminian* Foreſt. Theſe meſſengers were extreamly pleaſed, that they had come too late to hinder an expedition which had ſucceeded ſo well. They returned to *Rome* with the joyful tidings, that a way was opened into *Hetruria*.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 37. The detachment which *Fabius* had ſent out to plunder, had alarm'd all the country near the foot of the hill *Ciminus*, and even the people of *Umbria* on the confines of *Hetruria*, ſo that prodigious numbers of each nation took the field, and came to the camp before *Sutrium*. And now the *Hetrurians* not only brought their camp forward, but came out and drew up their forces in order of battle in the plain, leaving a ſpace for the enemy to do the like. Finding that the *Romans* declined the fight, they advanced almoſt to their very trenches; and the ſoldiers cried out with one voice to their officers, that the remainder of their allowance of proviſion for that day might be brought to them, for they would ſtay there under arms, and attack the *Roman* camp, either in the night or early the next morning. *Fabius*, to deceive the enemy, ſtill pretended fear, and kept cloſe within his entrenchments; but he bid his men refreſh themſelves, and be ready for action upon the firſt ſignal. To raiſe their courage, he made a ſhort harangue to them, extolling to a high degree the exploits of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium*, and aſſuring them, that the *Hetrurians* were not ſoldiers comparable to the *Samnites* for ſtrength or courage; to this he added ſome dark words, by which he made them believe he had a ſecret correſpondence in the enemy's camp, and was ſure of the victory. About the fourth watch of the night he drew up his army in order of battle, within the entrenchment of the camp, cauſed the ramparts to be levell'd, and the ditch to be fill'd, and then marched out, and ſurpriſed the enemy while half aſleep, and lying ſcattered over the plain. Of the *Hetrurians* were ſixty thouſand men ſlain or taken priſoners. Thoſe who could eſcape, fled into the wood. Their camp was ſeized and plunder'd. Some ſay, that this action happened in the country beyond the hill *Ciminus* near *Perufia*. Be that as it will, three the moſt conſiderable *Lucumonies*, after this

this overthrow, ſent Deputies to *Rome* to ſue for Peace; they obtained a Truce for thirty years. Y. of *R.* 443. Bef. *J. C.* 309.

§. II. BUT the *Roman* arms under the conduct of the Conſul *Marcius* had not the like ſucceſs againſt the *Samnites*. For tho' he gained at firſt ſome advantages over them, the *Roman* fleet, commanded by *P. Cornelius*, met with misfortunes. This was the firſt fleet the *Romans* had ever put to ſea. The Admiral made a deſcent at *Pompeii*, beyond Cape *Palinurus*, and his troops meeting with no oppoſition at firſt, were, by the eager deſire of booty, carried farther into the country than was conſiſtent with prudence, ſo that the inhabitants had time to get together, and intercept them in their return. The *Romans* were forced to relinquiſh their ſpoil; ſome of them were ſlain, and thoſe who eſcaped the ſword were chaſed to their ſhips. 144 Conſul-p.

This news, with a falſe report that *Fabius* had met with *Caudine Forks* in the *Ciminian* foreſt, revived the courage of the *Samnites*, and they gave *Marcius* battle. Much blood was ſpilt in the action on both ſides, and it was not known which had the advantage. Nevertheleſs, as the *Conſul* was dangerouſly wounded, and as it was believed at *Rome* that his army had been defeated, the Republic judged it neceſſary to create a *Dictator*, and ſhe caſt her eyes again on *Papirius Curſor*. The difficulty was how to get him nominated. Whether *Marcius* were alive or not, was a matter of doubt, and the *Samnites* had ſtop'd up all the ways to his camp. And as for *Fabius*, it was much queſtioned whether he would be prevailed upon to name his mortal enemy to the *Dictatorſhip*, or whether *Papirius* would accept of that dignity from him. To remove theſe difficulties, the Senate paſſed a decree, commanding *Fabius* to nominate *Papirius* to the *Dictatorſhip*, and enjoining *Papirius* to accept of it. When the Deputies from the Senate arrived at *Fabius*'s camp, and propoſed the matter to him, he was ſtruck with ſurprize and confuſion, but kept his temper, and retired to his tent without coming to any determination for ſome time. At length his love for his country got the aſcendant of his perſonal reſentment againſt *Papirius*, and at midnight (according to cuſtom) he declared him *Dictator*. Nevertheleſs, he ſhew'd by his carriage the inward ſtruggle he had to conquer his paſſions; for when the Deputies congratulated him on the victory he had gained over himſelf, they could not draw one word from him.

We have a remarkable inſtance at this time of the exceſſive ſuperſtition of the *Romans*. *Papirius*, after his nomination to the *Dictatorſhip*, and after he had appointed *C. Junius Bubulcus* to be his *Maſter of the Horſe*, had recourſe [b] (as ſeems to have been the cuſtom in theſe days at leaſt) to an aſſembly of the People by *Curiæ* to obtain his commiſſion. It having fallen by lot to the *Curia* called *Faucia* to vote firſt, the aſſembly would not proceed in the matter, becauſe to the ſame *Curia* had fallen the like

[b] Ei [Papirio] legem curiatam de imperio ferenti, triſte omen diem diffidit, quod Faucia curia fuit principium, duabus inſignis cladibus, captæ urbis & Caudinæ pacis: quod utroque anno ejuſdem curiæ fuerat principium. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 38.

Y. of *R.* 443. Bef. *J.C.* 309. 144 Conſul p.

prerogative in thoſe unfortunate years, when ROME was taken by the *Gauls*, and the *Roman* Legions were ſurpriſed in the *Caudine Forks*. The buſineſs was put off to the next day, and then *Papirius* obtained his commiſſion without any ominous circumſtance.

He march'd away with an army which had been ſuddenly raiſed upon the alarm, formerly mention'd, of *Fabius*'s danger in paſſing the *Ciminian* foreſt, and arrived at *Longula* on the frontiers of the *Volſci*, where *Marcius* delivered up to him the troops under his command. *Papirius* offered the *Samnites* battle, but they declined it; and for ſome days after both parties continued quiet in their camps.

Y. of *R.* 444. Bef. *J.C.* 308. Faſt. Cap.

In the mean time *Fabius*, who in quality of *Proconſul* had been continued at the head of the forces in *Hetruria*, not only put to flight without difficulty an army of *Umbrians*, but obtained a notable victory over the *Hetrurians*, who had aſſembled on the banks of a little lake called *Vadimonius* (near *Viterbo*) a more numerous and more couragious army than they had ever had before. All the ſoldiers of it were men who had choſen[c] one another to the ſervice, and (as ſome think) made a vow to conquer or die. This is ſuppoſed to be the meaning of their *Lex ſacra*, by which they were bound: whoever violated this oath might by any man be ſlain with impunity. Be that as it will, the extraordinary engagement, by which they had bound themſelves, had ſuch an effect upon them, that during the action the *Romans* could not believe that they were contending with the ſame people, they had ſo often vanquiſhed. The firſt line of the *Roman* army was cut to pieces, and the ſecond repulſed; ſo that the *Proconſul* was obliged to bring his *Triarii* to the charge: nor was even this ſufficient; it became neceſſary for the Cavalry to diſmount, and go to the aſſiſtance of the Foot. But when the *Roman* Knights, who were quite freſh and in full ſtrength, paſſing over heaps of ſlain, had placed themſelves in the front of the battle, they made ſo furious an attack on the enemy, and were ſo well ſeconded by the Legionary Soldiers (tho' much fatigued) that the *Hetrurians* were ſoon broken, and their whole army put to flight. They loſt the flower of their troops in this action.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 39.

§. IV. NOR was *Papirius* leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *Samnites*, who, to give their ſoldiers more pride and ſpirit, had furniſhed them with finer arms and finer habits than uſual. They divided their troops into two bodies, one of which they cloathed in ſtuff of various colours, and provided with gilt bucklers; the other had ſilver'd bucklers, and were cloathed in white habits; and they had all creſts to their helmets, to make them look taller. That this novelty might have no ill effect upon the *Roman* ſoldiers, their officers put them in mind, that the true dreſs of a ſoldier was a ſword and courage; that gold and ſilver were of no uſe in battles, and made but an ugly figure when diſtained with blood, but would be a very good booty to enrich the conquerors.

[c] Lege ſacrata coacto exercitu, quum vir virum legiſſet. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 39.

Papirius

Papirius commanded the right wing of the *Romans*, which faced the many-colour'd troops of the enemy; and his General of the Horſe, *Junius Brutus*, commanded the left, which faced their white battalions: *Brutus* cried out, as he advanced towards the enemy, *I devote theſe white men to* Pluto, *the black God of Hell.* The *Legions* he commanded quickly forced the *Samnites* to give ground, which *Papirius* obſerving, cried out to thoſe of the right wing, *What!* ſaid he, *you have the* DICTATOR *at your head, and ſhall victory begin in the left?* While *Papirius* thus animated the Infantry of the right to make a vigorous charge, his two Lieutenants (both eminent men, who had been Conſuls) *M. Valerius* (on the right) and *P. Decius* (on the left) quitted the Foot, and putting themſelves at the head of the Cavalry, each on his own ſide, made a ſudden and furious attack on the enemy's flanks. The *Samnites* finding themſelves almoſt ſurrounded, a terror ſeized them, they inſtantly broke their ranks and fled to their camp; but their loſs in the battle had been ſo great, that they durſt not think of defending it. Before night it was taken and burnt. Y. of *R.* 444. Bef. *J. C.* 308. 144 Conſul-p.

Papirius, after the victory, returned to *Rome*, and had a Triumph, of which the fine arms taken from the *Samnites* were the chief ornaments. They were afterwards delivered to the Goldſmiths company, to beautify the *Roman Forum* with them: And hence aroſe the cuſtom of the *Ædiles* adorning the *Forum*, on thoſe days when the images of the Gods were carried in proceſſion through the ſtreets of *Rome* in chariots. *Faſt. Capit.*

The Triumph of the *Proconſul Fabius* followed that of the *Dictator*, and, tho' leſs ſplendid, was accompanied with more applauſe, becauſe he had had no ſharer in his glory; whereas the other had been much indebted for his ſucceſs, not only to his General of the Horſe, but to his two Lieutenants, *Valerius* and *Decius*.

§. V. *PAPIRIUS* was now grown old. He appeared no more in any publick ſtation, but for the future left all the glory of heroical exploits to his rival *Q. Fabius*, who was now (the 3d time) with *P. Decius Mus* (the 2d time) raiſed to the Conſulate. *Samnium* fell by lot to the former, and *Hetruria* to the latter. *Fabius* took *Nuceria*, the laſt town in *Campania*, on the other ſide of mount *Veſuvius*, from the *Samnites*, and defeated them afterwards in a battle, but a battle ſo inconſiderable, that it would not deſerve notice in Hiſtory, had it not preſented the Republic with new enemies who had not before appeared. The *Marſi* and *Peligni*, two petty nations in the neighbourhood of *Samnium*, northward, had joined the *Samnites*, tho' with little benefit to their allies. Y. of *R.* 445. Bef. *J. C.* 307. 145 Conſul-p. *Diod. Sic.* B. 19. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 41.

As for *Decius*, he made ſuch a happy progreſs in his province, that all *Hetruria* deſired an alliance with *Rome:* But the Republic having (doubtleſs) formed the deſign of conquering this country, granted the *Hetrurians* only a Truce for one year. Soon after the *Umbrians* aſſembled all their forces, and, being joined by great numbers of *Hetrurians*, they confidently boaſted, that, leaving *Decius* behind them in *Hetruria*, they would march directly to *Rome*. This put both the *Conſuls* in motion. The

Y. of *R.* 445. Bef. *J.C.* 307. 145 Conſul-p. prudent and circumſpect *Decius* made long marches from *Hetruria*, and encamped his army in the *Pupinian* field, lying in the way from *Umbria* to *Rome*. But the enterpriſing *Fabius* no ſooner received orders from the Senate (alarmed by the preparations of the *Umbrians*) than he quitted *Samnium*, croſſed *Sabinia*, entered *Umbria*, and encamped in the very heart of the country near *Mevania*, on the banks of the *Clitumnus*. The *Umbrians* were terrified at his unexpected appearance among them; and tho' they ventured to give battle, they behaved themſelves like women in the action: the *Romans* hardly made uſe of their ſwords; they beat down the enemy with their bucklers alone, ſo that little blood was ſpilt; but the whole army were made priſoners, and the whole nation ſoon after ſubmitted. After this *Fabius* returned to his camp in *Samnium*.

Y. of *R.* 446. Bef. *J.C.* 306. 146 Conſul-p. §. VI. THE time being now come for a new election of *Conſuls*, *Appius Claudius*, who had held the *Cenſorſhip* five years contrary to law, ſtood candidate for the *Conſulate*, and obtained it. *L. Volumnius Flamma* was appointed his Collegue. *Appius* not being qualified for the command of armies, the Senate obliged him to ſtay in *Rome*; and notwithſtanding his oppoſition to it, continued *Fabius* in quality of *Proconſul*, and without any aſſociate, in the command of the troops in *Samnium*, where he obtained a conſiderable victory over the enemy near *Alifæ*, on the banks of the *Vulturnus*. In the mean time *Volumnius* made war againſt the *Salentines*, in the extreme part of *Italy*, with good ſucceſs, and for the firſt time ſpread the terror of the *Roman* name in thoſe parts.

Livy, B. 9. ch. 42.

Faſt. Capit. In the election of Magiſtrates for the following year, the *Romans* choſe *Appius* to be *Prætor*, a poſt much better ſuited to his talents; and at the ſame time raiſed *Q. Marcius Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius Arvina* to the *Conſulate*. The former was order'd to march againſt a body of *Hernici*, who had taken arms on account of the ſevere treatment which ſome of their countrymen (made priſoners in the laſt battle of the *Romans* with the *Samnites*) had ſuffered at *Rome*. The rebels loſt three camps in a few days, and were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. This war being ended, *Marcius* haſten'd to join his Collegue, who had ſuffer'd himſelf to be inveſted in narrow paſſes by the *Samnites*. The enemy, to prevent the uniting of the two armies, gave *Marcius* battle, while his troops were fatigued and in ſome diſorder. The place where they attack'd him being not far from the camp of *Cornelius*, the latter could hear the ſhouts of the combatants, and ſee the clouds of duſt that they raiſed; judging therefore that his Collegue was engaged in fight with the enemy, he ſallied out of his entrenchments, fell upon the *Samnites* in flank, broke through them, and made his way to their camp, which he found empty, and ſet fire to it. The ſight of the fire totally diſcouraged them, ſo that they immediately diſperſed themſelves and fled, leaving thirty thouſand men dead on the ſpot. But this action was no ſooner over, than the *Romans* were obliged to enter upon a new engagement with a body of troops that were coming to recruit the *Samnite* army. The ſucceſs of this battle being the ſame with that of the preceding one, the *Samnites* were reduced to ſue

Y. of *R.* 447. Bef. *J.C.* 305. 147 Conſul-p. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 43.

for peace. The *Conſuls* referr'd their Deputies to the Senate and People of *Rome*. Y. of *R.* 447. Bef. *J. C.* 305. 147 Conſul. p.

Whilſt *Marcius* and *Cornelius* were yet in the field, the time came for electing new Magiſtrates; ſo that a *Dictator* was named to preſide in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, who choſe *Poſthumius Megellus* and *Tib. Minucius Conſuls*. Before they took poſſeſſion of their office, the Senate determined the fate of the *Hernici*. Thoſe of their cities that had continued faithful, were allowed to chuſe whether to live according to their ancient laws, or to have the right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, and they preferred the former. The reſt were declared *Roman* Citizens, and obliged to be govern'd by *Roman* Laws, whether they liked it or not, yet without having the right of ſuffrage.

At this time Deputies arrived from *Carthage*, with a compliment and preſents to the Republic; and ſome Hiſtorians ſay, that a third treaty was now made with the *Carthaginians*.

The new *Conſuls* were both ordered into *Samnium*, each at the head of two *Legions*. *Poſthumius* directed his march towards the city of *Tifernum*, and *Minucius* encamped in the neigbourhood of *Bovianum*. The firſt came to a battle with the *Samnites*, the ſucceſs of which was equal on both ſides; but he pretended to be worſted, retired the next night to the mountains, and there fortified himſelf in an advantageous place. The *Samnites* followed him, and encamped within two miles of him. *Poſthumius* hereupon finiſh'd his entrenchments with all expedition, and leaving a ſufficient number of troops to guard them, marched out at midnight with the reſt, and join'd his Collegue, who lay in ſight of another body of *Samnites* that waited for an opportunity to engage. *Minucius*, by the advice of *Poſthumius*, advanced into the plain with only his two *Legions*, and offered the enemy battle. The victory was long diſputed; but at length *Poſthumius* appearing with his freſh troops, and falling ſuddenly upon the *Samnites*, whoſe ſtrength was exhauſted, the latter ſuffered a terrible ſlaughter. They loſt one and twenty Enſigns. This action over, the two *Conſuls* led their joint forces to *Poſthumius*'s camp, and thence fell upon that body of *Samnites* which was poſted near it. This proved a bloodier battle than the former; *Minucius* was killed in it, and *Statius Gellius*, the *Samnite* General, taken priſoner. Victory declared for the *Romans*, who took twenty ſix Enſigns from the enemy. Y. of *R.* 448. Bef. *J. C.* 304. 148 Conſul. p. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 44.

The People at *Rome*, on the news of *Minucius*'s death, immediately appointed *Fulvius Curvus* to ſucceed him, and to finiſh the campaign, which he did by reducing *Bovianum* and ſeveral other cities to ſurrender, for which he had a Triumph at his return home. *Faſt. Capit.*

§. VII. IN the beginning of the adminiſtration of the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *C. Semproaius Sophus* and *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Samnite* nation ſent Deputies to *Rome* to deſire a renewal of the ancient confederacy with the Republic: But the *Romans* before they would grant this requeſt, diſpatched *Sulpicius* with an army into *Samnium*, to examine the ſincerity of the *Samnites*, and diſcover their real ſentiments. They received the *Conſul* Y. of *R.* 449. Bef. *J. C.* 303. 149 Conſul. p. *Livy*, B. 9. ch. 45.

Y. of *R.* 449. Bef. *J. C.* 303. 149 Conſul-p. every where with great marks of reſpect and friendſhip; and upon his report of the ſeeming alteration in their diſpoſitions, a new alliance was made with them on the old foot.

AND now the Republic prepar'd to puniſh their old enemies the *Æqui*, who, notwithſtanding the Treaty between them and *Rome*, had many times privately ſent ſuccours to the *Samnites*, and had of late openly eſpouſed their cauſe, following the example of the *Hernici*. They had likewiſe returned this haughty anſwer to the *Roman Feciales*, who had been ſent to them to demand ſatisfaction: *That they ſuppoſed it was only a trial, whether through the fear of a war they would ſuffer themſelves to be made* Roman Citizens; *which, how deſirable a thing it was, the* Hernici *had taught them; ſeeing thoſe of that nation, who had been left free to chooſe, had preferred* their own Laws *to* Roman Citizenſhip; *and thoſe who had been compelled to be* Roman Citizens *looked upon it as a puniſhment.* War was therefore declared againſt the *Æqui*, and both the *Conſuls* were ordered to enter their country. The long ſubjection and inaction of this people had enervated their courage, and untaught them Military Diſcipline. They aſſembled an army, but there was no order, no ſubordination among the ſoldiers, nor could they come to any agreement what meaſures to take. At length they all unanimouſly left their camp at midnight, and every one made the beſt of his way home. The *Conſuls*, who the next morning drew up their troops with an intention to offer battle, were much ſurpriſed at the inaction of the enemy, and the ſilence that reigned in their camp. No advanced guards appeared, no centinels upon the ramparts. At firſt they ſuſpected an ambuſh, and proceeded with caution; but when they diſcovered the truth, reſolved to lay ſiege to the Cities whither they had retreated. In fifty days the *Conſuls* took forty one Towns, moſt of which they razed or burnt, which entirely reduced the *Æqui*; and this rapid deſtruction ſpread ſuch a terror among the neighbouring nations, that the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Frentani*, and *Marrucini*, all ſent to ſollicit an alliance with the Republic. Their requeſt was granted.

CHAP. XVIII.

§. I. *The renowned* Q. FABIUS *being* CENSOR *this year, acquires the ſurname of* MAXIMUS, *for his reformation of an abuſe introduced by* APPIUS, *who had diſperſed great numbers of the Freed Men and meaneſt of the People into all the Ruſtic Tribes, thereby to influence the Elections according to his own humour. One* Flavius, *who had been a Writing-maſter, is by the ſtrength of this baſe faction raiſed to the* Curule Ædileſhip, *for the merit of having made the People a kind of Almanack.* Fabius *reconfines thoſe mean fellows to the four City Tribes.* §. II. *The next year (when* Cornelius Lentulus *and* L. Genucius *are Conſuls) is ſpent chiefly in ſending Colonies to the Conquered Cities. In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* Livius Denter *and* Æmilius Paulus, *the art of Painting is introduced at* Rome *by* C. Fabius, *ſurnamed* PICTOR. Cleonymus, *ſon of* Cleomenes *King of* Sparta,

Sparta, *brings a fleet upon the coaſt of* Italy, *and makes two deſcents there without ſucceſs.* §. III. *All the following year the Republic is govern'd by two* Dictators *ſucceſſively created,* Q. Fabius *and* Valerius Corvus. *The former quells an inſurrection of the* Marſi; *the latter obtains a ſignal victory over the* Hetrurians, *to whom afterwards a Truce is granted for two years.*

§. I. THIS ſucceſs of the *Roman* arms abroad was followed by reformations at home. The famous *Q. Fabius Rullianus* being this year (with *P. Decius Mus*) in the *Cenſorſhip*, employed his power to rectify an abuſe introduced by the ambitious *Appius* into the State. *Appius*, as we have already * ſeen, to make himſelf Maſter in the Senate, had brought the ſons of Freed-men into it; but this diſorder had not laſted above one year; his liſt of Senators was cancelled, and the old one took place. Not ſucceeding therefore in that enterprize, he, in order to govern the Elections in the *Comitia*, diſperſed the Freed-men and the very lees of the People, men wholly devoted to him, into all the *Roman Tribes*, and this occaſion'd endleſs broils in the Republic. It was owing to the ſame cauſe, that the *Curule Ædileſhip* fell this year into the hands of two very mean perſons, the one a native of *Præneſte*, the other *Cn. Flavius*, the ſon of a *Freed-man*, and whoſe firſt profeſſion had been that of a Writing-maſter. At the inſtigation of *Appius*, whoſe Secretary he then was, he had put frequent queſtions to the *Pontifices* concerning the Calendar, and the rules by which they ſettled the Holidays, the days for hearing Cauſes, and ſuch other matters as were within their peculiar province; and having by degrees got the ſecret from them, he compoſed a Calendar, tranſcribed it, and fixed it up in the *Forum* for the uſe of the People; who being thereby freed from their dependence on the *Pontifices* in this reſpect, rewarded their Almanack-maker with ſeveral honourable employments, to which they raiſed him ſucceſſively, and at length with the *Curule Ædileſhip*. The Nobles were ſo deeply affected with the indignity offered them by this promotion of *Flavius*, that they laid aſide their ornaments, and particularly their Gold Rings, which they had but lately begun to wear.

Y. of *R.* 449. Bef. *J.C.* 303. 149 Conſul-p.

* In the year 441.

Val. Max. B. 2. ch. 1. *Aul. Gel.* B. 9. ch. 9, *Livy*, B. 5. ch. 46. *Pomponius* de Origine Juris.

Plin. B. 33. ch. 1.

Fabius, to re-eſtabliſh peace in *Rome*, and to hinder the great dignities from being beſtowed on worthleſs men, reincorporated into the four *City-Tribes* thoſe mean fellows whom *Appius* had taken thence, and diſperſed among the *Country-Tribes*; ſo that for the future they could influence no more than four *Tribes*, and in theſe they were not the ſtrongeſt: a reformation ſo agreeable to the Republic, that on this account alone the *Romans* gave *Fabius* the ſurname of *Maximus*, which he had not acquired by all his military exploits. It was perpetuated in his branch of the *Fabian* family.

In this *Cenſorſhip* likewiſe an ordinance was made, that the *Roman Knights* ſhould every year on the *Ides* of *July* appear on horſeback dreſſed in Purple, and crowned with Olive, and march in proceſſion from the Temple of *Mars* to the *Capitol*.

§. THE

Y. of *R.* 450. Bef. *J.C.* 302. 150 Conſul-P. *Vell. Paterc.* B. 1. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 1.

§. II. THE Republic being now in peace with the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*, was not very ſollicitous to have *Conſuls* of eminent abilities in war. The *Comitia* promoted to that dignity *S. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Genucius Aventinenſis*, whoſe year was almoſt wholly ſpent in ſending *Colonies* to the conquer'd Cities. However, the public tranquillity ſuffer'd a ſhort interruption by a gang of Robbers in *Umbria*, who ravaged the country far and near. Their retreat was a great cave with two entrances; and the *Romans* having found them both, lighted great fires at them, ſo that ſome of the wretches (whoſe whole number amounted to two thouſand) were ſtifled with the ſmoke, and the reſt threw themſelves into the flames.

Y. of *R.* 451. Bef. *J.C.* 301. 151 Conſul-P.

This trifling expedition was followed by an inconſiderable war. In the beginning of the *Conſulſhip* of *M. Livius Denter* and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, the *Æqui* took umbrage at a *Colony* of ſix thouſand men which the Republic had lately ſent to *Alba*, and they laid ſiege to that place. But *Junius Brutus*, whom the People named *Dictator* upon this occaſion, marched againſt them, and by a ſpeedy victory put an end to the war in eight days time. At his return home he dedicated to *The Goddeſs of Health* a Temple, which he had vow'd when he was *Conſul*, and built when he was *Cenſor*. And this is the firſt time that Hiſtory mentions the uſe of the art of Painting in *Rome*. *C. Fabius* (afterwards *Conſul*) painted all the walls of the new Temple in *Freſco*, and thence got the ſurname of *Pictor*.

Plin. B. 35. *Aul. Gell.* B. 5. *Val. Max.* B. 8. c. 15.

Livy, B. 10. ch. 2.

At this time *Cleonymus*, the ſon of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, came with a great fleet on the coaſt of *Italy*, with deſign to make a ſettlement there, and he took *Sybaris*, a City of *Lucania*. Being driven thence by the *Romans* he made a ſecond deſcent, in the place where *Venice* now ſtands. But this expedition proving as unfortunate as the former, he returned to his own country, having loſt four fifths of his fleet.

Y. of *R.* 452. Bef. *J.C.* 300. *Faſt. Capit.*

§. III. THE following year the Republic had no *Conſuls*, but was govern'd by two *Dictators*, one after another, each of whom fulfilled his ſix months. The firſt was *Fabius Maximus*. The revolt of the *Marſi* induced the *Romans* to put this eminent warrior at the head of their troops. He march'd an army againſt them, and by one ſingle victory quieted that inſurrection. *Valerius Corvus*, who ſucceeded *Fabius*, was named to the *Dictatorſhip*, to conduct a war againſt the *Hetrurians*, in which the Republic was engaged by taking part in the civil broils of that people. But the *Roman Legions* had no ſooner enter'd *Hetruria*, and were within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy, than a religious ſcruple ſeized the *Dictator*. He call'd to mind that there had been ſome defect in the ceremony of his inauguration, upon which he ſtrait returned to *Rome* to renew the *Auſpicia*. In his abſence *Sempronius Sophus*, his General of the Horſe, imprudently made an incurſion into the country, fell into an ambuſh, and loſt a great number of men and ſome colours. The news of this defeat, which was much magnified, cauſed an extraordinary terror at *Rome*, and the *Dictator* haſtened away with new levies to the camp. At his arrival he found things in a much better condition than had been reported. *Sempronius*

pronius had changed his poſt for a more ſafe and advantageous one; the *Manipuli*, who had loſt their Colours, were impatiently waiting in great ſhame and diſgrace without the camp (where they continued day and night without covering) for an opportunity to recover their honour, and the whole army deſired nothing ſo much as a battle, that they might have their revenge. *Valerius* ſeeing this good diſpoſition of his troops, led them into the fields of *Ruſſellæ*, one of the twelve chief cities of *Hetruria*. The *Hetrurians*, fluſh'd with their ſucceſs, followed him, and endeavour'd by a ſtratagem to ſurprize *Fulvius*, one of the *Dictator*'s Lieutenant-Generals, who with a detachment had poſſeſſed himſelf of a fort at ſome diſtance from the *Roman* camp. Some *Hetrurian* officers, in the dreſs of ſhepherds, came with their flocks near the walls of the fort. This was a bait to draw the *Romans* out; a body of troops lay ready in ambuſh to fall upon them. *Fulvius* diſcovering the artifice by their ſpeech, which was more elegant than that of ſhepherds, bid ſome of his men call out to the pretended ſhepherds, and tell them, *That they would find it as hard to deceive the* Romans *as to conquer them.* When the *Hetrurians* perceived that their ſtratagem would not take effect, they preſently after appeared, and beſieged *Fulvius* in form. The *Dictator* had notice of his diſtreſs, and haſten'd to his relief, and this brought on a general action. *Valerius*, to ſurprize the enemy, inſtead of poſting his Cavalry in the wings of his army, as was uſual, drew them up behind his Infantry, leaving ſpaces in the lines for the horſe to advance upon a ſignal. And in reality, when the *Romans* had given the firſt ſhout for the combat, it was not their Infantry but their Cavalry that began the charge. Paſſing through the intervals before mentioned, they drove full ſpeed upon the enemy; and this unexpected attack ſo terrified and diſconcerted the *Hetrurians*, who were unprepared for it, that the battle was neither long nor doubtful. They quickly gave ground, diſperſed themſelves, and fled; and the victory of the *Romans* was compleat. The *Hetrurians*, humbled by this freſh blow, once again ſued for peace, but could obtain no more than a truce for two years. Y. of *R.* 452. Bef. *J.C.* 300.

CHAP. XIX.

§. I. *In the year of* Rome 453, *when* Valerius Corvus *is the fifth time Conſul, and has* Q. Apulius Panſa *for his Collegue, a* LAW *is paſs'd at the motion of two* Tribunes, *of the name of* Ogulnius, *to qualify* PLEBEIANS *for the* Pontificate *and* Augurate. §. II. *The* Lex Valeria *is confirmed anew.* §. III. Q. Fabius Maximus *declines the* Conſulſhip, *to which the People would again raiſe him, and at his own requeſt obtains the* Curule Ædileſhip, *in which office he gains new glory.*

§. I. AT the next election of Magiſtrates, *Valerius Corvus*, though abſent, was again * promoted to the Conſulſhip; and the *Comitia* appointed *Q. Apulius Panſa* to be his Collegue. During their adminiſtration the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* continued Y. of *R.* 453. Bef. *J.C.* 299. 152 Conſul-p. * A 5th time. Faſt. *Capit.*

Y. of *R.* 453. Bef. *J. C.* 299. 152 Conſul-p. continued quiet, and the Republic enjoyed an interval of tranquillity abroad. But as it had ever been the fate of *Rome* to have commotions at home, when ſhe had no foreign enemies, ſo now two *Tribunes of the People*, brothers, of the name of *Ogulnius*, endeavoured to ſtir up the Commons againſt the *Patricians*. The only important offices which the *Plebeians* did not ſhare with the Nobility at this time, were the *Pontificate* and the *Augurate*. *Numa* had appointed only four *Pontifices*, and that number had never been increaſed. The *Augurs*, though but three in number at their firſt inſtitution by *Romulus*, had been augmented to ſix. However, the *Augural* College conſiſted now but of four, probably by the death of two. The *Ogulnii* preſented a petition to have four additional *Pontifices* choſen out of the *Plebeians*, and to have five *Plebeian* Augurs added to the four in being. The *Patricians* were highly offended with this propoſal; but as they had experienced the fruitleſsneſs of their endeavours to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Conſulate* and the other great dignities, they made no other oppoſition to this new encroachment on their prerogatives, than by declaiming in all places againſt the innovation, as an affront offered to the Gods themſelves. *May heaven grant*, they cried, *that ſo wicked a profanation of our ſacred myſteries draw no calamity on the Republic.* The matter was firſt debated before the aſſembly of the *Curiæ*, where *Appius Claudius*, ſo famous for his attempts to humble the Nobility, became now, out of pure caprice, their moſt zealous advocate. But as his harangue contained nothing more than a repetition of the old arguments that had been ſo often employed againſt the admiſſion of *Plebeians* to the *Conſulate*, Hiſtory has not tranſmitted it to us. On the other hand, *P. Decius Mus*, who had been twice *Conſul* and once *Dictator*, ſpoke in behalf of the *Plebeians*. He put the aſſembly in mind of his father *Decius*, who devoted himſelf to death for the preſervation of the *Roman Legions*, and thereby obtained the victory for them. *If* Decius, ſaid he, *was as pure and as agreeable a victim to the Gods as his* Patrician *Colleague* Manlius *would have been, had he offered himſelf; what ſhould hinder, but that the ſame* Decius *might have been choſen to officiate in our Religious Ceremonies and Sacrifices? And after all, whence is it that the* Patricians *derive this peculiar privilege of being alone worthy to miniſter in ſacred things? Did they deſcend from Heaven with the quality of* Patricians? *or did* Romulus *give that title to their anceſtors, only becauſe they could tell who were their Fathers and Grandfathers, that is, becauſe they were men of free condition? If this be all, I am able to name a* Conſul *for my Father; and my ſon may boaſt, that both his Father and Grandfather have been honoured with the higheſt dignities in the Republic. But to what purpoſe ſhould I reaſon any longer? The* Patricians *have nothing ſolid to offer, they only ſeek to amuſe us with words and noiſe, and they know very well that we ſhall carry our point. My opinion therefore is, that the People by their ſuffrages do immediately paſs the Petition of the* Ogulnii *into a Law.*

Livy, B. 10.

This Debate was in the aſſembly of the *Curiæ*; but in order to decide the affair, it had been before agreed to ſummon the *Tribes*; and there both

points were carried in favour of the People, and *Decius* was choſen one of the new *Pontifices*. Y. of *R.* 453. Bef. *J. C.* 299.

§. II. *VALERIUS* took the opportunity of the preſent tranquillity to revive an old Law *, made by *Valerius Poplicola*, and afterwards renewed † by another of his anceſtors, enacting, *That in capital cauſes the accuſed ſhould have a right of appealing to the* Tribunal *of the People.* The *Patricians*, by their intereſt and power, had hinder'd the effect of this law, and render'd it obſolete; but it was now once more reſtored, and expreſs'd in ſtronger terms than before: with no other ſanction however, but *That the tranſgreſſors of it ſhould be deem'd guilty of a diſhoneſt action*; a penalty which would have been of little influence in a more corrupt age, but ſufficient at this time to reſtrain the *Romans*, who piqued themſelves upon their virtue, and had no hope of riſing to great employments, unleſs they had preſerved their reputation pure and untainted. 152 Conſul-p. * In the year 244. † In the year 304.

§. III. IN the following *Comitia* for electing new *Conſuls*, *Q. Fabius* finding that the People were inclined to raiſe him again to that dignity, though he had not enter'd his name among the *Candidates*; and conſidering that he ſhould gain but little glory in a time of tranquillity, deſired the aſſembly to reſerve that mark of their eſteem for him till a more tempeſtuous ſeaſon, and declared, that a Civil employment at preſent would be more agreeable to him. Accordingly they promoted him (with *Papirius Curſor*, the ſon of his rival) to the *Curule Ædileſhip*; nor did his ſuperior merit appear leſs conſpicuous in this ſtation than in military command: For when, not long after, there happen'd to be a great ſcarcity of corn at *Rome*, he took ſuch effectual care to guard the People againſt famine, by bringing corn from abroad, and by making a proper and wiſe diſtribution of it, that the poorer ſort confeſs'd they owed their lives to him. *Livy*, B. 10. c. 9.

CHAP. XX.

§. I. *The* Hetrurians *break the Truce with* Rome *in the Conſulate of* M. Fulvius Pætinus *and* T. Manlius Torquatus. Picenum *obtains an alliance with the Republic. The Conſul* Manlius, *who was to act againſt the* Hetrurians, *being killed by a fall from his horſe,* Valerius Corvus *is by every voice in the* Comitia *declared* Conſul (the 6th time) *to ſucceed him. The very preſence of ſo renowned a warrior ſtrikes a terror into the enemy; they quit the field, and retire into their Towns. (This was the laſt Military expedition of that great man, who lived to an hundred years of age.)* §. II. *In the cloſe of the following Conſulate of* Cn. Fulvius *and* L. Cornelius Scipio, *a report being ſpread, that both the* Hetrurians *and the* Samnites *(which laſt had broke their alliance with* Rome*) were making mighty preparations to attack the Republic, the* Romans *caſt their eyes on the great* FABIUS *to be one of their* Conſuls *for the new year, and they oblige him to accept the office contrary to his inclination; but, at his*

requeſt, give him P. Decius Mus (*who had been Conſul with him in the year* 445) *to be his Collegue. The* Hetrurians, *inſtead of taking the field, come to a reſolution to aſk peace; ſo that the* Conſuls *march their two armies into* Samnium, *and make terrible devaſtations in that country.*

Y. of *R.* 454. Bef. *J. C.* 298. 153 Conſul-p.

§. I. THE *Conſuls* choſen for the new year were *M. Fulvius Pætinus* and *T. Manlius Torquatus. Fulvius* went into *Umbria* to carry on the ſiege of *Nequinum* (which *Apuleius*, one of the former *Conſuls*, had begun) and, by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants, he made himſelf maſter of the place. The *Romans* ſent a Colony thither, to keep the reſt of the *Umbrians* in awe.

In this *Conſulate* the *Hetrurians* broke their truce with *Rome*. But when they were preparing to enter the *Roman* territory, an irruption of the *Gauls* into their country ſuſpended their deſign; however they did not drop it. On the contrary, that they might execute it with the better ſucceſs, they endeavour'd by large ſums to engage the *Gauls*, not only to forbear pillaging *Hetruria*, but to join with them againſt *Rome*. The *Gauls* ſeem'd to liſten to the propoſal, took the money, and withdrew their troops. But when the time came for marching againſt the *Romans*, they excuſed themſelves, unleſs the *Hetrurians* would aſſign them a part of their territories to ſettle in; and this was abſolutely refuſed.

During theſe negotiations between the *Hetrurians* and *Gauls*, *Picenum*, on the borders of the *Adriatic*, ſent Deputies to *Rome* to aſk an alliance with the Republic; a requeſt which the *Romans* eaſily granted in the preſent neceſſity of their affairs, and then they diſpatched away an army to puniſh the *Hetrurians* for their breach of faith. The command of it had fallen by lot to *Manlius*; but this General loſing his [illegible] by a fall from his horſe, the *Centuries* met to chooſe him a ſucceſſor, and (which had never happen'd ſince the birth of the Republic) all the ſuffrages were given in favour of one and the ſame man. *Valerius Corvus* was now the ſixth time raiſed to the Conſulate. His firſt was in the year 405, according to the *Capitoline* Marbles [a]. He was now in a very advanced age, yet made the campaign with all the vigour of a man in the bloom of life. His very appearance at the head of the *Roman* army ſo terrified the *Hetrurians*, that they durſt not continue in the field, but ſhut themſelves up in their fortified places; nor could the burning of their villages, and the laying waſte their country, provoke them to hazard a battle. This was the laſt of *Valerius*'s Military expeditions. In what year he ended his days is unknown, but it is certain that he lived to above an hundred. He was promoted one and twenty times to offices, that gave him a right to ſit in the *Curule* Chair; which can be ſaid of no *Roman* but himſelf. When he was not in any public ſtation, he made Agriculture his chief employment and amuſement. He was not only a thorough Patriot and perfect pattern of that Zeal which men owe their country, but an excellent model of the

Plin. B. 7. ch. 48. *Val. Max.* B. 8. *Cicero* in *Catone Majore.* *Plut.* in *Mario.*

[a] According to *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, *Val. Maximus*, and others, there were 46 years between *Val. Corvus*'s firſt Conſulate and his laſt; according to the *Faſt. Capit.* 48

Paternal

Paternal Care which the head of a great family ought to have of his children and relations. Great in Peace, and great in War, *Valerius Corvus* ſhone eminent even among thoſe Heroes who appear'd in the moſt glorious, becauſe the moſt virtuous, age of *Rome*. Y. of *R.* 454. Bef. *J.C.* 298. 153 Conſul-p.

§. II. TOWARDS the cloſe of this year[b] the Republic (by what accident is unknown) fell into an *Inter-regnum*. When the *Comitia* were held for a new election of Magiſtrates, *Appius Claudius* took it into his head to oppoſe the admitting of any *Plebeian* into the *Conſulſhip*: But all his rhetoric proved ineffectual, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, a *Plebeian*, was made Collegue to *L. Cornelius Scipio*. During their adminiſtration the *Hetrurians* took arms again, and the *Samnites* broke their alliance with *Rome*. *Scipio* march'd againſt the former, and gave them battle, the ſucceſs of which was doubtful. However the *Hetrurians*, after the action, were ſeiſed with an unaccountable terror, deſerted their camp in the night, and return'd to their reſpective *Lucumonies*; and the *Conſuls* pillaged and laid waſte the whole country. *This is* Livy's *account*. But the *Faſti Capitolini* make it more probable, that this expedition of the *Romans* into *Hetruria* was under the conduct of *Fulvius*, who afterwards marched againſt the *Samnites*, and gain'd an unqueſtionable victory over them near *Bovianum*. *Cic. in Bruto.* Y. of *R.* 455. Bef. *J.C.* 297. 154 Conſul-p.

Before the expiration of the preſent *Conſulſhip*, a report was ſpread of mighty preparations that were making by both *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* to attack the Republic once more. Hereupon, the firſt care of the *Romans* was to chooſe able Generals for the next campaign, and all eyes were immediately turned upon *Fabius*. But he (from what motive is hard to gueſs) declined the honour, and excuſed himſelf to the People on pretence of his age, and the decay of his ſtrength and vigour. And to ſhew that he was in earneſt, he ordered the law to be read, which forbad any man to bear the office of *Conſul* twice within ten years[c]; a law made in the year 412, but which had not been ſtrictly obſerv'd. Nevertheleſs, the People being bent upon having him for one of their *Conſuls*, made ſuch a clamour when the ſtatute was going to be read, as quite drowned the voice of the perſon appointed to read it; nay, the *Tribunes* themſelves threaten'd *Fabius*, that if he did not deſiſt from oppoſing his election, they would get the People to diſpenſe with the law by a formal decree. When *Fabius* found that there was a neceſſity of complying, he reſiſted no longer; but then he deſired that they would at leaſt oblige him ſo far as to give him a Collegue to his own mind, and propoſed to them *Decius Mus*, who had been joined with him in his laſt *Conſulſhip*, and with whom, he told them, he had lived in perfect concord and harmony. The *Comitia* granted his requeſt, and thoſe *Centuries* who had not yet voted, gave their voices unanimouſly for *Decius*. The reſt of the year *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 13.

[b] Two new Tribes were this year added to the 31 in being.

[c] According to *Livy* and the *Faſt. Capitol.* there had been ten Conſulates ſince *Fabius* was in that ſtation; ſo that if his objection was good, we muſt conclude, that the *Conſular* years were not compleat years, and are therefore a very uncertain meaſure of time.

was ſpent in reſtraining the avarice of thoſe, who, contrary to law, poſſeſs'd more than five hundred acres of land.

Y. of *R.* 456. Bef. *J.C.* 296. 155 Conſul. p. * A 4th time. * A 3d time.

While the new *Conſuls Fabius* * and *Decius* † were conſidering together in a friendly manner, which of them would be able to conduct the war in this or that province, with moſt advantage, and what number of forces it would be neceſſary to employ in each, Deputies arrived at *Rome* from *Sutrium*, *Nepet*, and *Falerii*, who all agreed in their report, that the *Hetrurians* in their laſt Diet had reſolv'd to deſire a peace. Upon this both the *Conſuls* marched into *Samnium*, but enter'd it different ways. *Fabius* took the ſhorteſt cut, by *Sora*; and being informed by his ſcouts, that the *Samnites* had laid an ambuſh for him on the banks of the *Tifernus*, and were waiting for his coming into a deep valley, that they might fall upon him from the hills, he reſolved to attack them in their concealment. But they finding their project diſcover'd, left their ambuſh, and drew up in order of battle in the plain. The brave reſiſtance they made in the beginning of the engagement cauſed *Fabius* ſome uneaſineſs. He commanded his Cavalry to give their horſes the reins, and to ruſh upon the enemy with their uſual impetuoſity; but this proved ineffectual.

Frontin. Strat. B. 2. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 14.

His next recourſe was to ſtratagem. He ordered *Scipio*, one of his Lieutenants, to take the *Haſtati* of the firſt Legion, march them by round-about ways in ſilence to the top of a neighbouring hill, and thence fall on the enemy in the rear; and this motion was made without being perceiv'd, either by the reſt of the army, or by the *Samnites*. In the mean time the latter, proud of having repulſed the *Roman* Cavalry, puſhed the firſt line of the Infantry briſkly, and forced them to retire through the ſpaces in the ſecond line, which conſiſted of the *Principes*. But when theſe began likewiſe to loſe ground, *Scipio* appeared with his detachment in the rear of the enemy. *Fabius*, to encourage his men, made them believe, that it was the army of his Collegue *Decius* come to his aſſiſtance. And the ſame perſuaſion prevailing among the *Samnite* Troops, they immediately diſbanded and fled. The ſlaughter was not great, but the *Romans* took twenty three Colours.

Decius, whoſe name had been of ſervice in this action, had likewiſe in another reſpect contributed to the victory, by having defeated the *Apulians*, who were to have joined the *Samnites*. After this the two *Conſular* armies continued five months in *Samnium*, and made incredible devaſtations; *Decius* changing his camp forty five times, and *Fabius* his, eighty ſix for that purpoſe.

CHAP. XXI.

§. I. Appius Claudius, *who two years before had made a fruitleſs attempt to exclude the* Plebeians *from the* Conſulate, *endeavours now with the ſame view to get the* Conſular Faſces *for* Fabius *and himſelf.* Fabius *being preſident in the* Comitia, *oppoſes his own re-election*; *whereupon* Volumnius Flamma, *a* Plebeian, *is joined with* Appius *in the* Conſulſhip.

ſhip. Fabius *and* Decius (*in quality of* Proconſuls) *are continued in the command of their reſpective armies for ſix months longer.* Fabius *hinders the* Lucanians *from joining the* Samnites. Decius *gains great advantages over the latter, to compleat whoſe deſtruction* Volumnius *marches a new army into* Samnium. §. II. *But he ſoon after leaves that country to go to the aſſiſtance of his Collegue* Appius, *much embarraſſed with a war againſt the* Hetrurians, *ſtrengthened by a body of* Samnites *and another of* Gauls. Appius *pretends to be diſpleaſed with his arrival, upon which* Decius *offers to lead back his army into* Samnium: *But the troops of* Appius *oppoſe this motion. The united armies of the two* Conſuls *come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them.* §. III. *After this* Volumnius *returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the* Samnites, *who* (*after* Fabius *and* Decius, *whoſe Proconſulate was expired, had returned to* Rome) *had made an incurſion into* Campania.

§. I. THE campaign being ended, and the time for holding the *Comitia* approaching, *Fabius* was recalled to preſide there. And now *Appius Claudius* once more formed a ſcheme to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Conſulate*; and it was not ill contrived. Having by intrigue, before the meeting of the *Centuries*, ſecured his own election beyond a poſſibility of failing, he took advantage of the great eſteem the public had of *Fabius*, to engage the *Romans* to continue him in his office for the enſuing year. The *Patricians* came eaſily into the project; and accordingly, when the *Comitia* met, the firſt *Centuries*, conſiſting chiefly of the Nobility, gave their voices for him; but *Fabius* himſelf oppoſed the proceeding, and, notwithſtanding all the *Patricians* could urge to perſuade him, declared, that he would never give the Republic ſo pernicious a precedent, as to ſuffer himſelf to be elected *contrary to Law*, in the *Comitia* where he himſelf preſided; and then *Volumnius Flamma*, a *Plebeian*, was choſen Collegue to *Appius*. Y. of *R.* 457. Bef. *J. C.* 295. 156 Conſul-p.

The *Patricians* were much diſſatisfied with the behaviour of *Fabius*: they looked upon his refuſal of the *Conſulſhip*, as betraying the intereſts of his Order; nor did they ſcruple publicly to impute it to his fear of being ſurpaſs'd in eloquence and political ſkill by the expert *Appius*. However, he and his Collegue *Decius* were appointed to continue the war in *Samnium*, in quality of *Proconſuls*, for ſix months; ſo that the Republic had very ſoon four armies on foot under four Generals. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 16.

Fabius, ſoon after his return into *Samnium*, was obliged to lead his army againſt the *Lucanians*, who had lately roſe up in arms; and he ſpent his *Proconſulate* in keeping them in awe, and hindering them from joining the *Samnites*. In the mean time *Decius* puſh'd the *Samnites* to the laſt extremity, drove their army even out of *Samnium*, and then laid ſiege to their Towns. When he had taken and ſack'd *Murgantia*, he perſuaded the ſoldiers to ſell their booty for money, that they might not be incumber'd with it in their future expeditions. After this, *Romulea* and *Ferentinum* were both taken by aſſault; and, to compleat the deſtruction of

Samnium,

Y. of *R.* 457. Bef *J.C.* 295. 156 Conſul-p.

Samnium, a new army of two *Legions* and fifteen hundred auxiliaries advanced thither under the command of the *Conſul Volumnius*.

§. II. THE war with the *Hetrurians* had fallen by lot to *Appius*. The ſtorm was now gather'd on that ſide. For the *Samnites*, who had been driven out of their own country by *Decius*, had taken refuge in *Hetruria*, and there, in a Diet held at their requeſt, had preſs'd the Chiefs of the *Lucumonies* to exert their utmoſt ſtrength againſt the *Romans*, offering to ſerve under them at their own expence, and to follow them even to the foot of the *Capitol*. The *Hetrurians*, pleaſed with this propoſal, had raiſed a formidable army, which was ſtrengthened with ſome Troops of the *Gauls*, whom they had engaged by the force of money to join them. Upon the news of ſo powerful a confederacy formed againſt the Republic, the *Romans* diſpatched away *Appius* at the head of two *Legions* and twelve thouſand auxiliaries; but it was rather to keep the enemy within bounds, than in expectation of any notable advantage from the conduct of their *Conſul*. And indeed he was always worſted, for want of military ſkill, in every ſkirmiſh and ſlight action in which he ventured to engage; inſomuch that the ſoldiers had no longer any confidence in their General, and the General became diſtruſtful of his ſoldiers. In this extremity he is ſaid (for the thing is not certain) to have written to his Collegue to leave *Samnium*, and haſten to his aſſiſtance. *Volumnius* came with all expedition, and the troops of *Appius* were overjoyed at his arrival. But *Appius* himſelf ſeemed ſurpriſed at it, diſown'd the letter, and reproached his Collegue with acting diſhonourably, in quitting the province aſſigned him, in order to gain the credit of giving aſſiſtance to others who did not want it. *Volumnius* upon this would have immediately returned to *Samnium*, if the officers of both armies had not entreated him to have no regard to the unaccountable behaviour of *Appius*, but to conſider the intereſt of the Republic, which required his preſence in *Hetruria*. *We are juſt ready to give battle, and ſhould matters go ill with us for want of your aſſiſtance, will it be enquired whether* Appius *treated you with arrogance, or not? No, the* Roman *People will conſider only the ill ſucceſs of the battle, and impute it to your too haſty reſentments.* The Officers, while they remonſtrated theſe things, inſenſibly led both the *Conſuls* to that part of the camp where the ſoldiers were wont to meet when the General was to harangue them; and where they were actually aſſembled. There the two Collegues in longer diſcourſes, than before in their more private converſation, made their complaints of each other; and as *Volumnius* had the better cauſe, he ſurpaſſed himſelf on this occaſion in ſpeaking, for he was naturally no Orator. Upon which *Appius* could not forbear rallying: ROMANS, ſaid he, *you are much obliged to me, I have made a dumb* CONSUL *ſpeak.* Volumnius, *I remember, the firſt time we were joined together in the* Conſulate, *ſcarce opened his mouth for ſome months; he had then no tongue; and now, you ſee, he is grown even eloquent, a perfect Maſter of Oratory. I ſhould have been better pleaſed,* replied *Volumnius, if inſtead of your teaching me how to talk, I had taught you how to fight. The ſervice of*

Ex tribus annalibus citatis apud Livium, B. 10. ch. 18.

In the year 446.

the Republic requires at preſent an able General, more than a fine Speaker; *and if you have a mind to know which of us underſtands better the conduct of an army*, that *may ſoon be decided. There are two provinces*, Samnium *and* Hetruria; *make your choice, I am ready to undertake the war in either of them.* At theſe words the ſoldiers cried out, that they ſhould both in conjunction carry on the war in *Hetruria. Volumnius* anſwer'd, *Since I have already made one miſtake, and have miſinterpreted the intention of my Collegue, I ſhould be ſorry to fall into another by miſunderſtanding your inclinations. So put the matter therefore out of all doubt: If you would have me ſtay here, ſignify it by an acclamation.* Inſtantly the army gave a general ſhout, which was heard in the camp of the enemy, who immediately took the alarm, and drew up in order of battle. *Volumnius* without delay marched out to meet them; *Appius* is ſaid to have heſitated a while, undetermined whether he ſhould fight or not, till he found that his Troops were diſpoſed to follow his Collegue, in defiance of the orders of their own General. But then an emulation for glory, and the ſhame of being obſcured by a rival, rouzed him to ſuch a degree, that he exerted himſelf beyond what could have been expected. He performed the part of an able and brave Commander, having firſt made a vow to *Bellona* to build her a Temple, in caſe he proved victorious. The united *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* were entirely defeated, and their camp taken and plunder'd.

Y. of *R.* 457. Bef. *J.C.* 295. 156 Conſul-p.

§. III. THIS victory put an end to the miſunderſtanding between the two *Conſuls*, and they agreed to act jointly againſt *Hetruria.* But *Volumnius*, by an unexpected event, was called back into his own province. The *Samnites*, tho' ſo much exhauſted, had raiſed new levies, ſpread themſelves over *Campania*, and ravaged it; which obliged *Volumnius* (the *Proconſulate* of *Fabius* and *Decius* being expired) to haſten to the aſſiſtance of the *Campanians.* When he came to the foot of Mount *Maſſicus*, in the diſtrict of *Calé*, he learnt that the intention of the enemy (who were encamped near the *Vulturnus*) was to break up their camp about midnight, march home, diſburthen themſelves of their booty, and then return to make freſh devaſtations. *Volumnius* purſued them with ſo much expedition, that he ſurprized them when they were unprepared for battle, ſlew ſix thouſand of them, and recovered all the ſpoil they had taken. This ſucceſs quieted the minds of the People at *Rome*, who had been much alarmed at the laſt enterprize of the *Samnites*; and they now took into conſideration the proper means to ſecure *Campania* from the like incurſions for the future It was judged proper to ſettle two *Colonies*, one at the mouth of the *Liris*, called the *Colony* of *Minturnæ*, the other at *Sinueſſa.* However, the execution of this deſign was for the preſent ſuſpended, on account of matters of greater importance, to which the Republic was obliged to attend.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

§. I. *The Republic being alarmed by accounts from* Appius, *of extraordinary preparations for war by the* Hetrurians *and their allies, (the* Umbrians, Gauls, *and* Samnites) *elect* Fabius (the 5th time) *to the Conſulate, and at his requeſt the* Comitia *grant him* Decius *again for a Collegue, tho' the firſt* Centuries *have already voted for* Volumnius. Volumnius *himſelf approves of the requeſt.* §. II. *A rivalſhip happens at this time between the* Patrician *and* Plebeian *Ladies for the reputation of ſtrict Chaſtity.* §. III. *When the time comes for the* Conſuls *to take the field, the Senate decree the conduct of the war againſt the* Hetrurians *to* Fabius. Decius *(to comply with the humour of his party, the* Plebeians) *refuſes to yield that command to his* Patrician *Collegue, unleſs it fall to him by lot; and he appeals from the Senate's decree to the People. The People having heard the pleas of the two competitors, and conſider'd the preſent exigence, determine in favour of* Fabius *as the greater General.* §. IV. Fabius, *in his way to the camp being informed that* Appius *has fortified it in ſuch an extraordinary a manner as betrays fear, ſends orders before him immediately to level the fortifications: and after his arrival, inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within Lines, he keeps them in conſtant motion by frequent marches and counter-marches. Before he enters upon action, he returns to* Rome, *but for what reaſon is uncertain. The Senate, that he may be able to cope with the enemy, judging it neceſſary to ſtrengthen him by a ſecond army,* Fabius *deſires that his Collegue* Decius *may be the General to command it; which requeſt is granted. The* Conſuls *having ſent* Volumnius *with an army into* Samnium, *and leaving two other armies encamped near the city to cover it on the ſide of* Hetruria, *take the field. The forces of the enemy are divided into two bodies, which encamp ſeparately. One conſiſt of* Samnites *(who had been driven out of their own country) and* Gauls, *the other of* Hetrurians *and* Umbrians. Fabius *ordering the two armies he had left near* Rome *to go and ravage a part of* Hetruria, *the* Hetrurians *and* Umbrians *march away to defend it, and in their abſence the* Conſuls *come to a battle with the united* Gauls *and* Samnites. *The left wing of the* Romans, *which* Decius *commands, being terrified and broken by the armed Chariots uſed by the* Gauls, *he, to recover the courage of his men,* devotes *himſelf to death in the ſame manner his father had done on the like occaſion. After this* Fabius *obtains a compleat victory.* §. V. *Before the end of the year the* Samnites *raiſe two new armies, which are routed by the forces of* Appius, *now* Prætor *of* Rome, *and the* Proconſul Volumnius. Rome *is afflicted by a Plague, and terrified by Prodigies.*

§. I. CERTAIN advice was brought to *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* had concluded a freſh treaty with the *Samnites*, *Umbrians* and *Gauls*; and that the armies of the four nations were already aſſembled in two camps in *Hetruria*, where there was only *Appius* with his troops to make head againſt them. The *Comitia*

for the new elections being soon after held, *Volumnius* (who had been re- Y. of *R.* 457.
called from *Samnium* to preside in them) before he took the suffrages of Bef. *J. C.* 295.
the *Centuries*, put the assembly in mind, that they were that day to elect 156 Consul-p.
two *Consuls* who would have four nations to contend with; he added, that he doubted not but, in so perillous a season, they would choose the ablest General in the Commonwealth to the *Consulate*, otherwise he would have named a *Dictator*. At these words all eyes were immediately turn'd again upon *Fabius*. But when the first *Centuries* had voted for him and for *Volumnius*, he started difficulties, as formerly, and excused himself on account of his age. However, he at length signified his consent, provided he might again have *Decius* for his Collegue. *He will be a support to my old age. One Censorship and two Consulates, in which* Decius *and I have been already Collegues, made me know what a happiness it is to the Commonwealth to have her Magistrates live in concord. It is hard for an old man to suit himself to a new Partner in Power. 'Twill be much easier to communicate my thoughts freely to a friend with whom I am thoroughly acquainted. Volumnius* approved of *Fabius*'s request, and made a fine encomium upon *Decius*, insisting much *on the great advantages which would flow from the harmony between two Generals in such strict friendship.* The day being spent in these harangues, the elections were put off to the next, and then *Fabius* * and *Decius* † (tho' the latter was absent from the * 5th time.
assembly) were declared *Consuls*; *Appius* was chosen *Prætor*, and *Volum-* † 4th time.
nius was continued in the command of the army in *Samnium*, with the title of *Proconsul*.

§. II. IN this crisis of an approaching terrible war, the People being *Livy*, B. 10.
very superstitious multiplied their public acts of Devotion; and these ch. 23.
gave rise to a quarrel among the *Roman* Ladies. In the Ox-market was a Temple built to the honour of *Patrician* Chastity; and none of the wives of *Plebeians*, how illustrious soever their husbands might be, were ever admitted into it. However, *Aula Virginia* being herself nobly descended, and being the wife of the *Plebeian Consul Volumnius*, claimed a right of assisting at the ceremonies with the *Patrician* Ladies. And when the latter opposed her pretensions, *What!* said she, *is my virtue* * *suspected? Was I meanly born? Or have I married two husbands?* (Second marriages were at this time so great a blemish on the *Roman* women, that it excluded them the Temple of *Chastity*.) But all that *Virginia* could say was to no purpose. She was absolutely refused admittance into the sanctuary. Upon this she formed the resolution of having a Temple dedicated to *Plebeian* Chastity: She divided a part of her own house from the rest, caused an altar to be erected and consecrated in it, and having there assembled the *Plebeian* women of the greatest distinction, complained to them of the pride of the *Patrician* Dames, told them her design, and press'd them to an emulation with those haughty Ladies in the point of Modesty and Virtue. The scheme was readily approved, Ceremonies were instituted and observed, much like those practised in the other Temple; and this fervour continued for some time: But at length women of

* *Pudicitia.*

Y. of *R.* 458. Bef. *J. C.* 294. 157 Conſul-p.

little merit and doubtful characters being admitted into the aſſembly, it ſunk into diſgrace, and no more mention was made of *Plebeian* chaſtity.

§. III. WHEN the time came for *Fabius* and *Decius* to enter upon office, it was natural to ſuppoſe that the latter would be induced by gratitude, as well as by the age and ſuperior merit of his Collegue, to compliment him with the command of the army in *Hetruria*, without drawing lots. But as the *Patricians* made it a point of honour not to permit any other than *Fabius* to have the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, the *Plebeians*, on the other hand, would not ſuffer *Fabius* to have it, unleſs it fell to him by lot, leſt the *Patrician Conſuls* ſhould for the future claim a right of chooſing their provinces; and the pacific-minded *Decius* was compelled to go with the ſtream of his party. The queſtion being carried againſt him in the Senate, he appealed to the People in *Comitia*. There the two competitors pleaded each his own cauſe in few words, and more in the language of Soldiers than of Orators. *What!* ſaid *Fabius*, *I have planted a tree, and ſhall another gather the fruits of it? It was I who firſt opened a way into* Hetruria *thro' the* Ciminian *Foreſt, till then deemed impracticable. To what purpoſe did the People force me, at my age, to put my ſelf at the helm of affairs, if they intended to give the conduct of the war to another?* After this he fell by degrees to complain of the choice he had made of a Collegue, who ſeemed rather to be an adverſary than a friend, and to repent of the concord in which they had lived together during three partnerſhips in office. And he concluded with aſſuring the aſſembly, that, notwithſtanding any thing he had ſaid, he pretended to no other right to command in the preſent war, than what their opinion of his abilities ſhould give him; and that as he had ſubmitted his cauſe to the determination of the Senate, he was equally ready to abide by the deciſion of the People.

Livy, B. 10. ch. 24.

Decius began his harangue with complaining of the partiality of the Senate, who, he ſaid, envied the *Plebeians* every degree of honour; he then pleaded the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the *Conſuls* drawing lots for their provinces, after which he thus proceeded: *Did the queſtion relate only to the honouring of* Fabius, *He has ſo well deſerved of the public, and I in particular am ſo extremely obliged to him, that I ſhould never be backward to contribute to his glory, if I could do it without ſhame and diſgrace to my ſelf. But who is there but muſt ſee, that if, in the caſe of a dangerous war, the conduct of it be given to one of the Conſuls without drawing lots, the other muſt be deemed inſufficient, uſeleſs, and ſupernumerary?* Fabius *boaſts of his exploits in* Hetruria, *and* Decius *is ambitious of being able to boaſt of the like exploits; and perhaps it may be his fortune to extinguiſh that fire which* Fabius *only cover'd, and which has often ſince broke out afreſh. As for Honours and Rewards, I ſhall be ever ready to yield them to my Collegue, out of reſpect to his Age and Dignity; but when the queſtion is of Difficulties and Dangers, I can never willingly yield theſe either to him or to any other.* When *Decius* had ended, *Fabius* made only this ſhort reply: *I deſire*, Romans, *that before you decide on the preſent diſpute, you will hear*

hear Appius's *letters read.* This ſaid, he left the aſſembly. *Appius*, in his letters, had painted the dangers with which the Republic was threaten'd in very lively colours; and there needed no more to induce the *Comitia* to have recourſe to the ſureſt remedy. The People inſtantly and unanimouſly determined that the conduct of the war in *Hetruria* ſhould be committed to *Fabius*. Y. of *R.* 458. Bef. *J. C.* 294. 157 Conſul-p.

§. IV. AND now all the *Roman* youth were eager to ſerve under the command of ſo able a General. But he, either to diſpel the public fears by a ſhew of confidence, or to prevent any aſſociates being joined with him, declared, that he would take no ſtronger a reinforcement to the army, than four thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe. With theſe he marched towards the camp, which the fearful *Appius* was ſtill ſtrengthening with new fortifications. Not far from it he met a detachment, ſent to cut wood in a neighbouring foreſt. *Whither are you going, ſoldiers?* ſaid *Fabius*. They anſwer'd, *To a foreſt, to cut wood to fortify the camp. What!* cried the General, *is it not already fortified? Doubtleſs it is*, return'd the Soldiers; *and we are ſurrounded by a double ditch and a double rampart, yet we are ſtill afraid. You have wood enough*, ſaid *Fabius*; *return to the camp and level the rampart.* The detachment immediately returned, and put the *Conſul*'s orders in execution, which much alarmed both the Army and its General, till the workmen inform'd them, that what they were doing was by the command of *Fabius*, who would ſoon be in the camp. *Fabius* arrived the ſame day; and the next *Appius* ſet out for *Rome* to take poſſeſſion of the *Prætorſhip*, to which he had been choſen, as an employment better ſuited to his talents and capacity, than the command of an army. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 25.

Fabius obſerved a quite different conduct from that of his predeceſſor. Inſtead of ſhutting up his ſoldiers within fortifications, he kept them in continual motion. He ſaid, nothing was more healthful for ſoldiers than a frequent change of place, and to march from one country to another; and indeed he obliged them often to make as long marches as was poſſible at that time of the year, for the winter was not yet over; and by this means he gave his troops an air of confidence.

But before the ſeaſon permitted him to enter upon action, he went back to *Rome*, either of his own motion, or by invitation of the Senate. (Some authors ſay, that *Appius* at his return had made a dreadful repreſentation of the forces of the enemy, and had urged the neceſſity of ſending either *Decius* or *Volumnius* with a ſecond army to his aſſiſtance; and they add, that *Decius* had upon this occaſion declared it to be his opinion, that *Fabius* ought to be left at full liberty to determine concerning the wants of his army, and the intereſt of the Republic; and had moved, that he might be ſent for to *Rome*, to give his judgment of the ſtate of affairs.) When *Fabius* arrived, he gave ſuch an account of things to the Senate and People, as neither to encreaſe the apprehenſions of the Republic, nor to let her ſleep in ſecurity. As to another General's being joined with him, he ſaid, he ſhould acquieſce in it, on account of the fears of others, not his

Y. of *R.* 458. Bef *J.C.* 294. 157 Conſul-p.

own, nor becauſe he thought the Republic to be in any danger; but then he deſired that *Decius* might be the perſon. *How is it poſſible*, ſaid he, *that I ſhould forget the good intelligence in which we formerly lived? There is no man that I can prefer before him. With him I ſhall never want forces, nor have too many enemies to deal with. But if my Collegue has other views, and cares not to act in conjunction with me, I am willing that* Volumnius *be ſent in his ſtead.* The Senate, the People, and *Decius* himſelf left the matter wholly to the determination of *Fabius*. *Decius* declared, that he was ready to go either to *Samnium* or *Hetruria*, as his Collegue judged beſt; a declaration ſo pleaſing to the aſſembly, and which ſpread ſuch a joy among them, that they congratulated one another as if victory had been already gained, and they were decreeing their Generals a Triumph, not the conduct of a war.

Before the *Conſuls* left *Rome*, they ſent away the *Proconſul Volumnius* into *Samnium*, and, in order to cover the city on the ſide of *Hetruria*, directed two camps to be pitched, one on the hill *Vaticanus*, cloſe by the *Janiculum*, the other in the country of the *Faliſci*. After theſe regulations they ſet out for *Hetruria*, and upon the road received the news of the total defeat of a *Legion* which *Fabius* had left under the command of *Scipio*, near old *Cluſium*. A numerous body of thoſe *Gauls* called *Senones* had ſurrounded the *Romans*, and cut them all off. However, the *Conſuls* were not diſcouraged by this accident. Their army conſiſted of four *Legions*, a good number of *Roman Knights*, a thouſand *Campanian* Horſe, and a body of auxiliaries, more numerous than the forces of the *Romans*. They divided it into two parts, and encamped ſeparately, but not far from each other, in the plain of *Sentinum*, about four miles from the enemy. It is ſaid, that the army of the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, who encamped together, conſiſted of a hundred and forty three thouſand three hundred and thirty Foot, and forty ſix thouſand Horſe. What the number was of the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* (who jointly made another camp) is not told. It was agreed among theſe Confederates, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only ſhould engage the *Romans* in the field, whilſt the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* attack'd their two camps. *Fabius* had notice, by deſerters, of this deſign; and in order to diſconcert it, and make a diverſion, he ſent directions to the *Proprætors*, *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, who were encamp'd near *Rome*, to march their two armies into *Hetruria*, and ravage it. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect. The *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* haſten'd to the relief of the poor People, whoſe houſes were plunder'd and lands laid waſte; and, during their abſence, the *Conſuls* brought the *Gauls* and *Samnites* to a battle. This is the firſt time that we read of arm'd Chariots uſed in the wars of *Italy*. The *Gauls* ſurprized the *Romans*, ſoon after the action began, with this new way of fighting. Not only the *Roman* Cavalry, but the Infantry too of the left wing, which *Decius* commanded, was diſorder'd and entirely broken by them; nor could he by his utmoſt efforts engage his terrified ſoldiers to rally. In this extremity he remember'd the example of his father, and in the very ſame manner devoted

devoted himſelf to the *Dii Manes* to ſave his army. Aſſiſted by *M. Livius* the *Pontifex*, he performed the ſame ceremonies, pronounced the ſame form of words, and ruſh'd unarm'd among the enemy. The loſs of the General uſually occaſions the defeat of his Troops; but ſuch was the ſuperſtition of the *Romans*, that the death of their General, in this way of ſacrifice, gave them new courage. The *Pontifex*, who was himſelf a brave ſoldier, took advantage of their prejudices, put himſelf at their head, and eaſily brought them to renew the attack, in which they were ſeconded by ſome troops, ſent by *Fabius* from the rear, under the command of his two Lieutenants. The fortune of the day quickly changed in favour of the *Romans* in the left wing. Y. of *R.* 458. Bef. *J. C.* 294. 157 Conſul. p.

In the mean time *Fabius*, who had hitherto done little more than act upon the defenſive, artfully managing his troops till the firſt fury of the *Samnites* was abated, now order'd his Cavalry to wheel about, flank the wings of the enemy, and be ready to charge upon a ſignal given. He then began to preſs upon the enemy in front; and as ſoon as he perceiv'd that their ſtrength was greatly exhauſted, he made Horſe and Foot, troops of Reſerve, all charge at once; nor could the *Samnites* ſuſtain the ſhock; they fled to their camp, leaving the *Gauls* by themſelves to make good the fight.

To break the *Gauls*, who yet kept their ground, *Fabius* detached a body of five hundred *Campanian* Horſe to fetch a compaſs, and fall upon their rear, commanding the *Principes* of the ſecond *Legion* to follow this detachment of Horſe, and wherever they ſhould ſee the enemy's ranks broken by them, to preſs on, and hinder the *Gauls* from rallying. This motion ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Gauls* were at length defeated.

In the mean time *Fabius* forced the camp of the *Samnites*, and made a terrible ſlaughter there. Twenty five thouſand of the enemy were killed in the action of this day, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Among the former was *Gellius Egnatius*, an eminent *Samnite* Commander, who by his negotiations had brought about the formidable alliance of the four nations. The *Romans* loſt of the left wing ſeven thouſand men, and one thouſand two hundred in the right. The *Conſul*'s firſt care, after the victory, was to perform a promiſe he had made in the heat of the battle, to burn the ſpoils of the enemy in honour to *Jupiter the Conqueror*. He then cauſed ſearch to be made for the body of *Decius*, which being hidden under heaps of the ſlain, could not be diſcover'd that day, but the day following it was found; and then *Fabius* performed honourable Obſequies for him, and ſpoke his Funeral Oration.

As for the *Proprætors*, *Fulvius* and *Poſthumius*, they gained great advantages in *Hetruria*; and the *Proconſul Volumnius* obtained a conſiderable victory over the *Samnites* at the foot of mount *Tifernus*. But notwithſtanding all theſe victories, neither *Samnites* nor *Hetrurians* were yet brought into ſubjection. The latter took courage, and aſſembled freſh forces as ſoon as *Fabius* left the country, ſo that he was obliged to lead his *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 30.

Y. of *R.* 458. Bef. *J.C.* 294. his army thither again. A new victory obtained over them was the laſt of this Hero's exploits, in the ſtation of Chief Commander.

157 Conſul-p. *Macrob.* Sat. B. 2. & *Juv.* Sat. 6. *Fabius* had a ſon whoſe ſurname was *Gurges*, or *The Gulph*, an appellation given him on account of his exceſſive intemperance in his youth. This man afterwards corrected his way of living, and though he never equalled his father in any kind of merit, became worthy of Public Offices. He was now *Curule Ædile*, and, in order to wipe off the ſhame of his paſt exceſſes, turned a zealous reformer of manners. He brought before the Tribunal of the People accuſations of Adultery againſt great numbers of women of diſtinction, who being convicted, were condemned to pecuniary fines. The money ariſing from theſe fines was conſecrated to the building of a Temple to *Venus* near the great *Circus*.

§. V. BEFORE the end of this year the *Samnites* brought two new armies into the field in different places, and even acted on the offenſive. Upon which *Appius* the *Prætor* was diſpatched from *Rome* to put himſelf at the head of thoſe troops which *Decius* had commanded, and was ordered to go to the aſſiſtance of the *Proconſul Volumnius*. Theſe two Generals having united their forces, defeated the enemy (whom they had conſtrained to join theirs) in a pitch'd battle fought in the *Campi Stellates* in *Campania*. The *Samnites* loſt ſixteen thouſand three hundred men.

Rome had never before made war in ſo many places at the ſame time with more ſucceſs. But, in the midſt of her rejoicings for ſuch ſignal victories, ſhe was viſited with a dreadful Plague. It was a melancholy contraſt, as *Oroſius* obſerves, to behold the Triumphal Proceſſion of *Fabius* often interrupted by Funerals; and the applauſes of the People by the lamentations of thoſe who bewailed the dead, or the dying.

Oroſ. B. 3. ch. 21.

Prodigies were never in greater plenty than this year. It was ſaid, that in three days there flowed ſucceſſively, from the altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, three different liquors; the firſt day it was blood, the ſecond honey, and the third milk; and in divers places it was reported to have rained earth. The *Augurs* and *Sybilline* Books were conſulted upon theſe imaginary prognoſtics, and the joy for paſt victories was much damped by the preſent calamity, and by the apprehenſion of impending evils.

Zonaras, B. 8. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 31.

CHAP. XXIII.

§. I. L. Poſthumius *(the 2d time) and* M. Atilius Regulus *are choſen* Conſuls. Poſthumius *falling ſick, the war is carried on againſt the* Samnites *by* Atilius *at the head of only one Conſular army. The* Samnites *have the advantage in this campaign, till* Poſthumius, *being recovered, brings a ſecond* Roman *army into the field; they then retire, and leave their country open to be pillaged. While* Poſthumius *is employed in taking ſome of their Towns,* Atilius *marches to the relief of* Luceria, *(in* Apulia) *beſieged (as he was told) by the* Samnites. *He meets the enemy in his way, and comes to a battle with them, the ſucceſs of which is ſuch, that neither army cares to try a ſecond engagement. Their ſituation however forces*

them to it; and then Atilius, *by ſingular bravery and ſkill, obtains the victory.* §. II. *In the mean time* Poſthumius, without orders from the Senate, *leaves* Samnium *and marches into* Hetruria, *where he reduces three of the* Lucumonies *to ſue for peace. Nevertheleſs the* Fathers, *at his return to* Rome, *refuſe him a Triumph, becauſe of his irregular proceedings. He obtains it however by the favour of the People.* §. III. *In the new Conſulate of* L. Papirius Curſor *(ſon of the famous* Papirius) *and* Sp. Carvilius *the* Samnite *war is continued. The* Samnites *make* 16000 *of their ſoldiers bind themſelves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. Their whole army conſiſts of* 36000. *While* Carvilius *lays ſiege to* Cominium *in the eaſtern extremity of* Samnium, Papirius *leads his forces againſt the formidable army of the enemy, encamped near* Aquilonia *in* Hirpinia. *He gains the victory by the new ſtratagem of making the Muleteers and other ſervants of his army (whom he mounted upon Mules, and ſent to ſome diſtance) appear in the heat of the action like a new army come to his aſſiſtance.* §. IV. Carvilius *takes* Cominium; *after which the two* Conſuls *join their forces to compleat the deſtruction of the* Samnites. *But the war breaking out afreſh in* Hetruria, Carvilius *repairs with his army into that country, and reduces the enemy to buy a truce for a year. Both the Conſuls have Triumphs. In this year a Sun-dial is the firſt time ſeen at* Rome. §. V. *A new regulation is made at* Rome *relating to the Guardianſhip of Orphans, and another relating to the Public Games.*

§. I. THE Republic had now been forty eight years in war with the *Samnites*, almoſt without interruption; and tho' the latter had been ſo often vanquiſh'd, and had loſt four battles in the ſpace of one year, yet they were not ſo far diſcouraged, as to quit the hopes of being one day able to conquer. They made great preparations to take the field once more, inſomuch that the Senate thought it neceſſary to ſend both the new *Conſuls*, *L. Poſthumius* Megellus* and *M. Atilius Regulus*, againſt them. But *Poſthumius* falling ſick, *Atilius* was diſpatch'd away without him, to attack the enemy before they could get out of *Samnium*. The two armies met juſt upon the confines of *Campania*; and here the *Conſul* was no ſooner encamp'd, than the *Samnites* formed the bold deſign of forcing his lines. By the help of a very thick fog they approached the *Roman* camp, ſurpriſed the advanced guards, made themſelves maſters of the *Decuman* gate, and penetrated as far as to the *Quæſtor*'s tent, where the Military Cheſt was kept. The alarm reaching to the General's quarters, he awaked, put himſelf at the head of ſome *Manipuli*, and, in ſhort, repulſed the enemy, but durſt not purſue them for fear of an ambuſcade. Tho' this enterprize of the *Samnites* did not prove ſucceſsful, yet the courage with which they had felt themſelves animated to make the attempt gave them new confidence; and they kept the *Romans* ſo cloſely ſhut up, that they could not enter *Samnium*, to live upon free quarter there.

Y. of *R.* 459. Bef. *J. C.* 293. 158 Conſul. p. * A 2d time.

The

Y. of *R.* 459. Bef. *J.C.* 293. 158 Conſul-p. The diſadvantageous ſituation of *Atilius*'s army alarmed the Senate and People at *Rome*; ſo that *Poſthumius*, tho' not perfectly recover'd, thought himſelf obliged to ſet out for *Samnium* with the two *Legions* allotted him. Upon his arrival the *Samnites*, being in no condition to make head againſt two *Conſular* armies, decamp'd in haſte, and left their country open to be pillaged. *Poſthumius* applied himſelf to the beſieging of Towns, and took *Milionia* and *Triventum*; the latter without fighting.

Atilius met with more difficulties and danger in his expeditions. Having received intelligence that the *Samnites* were beſieging *Luceria*, in *Apulia*, he haſtened to its relief, but found the enemy in his way. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Romans* ſuffer'd moſt; and this misfortune ſo mightily dejected them, that they paſs'd the night in great uneaſineſs, expecting every moment to ſee the enemy approach to force their lines. But it happen'd on the other hand, that the *Samnites* were no leſs terrified, and thought only of returning home. The difficulty was how to put their deſign in execution, becauſe the place where they were poſted was a kind of defile and much confined, and the *Romans* were between them and *Samnium*. They reſolv'd at length to go directly towards the *Roman* camp, endeavour to march along by the ſide of it, and make the plain. The *Conſul* imagining that the enemy was come to attack him, gave orders to his *Legions* to prepare for battle, and to follow him out of the camp. But though the Officers were ready enough to obey him, the Soldiers were ſo fatigued and intimidated, that he could not, even by ſoft words, prevail with them to ſtir. In the mean time the *Samnites* drew near, and the *Roman* Soldiers pretended to diſcern, that they were loaded with ſtakes, as if they meant to form a Paliſade round the camp. The *Conſul* hereupon expoſtulated with his men on the diſgrace of ſuffering themſelves to be ſhut up in their camp to ſtarve there; and ſhame at length made them march out, tho' very ſlowly and unwillingly. This motion of the *Romans* was a diſappointment to the *Samnites*, for they had hoped to avoid a battle; however, when they found it neceſſary to fight, they prepared for it; and thus two coward armies were brought to an engagement entirely againſt their inclinations. The *Romans* gave ground, and would have fled into their entrenchments; but *Atilius* ordering ſome troops of Horſe to the rear of his Infantry, with directions to kill every *Roman* who ſhould attempt to enter the camp, the run-aways were hereby brought to rally and renew the fight. The victory at length fell to the *Romans*, after they had loſt 7300 men. *Atilius* ſoon after, in his march homeward, met with a body of *Samnites*, who having made an incurſion into the country of the *Volſci*, and brought thence a conſiderable booty and many *Roman* priſoners, were marching home in great diſorder; he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and releaſed the captives. After this he return'd to *Rome*, to preſide at the new elections.

§. II. IN

§. II. IN the mean time *Poſthumius* having taken *Milionia* and *Triventum*, and being weary of making war in a ruin'd country, where little was to be got, march'd into *Hetruria*, without any orders from the Senate. There he defeated the *Hetrurians*, took *Ruſſellæ* by aſſault, and reduced the *Lucumonies* of *Volſinii*, *Peruſias*, and *Aretium* to ſue for peace. The Senate granted them a Truce for forty years, on condition of paying each 500,000 pounds of braſs into the treaſury of the Republic. *Poſthumius*, upon the merit of theſe exploits, ventured to demand a Triumph of the Senate; not that he expected the Senators would grant it, but becauſe it was the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions to make the firſt application to them. The Fathers did not fail to refuſe his requeſt on account of the irregularity of his proceedings, in leaving the province aſſign'd him without orders. Being himſelf preſent when the queſtion was carried againſt him, he made no ſcruple to tell the Senators, that his reſpect for their authority ſhould not make him forget that he was *Conſul*; and that he *wou'd* triumph. Accordingly he preſented his petition to the *Comitia*, and though ſeven of the *Tribunes* oppoſed it, the People decreed him a Triumph for his victories over the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*. A new *Cenſus*, the thirtieth from its inſtitution, being now taken of the People, the number of *Roman* Citizens, fit to bear arms, appear'd to be two hundred and ſeventy thouſand. A new liſt of Senators was likewiſe made at this time by the *Cenſors*, and the great Q. *Fabius Rullianus* was in his old age choſen *Prince of the Senate*.

Y. of *R.* 459. Bef. *J. C.* 293. 158 Conſul-p.

Euſeb. in Chron.

§. III. IT is ſurpriſing, that *Samnium* ſhould be again the ſeat of the war; but thither it was that the two new *Conſuls*, *L. Papirius Curſor* (ſon of the famous hero of that name, who was *Conſul* five times) and *Sp. Carvilius* were order'd to march. *Atilius* the late *Conſul* was made *Prætor*. As for his Collegue *Poſthumius*, a *Tribune of the People* having cited him to anſwer before the *Tribes*, for having left his province without orders, he, to avoid a trial, got *Carvilius* to appoint him one of his Lieutenants.

Y. of *R.* 460. Bef. *J. C.* 292. 159 Conſul-p.

In the mean time the *Samnites*, to make another vigorous effort, publiſhed an edict, requiring all, who were of an age to bear arms, to appear in the field upon the firſt ſummons of their General, on pain of having their heads devoted to *Jupiter*, in caſe of diſobedience. (*i. e.* It ſhould be lawful for any one to kill them wherever they ſhould be found.) The place of rendezvous was in the neighbourhood of *Aquilonia*, a city of *Hirpinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. Having by this means raiſed a numerous army, the next thing was to inſpire the troops with courage. And in order thereto, they had recourſe to a bloody ſuperſtition. They erected a kind of booth, 200 foot ſquare, cover'd on the top with linnen cloth, and ſo cloſe on all ſides, that nothing of what paſs'd within could be ſeen by thoſe without. Here an altar was raiſed, and many victims ſlain; and then the principal Officers, and the flower of the Nobility, were introduced one by one into it by the General. As ſoon as they were enter'd, an oath of ſecreſy was adminiſtred to them; after which they

Livy, B. 10. ch. 38.

Y. of *R.* 460. Bef. *J. C.* 292. 159 Conſul-p.

were directed to pronounce the following imprecation: *May all the curſes of the Gods fall upon me and my poſterity, if I do not follow wherever the Generals ſhall lead me to fight, if I ever turn my back, or if I do not kill thoſe whom I ſhall ſee attempt to fly.* Some of the firſt who were introduced into the encloſure heſitated at loading themſelves and their poſterity with ſuch imprecations; but theſe being immediately ſtabb'd, and their bodies thrown among the carcaſſes of the victims, thoſe who follow'd were ſo terrified at this ſight, that they readily took the oath to the number of 16000. They were called *Legio Linteata*, the Linnen Legion, from the covering of the booth. They had finer helmets and bucklers than the reſt of the Troops, amounting to above 20000.

While theſe things were doing, *Carvilius*, at the head of the army which *Atilius* had left near *Interamna*, made his way towards *Samnium*; and his firſt exploit was the taking of *Amiternum*, a city of *Sabinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. *Papirius* in the mean time haſten'd the new levies at *Rome*, and, as ſoon as his *Legions* were compleat, enter'd upon action. He took *Furconia* in the neighbourhood of *Amiternum*, and then joining his Collegue, they went together to ravage that part of the *Volſcian* territory, which was under the domination of the *Samnites*. After this, *Carvilius* prepared to lay ſiege to *Cominium*, in the extremity of the eaſtern part of *Samnium*; and *Papirius* marched towards *Aquilonia* (where the *Devoted Legions* had made their dreadful vows and imprecations) and encamped within ſight of the enemy.

Papirius being reſolved to give battle, ſent a letter to his Collegue to acquaint him with it, and deſired him to preſs the ſiege of *Cominium* vigorouſly, that no detachments might be ſent from thence to ſtrengthen the *Samnite* army. Then calling his troops together, he exhorted them *not to fear the enemy for the extraordinary methods they had taken to make themſelves valiant*; told them, *That Oaths, extorted by fear and violence, would never give true courage*; put them in mind of his Father's victory over a *Samnite* army, which had *made themſelves fine, as theſe had done, with proud Creſts to their Helmets, and magnificent Bucklers*; and, in a word, he ſo animated his ſoldiers, that they all call'd out to lead them to battle. Nay, ſo univerſal was the deſire of coming to an engagement, that the *Augur*, appointed to conſult the ſacred *Chickens*, made a falſe report of their behaviour, and declared, that they had come out of their cage leiſurely, fed greedily, and ſcratch'd the ground; all good omens, but none of the facts were true. The General ſeem'd overjoy'd at ſo happy an augury, and order'd preparations to be made for fighting. When, the next day, he had aſſigned his ſeveral officers their proper poſts, and had made all the proper diſpoſitions to charge the enemy, his nephew, young *Papirius* (at the inſtigation of the *Roman Knights*) diſcover'd to him the error he was in concerning the Chickens. *No matter*, anſwer'd the General; *Do you behave yourſelf with activity and courage. If the* Augur *has given a falſe account, the vengeance will fall upon his head alone. The* Augury, *as reported to me, was good and fortunate for the* Roman

Tripudium Soliſtimum.

Val. Max. B. 7. ch. 22. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 40.

Roman *People*. He then commanded, that the Keeper of the *Sacred Chickens* ſhould be placed at the head of the firſt line; and before the two armies came to a cloſe engagement, the *Augur* was killed by an unknown hand (probably by order of the *Conſul*.) The news being brought to *Papirius*, he pretended to conſider it as a ſtroke from heaven: *The Gods are with us*, he cried, *their vengeance has ſpent itſelf on the guilty head.* In the beginning of the action the *Samnites*, eſpecially thoſe who had bound themſelves by oath not to fly, made a vigorous reſiſtance; till on a ſudden they perceived at ſome diſtance a cloud of duſt, ſuch as is wont to be raiſed by the march of a conſiderable army. This duſt was cauſed by the ſervants and muleteers of the *Roman* camp, whom *Papirius* had order'd one of his officers to mount upon mules and beaſts of burden, and lead them, together with ſome *Manipuli* of the allies, by round-about ways to the top of a neighbouring hill, from whence they were to fall upon the enemy in the heat of the battle. Theſe troops had provided themſelves with branches of trees, which they had trained along the ground to raiſe the greater duſt. Nothing could be ſeen but the tops of ſome ſtandards and lances, and ſomething like cavalry, which ſeemed to flank a body of infantry on each ſide. Both armies were deceived by this appearance; and, the better to carry on the deceit, *Papirius* himſelf pretended to be ſurpriſed, and cried out with an air of joy, COMINIUM *muſt certainly be taken, and my Collegue is come to my aſſiſtance. Courage, ſoldiers, let us make haſte to gain the victory, before another army can arrive to ſhare the glory of the day.* Then making the ſignal for his Cavalry to charge, they inſtantly gave the reins to their horſes, drove full ſpeed through the files of the Infantry (that widen'd and made room for that purpoſe) upon the enemy's Battalions, and quickly put them to the rout. Twelve thouſand of the *Samnites*, according to *Oroſius*, were ſlain; but, according to *Livy*, above thirty thouſand; and *Aquilonia*, whither moſt of the fugitives fled for ſhelter, was ſoon after taken.

Y. of *R.* 460. Bef. *J. C.* 292. 159 Conſul-p. *Frontin. Strat.*

§. IV. *CARVILIUS* was preparing to make a vigorous attack upon *Cominium*, according to the agreement between him and his Collegue, when he received a letter which *Papirius* had wrote to him before the battle, with notice that the *Samnites* had ſent away a large detachment of their army to relieve the place. Upon this news he diſpatch'd *Brutus Scæva*, with the firſt *Legion* and twenty *Cohorts* of auxiliaries, to meet the *Samnite* reinforcement, with orders to amuſe, or fight them, where-ever he ſhould find them. In the mean time with the reſt of his army he gave an aſſault to the town, and took it. The beſieged, to the number of 15400, ſurrender'd at diſcretion, 4380 had been ſlain. After this the two Conſular armies joined, and a council of war being held, it was judg'd to be expedient to puſh the advantages gain'd over the *Samnites* to the utter reduction of them, by taking the reſt of their cities; and this deſign was approved by the Senate and People of *Rome*. *Carvilius* received orders to lay ſiege to *Volana* (in *Lucania*, near Cape *Palinurus*) dependent doubtleſs on the *Samnites*; and *Papirius* was commanded to

Y. of *R.* 460. Bef. *J. C.* 392. 159 Conſul-p.

attempt the conqueſt of *Sepinum*, a town ſituated at the foot of the *Apennines*, near the head of the *Tamarus*.

The news of the great ſucceſs of the *Roman* arms in *Samnium* was the more agreeable at *Rome*, as an account came at the ſame time, that the *Hetrurians* were beginning to take arms again; which account was ſoon after confirm'd by deputies ſent from ſome cities in alliance with the Republic. Nor was this all; the *Faliſci*, who were the neareſt neighbours to *Rome* on the ſide of *Hetruria*, revolted, and join'd the enemy. It was neceſſary therefore to recall one of the *Conſuls*, with his army, from *Samnium*; they were order'd to caſt lots for the conduct of the *Hetrurian* war, and it fell to *Carvilius*, who by this time had taken *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum* from the *Samnites*.

Papirius, after the departure of his Collegue, took *Sepinum* by aſſault, and gave the booty to his ſoldiers. He then return'd to *Rome*, full of glory, in the month of *February*, and was honour'd with a Triumph (as *Carvilius* had been a month before, when he paſs'd through *Rome* to go to *Hetruria*.) The rich ſpoils taken from the *Samnites* made his proceſſion very magnificent. *Papirius* had brought away from the conquer'd countries 2,533,000 [a] pounds weight of braſs, and 1330 pounds weight of ſilver. But though theſe riches ſwell'd the pomp of the victor's Triumph, he loſt the good will of his ſoldiers, by giving all into the public treaſury. And the People's diſcontent was yet greater, when a tax came to be laid upon them to pay his troops, which might have been ſatisfy'd by diſtributing among them a part of that wealth. *Papirius* on this occaſion dedicated a Temple (to *Quirinus*) which his father, when Dictator, had vowed. He adorn'd it with the fine ſpoils taken from the *Samnites*. Upon this Temple was alſo fixed a Sun-dial, the firſt ever ſeen at *Rome*. *Anaximenes* the *Lacedæmonian* had many years before, as *Pliny* tells us, diſcover'd this ſecret, but the invention had not reached to *Rome*. The *Romans* for a long while marked only the riſing and ſetting of the ſun; afterwards they obſerved the hour of noon, but in a very groſs manner. When the ſun ſhined between the *Roſtra* and the houſe appointed for the reception of Ambaſſadors, one of the *Conſul*'s heralds uſed to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day. But now they could mark the ſeveral hours of the day; and the Water-clock, invented ſoon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

Livy, B. 10.

Plin. B. 7. ch. 60.

Livy, B. 10. ch. 46.

As ſoon as *Papirius* had triumph'd, he left *Rome* again, to lead his troops into the country of the *Veſtini*, which the *Samnites* ſtill infeſted, and there he paſſed the reſt of the winter. In the mean time *Carvilius*, in *Hetruria*, took *Troſſulum* by aſſault, and reduced the *Faliſci* to ſue for peace. He granted them however no more than a year's truce, and for that he made them pay dear. After this he return'd to *Rome*, carrying with him 390,000 *Aſſes* [b] of braſs for the public treaſury, without reckoning a conſiderable ſum which he reſerved to build a Temple to *Fortune that favours the Bold*. And he gave beſides to each private

[a] Between 6 and 7000 *l.* Sterling. [b] 1259 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* Arbuthnot.

ſoldier of the Foot 102 pounds[c] of braſs, and twice that ſum to each Centurion and Horſeman; a ſmall preſent, but well received, and which the remembrance of *Papirius*'s parſimonious conduct made ſtill more agreeable; and by this means he became popular enough to prevail with the People to drop the proſecution, which the *Tribune Scantius* had begun againſt *Poſthumius*, one of the *Conſuls* of the laſt year. Y. of *R.* 460. Bef. *J.C.* 292. 159 Conſul-p. *Varro* de Lingua Lat.

§. V. IT was probably at this time that *Atilius*, the other *Conſul* of the laſt year, now *Prætor*, made a new law relating to Guardianſhips. The *Twelve Tables* had not provided for thoſe orphans, whoſe fathers died inteſtate, and who had no near relation to take upon him the guardianſhip of them. The *Atilian Law* ordained, that the *Prætor* and the *Tribunes of the People* ſhould by a plurality of voices aſſign ſuch Orphans a Guardian. At the ſame time the *Curule Ædiles* publiſhed an ordinance, that thoſe who had received crowns, as the rewards of their military exploits, might wear them at the public *Games*; and that Palm-branches ſhould be put into the hands of the victors in thoſe *Games*. *Ulpian.* de Tutelis. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 47.

[c] 6 *s.* 7 *d.* Arbuthnot.

CHAP. XXIV.

§. I. Q. Fabius Gurges (*ſon of* Fabius Maximus) *is choſen to the Conſulate, tho' his father had oppoſed his promotion. The Collegue given him is* Junius Brutus Scæva. *Neither the one nor the other is well qualified to conduct an army.* Junius *however being well aſſiſted by* Carvilius, *the late Conſul, makes a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the* Faliſci *in* Hetruria. *But* Gurges, *through his ill conduct, is ſhamefully vanquiſhed in a battle with the* Samnites. *The People of* Rome *having reſolved to puniſh him, old* Fabius *pacifies them, by offering to ſerve under his ſon the remainder of the Campaign.* Gurges, *aſſiſted by his Father's counſel, obtains a glorious victory over the enemy; and* Pontius, *the famous* Samnite *General, is taken priſoner.* §. II. *The* Romans, *to put a ſtop to the Plague, ſend Ambaſſadors to bring from* Epidaurus *the God* Æſculapius, *worſhip'd there under the form of a Serpent.* §. III. *The God arrives in the beginning of the next Conſulate of* L. Poſthumius (*now the third time choſen*) *and* Junius Brutus Bubulcus. Poſthumius *proudly aſſumes to himſelf the conduct of the war in* Samnium, *without drawing lots with his Collegue, or waiting for a decree of the Senate in his favour. When he comes into the field, he, contrary to the will of the Senate, obliges* Fabius Gurges, *now* Proconſul, *to deſiſt from the ſiege of* Cominium (*which had been retaken by the* Samnites) *and leave it to him. He takes that town and another. The Senate nevertheleſs, to puniſh his diſobedience, mortify him in ſeveral inſtances; and in the ſucceeding Conſulate (of* P. Cornelius Rufinus *and* Manius Curius Dentatus) *he is fined by the People for a miſdemeanour during his Magiſtracy.* §. IV. *The Conſul* CURIUS (*a Hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty*) *reduces the* Samnites *to aſk* PEACE, *which is now granted them the 4th time, on the conditions preſcribed by* Curius,

whom

whom they in vain endeavour to bribe. §. V. *He reduces* SABINIA *to a ſtate of ſubjection to the Republic, and has two Triumphs decreed him for his exploits in one year. He is afterwards accuſed of imbezzling ſome of the ſpoil taken from the enemy, but is honourably acquitted.* §. VI. *In quality of Proconſul he carries the war into* Lucania, *the new Conſuls,* M. Valerius Corvinus *and* Q. Cœdicius Noctua, *ſpending their whole year in works of peace, and in ſending Colonies to the conquer'd Cities. To relieve the* Prætor *of* Rome, *three new Judges are created to try Malefactors. The cruelty of a Creditor to his Debtor, for whom he had conceived an infamous paſſion, occaſions a new* Seceſſion *of the People. The* Patricians, *to effect a reconciliation, are obliged to make conceſſions.* Fabius Maximus *in his old age is made Dictator, to finiſh the accommodation; which done, he preſides in the* Comitia, *where* M. Valerius Potitus *and* C. Ælius Pœtus *are choſen Conſuls. He ſoon after dies.*

Y. of *R.* 461. Bef. *J. C.* 291. 160 Conſul-p.

§. I. IN the next election of *Conſuls*, the choice fell upon two men of ſmall abilities for war, *Q. Fabius Gurges* (the ſon of *Fabius Maximus*) and *Junius Brutus Scæva.* It is undoubted, that *Fabius* the father oppoſed the promotion of his ſon; but it is very uncertain for what reaſon; whether, as *Valerius Maximus* thinks, from a Republican principle, and becauſe he thought it of pernicious example to have one family loaded with ſo many honours, he having himſelf been five times *Conſul*, and both his Father and Grandfather having been promoted to that dignity; or whether on account of ſome domeſtic quarrel, or whether becauſe he judged his ſon unqualified for ſo high a ſtation. *Rome* being at this time viſited with a Plague, which made terrible havock, this, together with the incapacity of the new *Conſuls*, encouraged the *Faliſci* to break their truce, and the *Samnites* to take arms again, and ſpread themſelves over *Campania.* It fell to *Brutus*'s lot to march into *Hetruria* againſt the *Faliſci.* The Republic, to ſupply his defects, appointed *Carvilius* to be his Lieutenant, and by his aſſiſtance the *Conſul* made a ſucceſsful expedition.

Val. Max. B. 4. c. 1.

Oroſius, B. 3. ch. 22. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 47.

But on the other hand, *Fabius Gurges*, having all the fire of the *Fabii* without their uſual prudence, raſhly, and without drawing up his troops in order of battle, engaged with the *Samnites*, and loſt three thouſand men, he himſelf eſcaping only by the favour of the night. The account of the ill conduct of *Gurges* ſo exaſperated the public againſt him, that the Senate were going to remove him from the command of the army; but then the zeal of *Fabius Maximus* for the honour of his family was rouzed, and he undertook his ſon's cauſe. Without excuſing the precipitate conduct of the *Conſul*, he deſired the aſſembly to pardon it, in conſideration of the many victories which he himſelf had formerly obtained for the Republic. He repreſented to them, that his ſon's diſgrace had not been owing to a want of bravery, but to youthful imprudence, which time and experience might correct. And laſtly, he offer'd to go and ſerve under his ſon, and promiſed ſoon to repair the loſs which the State had

Eutrop. B. 2. *Zonaras*, B. 8. *Florus*, Epit. 11. *Dio Cocceianus* in excerpt. à Valeſio.

ſuffer'd by his miſmanagement. This offer was immediately accepted, and the People were appeaſed. Y. of *R.* 461. Bef. *J. C.* 291. 160 Conſul-p.

Fabius Maximus accompanied his ſon into the field againſt the *Samnites*, in quality of his Lieutenant, and not only aſſiſted him by his advice, but when in a battle, which was ſoon after fought, the *Conſul* following the impulſe of his courage, and eager to recover his honour, had indiſcreetly penetrated too far among the enemies, and was ſurrounded by them, reſcued him out of their hands by his perſonal bravery. So gallant an action, in a man of his years, animated the *Roman Legions* to exert themſelves with more than ordinary vigour, and they ſoon put the *Samnites* to the rout. Twenty thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and four thouſand taken priſoners; among the latter was their famous General *Pontius Herennius*, who had commanded them in this and the former battle. *Oroſ.* B. 8. ch. 22.

§. II. THE joy at *Rome* for ſo compleat a victory would have been much greater, if it had not been damp'd by the Plague, which ſtill continued to make dreadful devaſtation. In this diſtreſs the *Romans* had recourſe to the uſual remedy, Superſtition. The *Sybilline* Books were conſulted, and it was there read, that to put a ſtop to the peſtilence, the God *Æſculapius*, adored under the form of a Serpent, muſt be brought to *Rome* from *Epidaurus*, a City of *Peloponneſus*. An Embaſſy was accordingly appointed for that purpoſe. *Livy*, B. 10. ch. 47.

§. III. THE time for the new Elections drawing on, and the *Conſuls* being both in the field, a *Dictator* was named to hold the *Comitia*; but his nomination being found defective, the Government fell into an *Interregnum*; and then *Poſthumius* (the very ſame man who had ſo lately eſcaped a condemnation) holding the aſſembly, contrived to get himſelf elected * one of the new *Conſuls*. With *Poſthumius* was joined *Junius Brutus Bubulcus*. * A 3d time.

Poſthumius, now the third time *Conſul*, and as proud in office as he had been ambitious in procuring to himſelf the *Conſular* dignity, diſdained to draw lots with his *Plebeian* Collegue for their provinces. He inſiſted upon having the command of the army in *Samnium*; and *Brutus* finding that his Collegue had a powerful party in the Senate, conſented to command in *Hetruria*, without waiting for a decree. Y. of *R.* 462. Bef. *J. C.* 290. 161 Conſul-p. *Suidas* in *Poſthumium.*

About this time the God *Æſculapius* [d], that is to ſay, a tame Snake, which the *Roman* Ambaſſadors had bought of the Prieſts belonging to the

[d] *Æſculapius* * was a native of *Meſſene*, a city of *Peloponneſus*. As ſoon as he was born his parents expoſed him in the midſt of a foreſt, where he was found by ſome hunters. Theſe had compaſſion on him, and cauſed him to be ſuckled by a bitch. When he was old enough to be capable of inſtruction, he was committed to the care of the famous *Chiron*, who taught him Phyſic, or, if you will, Surgery; for the two arts were then confounded. The diſciple ſoon excelled his maſter, and being grown an able Phyſician, ſettled at *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argos*, and practiſed his art there. It must be granted, that *Æſculapius* made ſome diſcoveries in the cure of diſeaſes and wounds. He is ſaid to have invented the *Probe*; to have firſt made uſe of *Bandages*; and to have been the firſt who invented Purges,

* The particulars concerning *Æſcu-lapius* are taken from *D. Hal.* in excerp. à Valeſio, *Lactant.* ex Tarquitio, *Cicero* de nat. Deor. B. 3. *Plut.* in Quæſt. Rom. *Pauſanias*, *Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.* ch. 22. *Ovid.* Met. B. 15. *Val. Max.* B. 1. ch. 8. *Pliny*, B. 29. ch. 1.

Y. of *R.* 462. Bef. *J. C.* 290. 161 Conſul p. Temple at *Epidaurus*, arrived at *Rome*, to the great joy of the People; and the Plague is ſaid to have ſoon after ceaſed.

Purges, and the art of drawing Teeth. And as he lived in an age wherein it was uſual to deify thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any uſeful diſcoveries, the People were pleaſed to call him the Son of *Apollo*, and to rank him among the Gods. After which he ſoon had a Temple erected to him in *Epidaurus*: which was built upon an eminence without the city, becauſe the moſt airy and wholſome ſituations are moſt ſuitable to the God of *Health*. There the Prieſts, who preſided over the worſhip of this new God, bred one of thoſe ſnakes, which are eaſily tamed, and taught to follow any perſons where they pleaſe, without any danger of being bit by them; and the ſilly vulgar honoured this Snake as the God himſelf. His uſual hole was under the feet of the fine ſtone ſtatue of *Æſculapius*, which the famous ſculptor *Thraſymedes* of *Paros* had made; and whenever he came out of it, his appearance was underſtood to prognoſticate the cure of the ſick. The Envoys of *Rome* were brought into this Temple, to which the love of life drew all *Greece*, and which gratitude for cures imagined to be there obtain'd, had exceedingly enriched. *Ogulnius* was at the head of the embaſſy: and it's probable the *Epidaurians* made the *Romans* pay very dear for the relief they ſought; their reputation and intereſt being then very ſmall in *Greece*. Be that as it will, the *Epidaurians* granted their requeſt, and ſuffered them to carry away with them the important Snake. It is reported as a prodigy, that the Snake came out in ſight of the Ambaſſadors, whilſt they were attentively viewing the ſtatue of *Æſculapius*: and that he left the Temple of *Epidaurus* of his own accord, and winding his great body along, paſſed all thro' the city, and went directly to the port where the *Roman* ſhip was at anchor. To which it is added, that he entered the veſſel of his own accord, went directly to *Ogulnius*'s cabin, and curling himſelf into ſeveral circles, continued quietly there. An account which is neither incredible nor miraculous, if we ſuppoſe (which might have been the caſe) that the maſter of the ſnake, who had tamed him, went before him to the ſhip. Beſides, this was not the firſt time that one of theſe Snakes had been taken out of the Temple of *Epidaurus*. The *Sicyonians* had already carried one from thence to their city, in a chariot; and an unknown woman, named *Nicagore*, had conducted him thither. Thus the impoſtures of the *Greeks* furniſhed the nations, who were willing to be cheated, with *Æſculapius's*; and thus the *Romans*, among others, were bubbled by them.

The other adventures of the pretended *Æſculapius*, in his paſſage from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, have been celebrated both by the Hiſtorians and Poets. They relate, that the Ambaſſadors experienced the good effects of the God's preſence in their voyage, it being exceeding proſperous and happy. Nevertheleſs, the ſea became boiſterous towards the coaſts of *Italy*, and the ſtrength of the winds forced the ſeamen to put in at the port of *Antium*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Æſculapius*. The Snake had hitherto confin'd himſelf to *Ogulnius*'s cabbin; but here he eſcaped, and gliding along came to the court of the ſanctuary where he was worſhipped. This place was planted with Myrtles and Palm-trees, and the pretended *Æſculapius* got upon the largeſt of his trees, and twiſted his long body round it. For three days it was much feared that the divine animal would continue there; and all endeavours to bring him back to the ſhip were vain. It avail'd nothing to offer him his uſual food; he continued three days twiſted round the Palm-tree. But at length he returned to the galley of his own accord, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be carried to the place intended. *Antium* was at no very great diſtance from the mouth of the *Tyber*; and the Snake was carried up that river to *Rome*. The joy the *Romans* ſhewed at the arrival of this ſalutary God is not to be expreſſed. Altars were erected all along the ſhore; and incenſe and ſacrifices offer'd, even to profuſeneſs. The *Romans* expected immediately to receive *Æſculapius* within their walls, and build him a Temple; but the God is ſaid to have choſe his own abode. In the midſt of the *Tyber*, over-againſt the walls of *Rome*, there was an iſland, formed in the infancy of the Republic, by ſtraw, trunks of trees, ſand, and the rubbiſh of the city; and thither the Serpent retired, ſwimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the *Iſland of Æſculapius*; and a Temple was ſoon erected to him there, and enriched with numberleſs preſents. The Temple was built in the ſhape of a ſhip; the higher part of it reſembled the ſtern, and the

Hiſtory ſays nothing of any exploits of *Brutus* in *Hetruria*. But young *Fabius*, who had been continued in the command of the army in *Samnium* in quality of *Proconſul*, being aſſiſted by his father (who govern'd and directed all his motions, without letting him perceive it) had already reduced the Canton of the *Pentrini*, and was beſieging *Cominium* (an important Town, formerly taken and burnt by *Carvilius* but ſince rebuilt by the *Samnites*) when *Poſthumius* prepared to enter *Samnium* with a new Conſular army. Before he left *Rome*, he imployed a detachment of his troops in the ſervile work of grubbing up a foreſt in his own eſtate; and he proceeded in the ſame ſpirit of tyranny when he came into the field. He ſent orders to the *Proconſul* to deſiſt from the ſiege of *Cominium*, and to leave that enterprize to his conduct. Young *Fabius* had received his commiſſion from the Senate; and the *Fathers* ſupported his pretenſions, and commanded the *Conſul* to bend his forces another way; but *Poſthumius* bad the meſſenger tell the Senate, *That it was their duty to obey their* Conſul, *and not his to ſubmit to their commands*. He then marched ſtrait towards *Cominium*, reſolving to give the *Fabii* battle, if they did not yield to his will. *Fabius Maximus* prevail'd with his ſon, for the ſake of the public good, to give way to the imperious *Conſul*. And then *Poſthumius* having a clear ſtage, and being a man of courage and expedition, ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Cominium*. Thence he turn'd his arms againſt *Venuſia*, which he likewiſe took in a ſhort time. In the letter which he wrote to the Senate to inform them of his ſucceſs, he propoſed that a *Colony* might be ſent to the laſt-mention'd place, and his propoſal was approved; but the *Fathers*, who preferr'd Obedience to Valour, took occaſion from it to humble him. Inſtead of appointing him, agreeably to cuſtom, to be one of the founders of the new *Colony* in the City he had conquer'd, they named three others, and allowed him no ſhare in that honour; nay, to mortify him yet more, they decreed young *Fabius* a Triumph. *Pontius Herennius*, that famous *Samnite* General who ſurpriſed the *Roman Legions* in the *Caudine Forks*, and made them paſs under the Yoke, now followed the Chariot of the Triumphant Conqueror. (He was afterwards, by an inhumanity unworthy of *Romans*, condemn'd to loſe his head.) But the moſt ſurpriſing ſight of all was old *Fabius* on horſeback in his ſon's train. He had formerly in his own Triumphs carried his ſon in the Chariot with him; and he was now overjoy'd to mingle in the croud, and make one of his attendants.

Y. of *R.* 462. Bef *J. C.* 290. 161 Conſul-p. *Dio Cocceianus* in excerptis à Valeſio.

Livy, Epit. 11.

D. Hal. in excerptis à Valeſio.

Plut. in *Fab. Cunct. Val. Max.* B. 5. ch. 7.

the lower part the prow. But whatever the Hiſtorians ſay of it, it is very uncertain whether the plague was not ſtopped before the Serpent arrived; and if we believe *Pliny*, who gave no credit to vulgar traditions, the *Romans* themſelves would not ſuffer this *Æſculapius*, who had been brought from beyond-ſea, to be placed within their walls. He ſays, they had an averſion to Phyſicians and their art, and deſpiſed even *Æſculapius* himſelf, the prince and head of Phyſicians. Nevertheleſs, the Temple of this God of Health was very much frequented by the Commonalty of *Rome*; the ſick came and paſſed the night in it; and imagination, or the ſtrength of nature, ſometimes wrought cures there, which were aſcribed to the power of the God.

Y. of *R.* 462. Bef. *J. C.* 290. 161 Conſul-p.

As for *Poſthumius*, when he found himſelf treated with ſo much contempt, and his rival ſo much honoured, he not only declaimed with paſſion againſt both Senate and People, but did all that was in his power to revenge himſelf. He would not give the leaſt part of the booty brought from the two conquered Cities into the public Treaſury, but diſtributed it all among his ſoldiers, and then diſbanded them before his ſucceſſor could arrive. Some Hiſtorians ſay, that notwithſtanding theſe extravagant proceedings, and the oppoſition of the Senate, he obtained a Triumph by a decree of the People; but this is highly improbable, ſince it appears by what follow'd ſoon after, that the People were no leſs exaſperated againſt him than the *Fathers*. For the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *P. Cornelius Rufinus* and *Manius Curius Dentatus*, were no ſooner enter'd upon office, than he was brought to a trial before the *Comitia by Tribes*. His chief accuſation turn'd upon his having employed his ſoldiers in a ſlaviſh work for his own private profit; a crime which touch'd the People much more than his diſobedience to the Senate. They condemned him to pay a conſiderable fine; and his reputation continued for ſome time blaſted.

D. Hal. in excerptis à Valeſio. Y. of *R.* 463. Bef. *J. C.* 289. 162 Conſul-p. *Liv.* Epit. 11.

§. IV. THE *Samnites* having loſt their brave General and able Governor *Pontius*, were no longer in a condition to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Roman* arms. *Curius Dentatus* laid waſte their country, took their towns, and, in ſhort, obliged them to ſue for peace. The Republic conſented to a treaty of alliance with them for the fourth time, and left the conditions of it to *Curius* [c].

Epit. 11. *Liv.* *Eutrop.* B. 2.

This *Conſul* was remarkable for living, without oſtentation, in that voluntary Poverty, which ſome Philoſophers have with great vanity cried up and recommended. The *Samnite* Deputies found him ſitting on a ſorry wooden ſeat near a fire, dreſſing his own dinner, which conſiſted only of ſome roots; and they offered him a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of Money. *Curius* expreſſed his indignation by a diſdainful ſmile. "Without doubt, ſaid he, my indigence makes you hope that you may "corrupt me: But you are miſtaken. I had rather be the commander "of rich men, than be rich my ſelf. Take away that metal, which men "make uſe of only to their deſtruction, and go tell your nation, that "they will find it as difficult to bribe me, as to conquer me." A treaty being concluded upon ſuch conditions as *Curius* thought fit to preſcribe, he return'd to *Rome* to triumph. And never did the People expreſs more joy than upon this occaſion, being at length freed from the care and burthen of a dangerous war, which had laſted forty nine years. The conqueror, in the diſtribution of the conquered lands among thoſe *Romans* who had none of

Plutarch. in Apoph. *Val. Max.* B. 4. ch. 3. *Plin.* B. 19. ch. 6.

Nicol. Damaſ. in excerptis à Valeſio.

[c] It is uncertain what ſort of Government was in uſe among the *Samnites*; but it is moſt probable that they were divided into Cantons, and annually aſſembled a Diet, where reſolutions were taken for the public good. In time of war they choſe a Head, who was inveſted with Sovereign Authority. It is ſaid, that the *Samnites* had one very ſingular cuſtom in relation to Marriages. Every year, all the marriageable young men and women were aſſembled before certain judges, who matched them according to their merit.

their own, prevailed to have no more than ſeven acres allotted to each man, and accepted no more himſelf, though a much larger portion was offer'd him. He ſaid, that to preſerve the *Roman* frugality, it were to be wiſhed that no man had more land than was neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence. Y. of *R.* 463. Bef. *J.C.* 289. 162 Conſul-p. Author de Viris Illuſtr.

§. V. THE conqueſt of *Samnium* was followed by the reduction of the *Sabines* to a ſtate of ſubjection, who had been almoſt ever ſince the foundation of *Rome* upon the foot of allies, and had been govern'd by their own laws. They had fear'd that the ruin of the *Samnites* would affect their own liberty, and had therefore not only lent them aſſiſtance, but had ravaged a part of the *Roman* Territory. *Curius* entirely ſubdued them; but the *Romans*, in regard to old friendſhip, treated them gently, and admitted them to *Roman Citizenſhip*, yet without the right of ſuffrage. For the conqueſt of *Sabinia*, *Curius* had a ſecond Triumph decreed him the ſame year; an honour which had never been granted to any of his predeceſſors in the Conſulate. *Plutarch.* in Apoph. *Florus*, B. 1. ch. 15. *Liv.* Epit. 11. *Vell Paterc.* B. 1. *Liv.* Epit. 11.

The eminent virtues of this Philoſophical Hero did not ſecure him from envy: There were not wanting thoſe to whom his reputation of diſintereſtedneſs gave offence, and they endeavour'd to caſt a ſtain upon it. They accuſed him of having applied a part of the booty taken from the enemy to his private uſe. The accuſation being general, he was put to his oath; and then he confeſſed, that he had reſerved a little wooden oil-veſſel for making libations to the Gods, but proteſted that he had kept nothing more: He was believed; and the malice of his accuſers ſerved only to heighten the luſtre of his virtue. Before the expiration of his *Conſulſhip*, he led an army againſt the *Lucanians*, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of *Thurium*, the inhabitants of which had implored the protection of the *Romans*, and had gained *Ælius* (one of the *Tribunes*) to be their friend. This Town was ſituated near the Gulph of *Tarentum*. Auth. de Viris Illuſtr. *Plin.* B. 34. ch. 7.

§. VI. THE ſame *Comitia* which choſe *M. Valerius Corvinus* and *Q. Cædicius Noctua* to be *Conſuls* for the new year, appointed *Curius Dentatus* to carry on the war in *Lucania* in quality of *Proconſul*. His expedition prov'd ſucceſsful; and he thereby eſtabliſh'd the *Roman* domination through almoſt the whole extent of the country that reaches from the *Adriatic* to the *Tyrrhenian* and *Sicilian* ſeas. The new *Conſuls* employ'd their year altogether in works of peace, and in ſending out *Colonies*; particularly to *Adria*, a maritime Town, which ſome ſay gave name to the *Adriatic* ſea; *Caſtrum* in *Picenum*, and *Sena*, another City on the *Adriatic*, at the mouth of the *Seno* in the country of the *Senones*. Y. of *R.* 464. Bef. *J.C.* 288. 163 Conſul-p. *Liv.* Epit. 11.

At this time the *Romans*, finding that the *Prætor* alone was not ſufficient to preſerve good order in the City in a time of peace, when malefactors always multiply, the People appointed three new Judges to try delinquents, and pronounce ſentence without appeal: But their power of puniſhing extended only to pecuniary fines; the People would not diveſt themſelves of the ſole power of life and death. Theſe new Magiſtrates were choſen annually in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The number of *Roman Citizens* fit to bear arms, appear'd, by a *Cenſus* taken this year, to be two hundred and ſeventy three thouſand. *Feſt. Pomp.* B. 17.

Y. of *R.* 464. Bef. *J.C.* 288. 163 Conſul-p. *Flor.* Epit 11. *Zonar.* Annal. B. 8. S. *Aug.* de Civitat. Dei, B. 3. ch. 18. Y. of *R.* 465. Bef *J.C.* 287. 164 Conſul-p. * A 2d time. † A 2d time. *D Hal.* in excerptis à Valeſio. *Val. Max.* B. 6. ch. 1.

And now, when all was quiet abroad, new diſturbances were raiſed at home, and the poor Debtors began again to murmur againſt the rich Uſurers. This ſpark of diſſenſion was blown up into a flame in the *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Marcius* **Tremulus* and *P. Cornelius* † *Arvina*, on the following occaſion. *T. Veturius*, one of thoſe unfortunate *Conſuls*, who in the year of *Rome* 432 had been ſurpriſed in the *Caudine Forks*, died inſolvent. His ſon, a youth of great beauty, and virtuouſly educated, borrowed a conſiderable ſum of *C. Plotius*, his father's chief creditor, to defray the expence of his father's funeral. Being afterwards preſſed to pay, and having neither money nor credit, he was forced to ſubmit to ſlavery, and to work for his creditor in order to diſcharge the debt. *Plotius* conceived a deteſtable paſſion for the young man, and treated him unmercifully for his virtuous reſiſtance. *Veturius* one day, when his body was all bloody with ſtripes, made his eſcape out of the houſe, got upon an eminence, ſhewed himſelf to the People, and publiſh'd the infamy of his tyrant. The People laid hold on the occaſion to decry the Uſurers, and to demand the abolition of the law, which ſubjected thoſe to ſlavery, who could not pay. This law had been repeal'd before upon a like occaſion in the year 427, but the *Patricians* had got it renewed. As for *Plotius*, he was cited by the *Tribunes of the People* before the *Centuries*, and condemned to death.

Y. of *R.* 466. Bef *J.C.* 286. 165 Conſul-p. *Flor.* Epit. 11. S. *Aug.* de Civitat. Dei, B. 3.

In the following *Conſulſhip* of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Nautius Rutilus*, the People kept no longer any meaſures with the *Patricians*. They inſiſted upon the abolition of the law before mentioned, and finding the rich obſtinate in oppoſing it, they made a *Seceſſion* upon the hill *Janiculus*, on the other ſide of the *Tyber*. The city being thus left deſtitute of artificers and labourers, and no proviſions being brought thither from the provinces (for the country people had likewiſe their complaints) the *Patricians* and rich *Citizens* found themſelves under a neceſſity of making conceſſions, and they named *Q. Hortenſius* Dictator to negotiate with the Separatiſts. The terms of reconciliation were, beſide (doubtleſs) the repeal of the law in queſtion, the ſtrict obſervation of two laws, made in the year 414, but to which the Nobility had paid no regard. 1. *That the decrees made by the Tribes ſhould be obſerved by the Patricians as well as Plebeians.* 2. *That laws ſhould firſt paſs the Senate, and be brought afterwards to the* Comitia *to be there approved or rejected, and not* vice verſa. The complaint of the country people was, *That they could not get their Cauſes heard by the Judges on Market-days, when they came to* Rome, *but were obliged to leave their work, and return thither again.* This was rectified: But when theſe ſeveral articles of reconciliation were drawn up, and the ſtorm began to be appeaſed, *Hortenſius* died of a ſudden, before the expiration of his *Dictatorſhip*. It being neceſſary therefore to create another *Dictator*, to complete what he had begun, the *Conſuls* nominated the illuſtrious *Fabius*, who now, in an extreme old age, was Preſident or Prince of the Senate. He happily finiſhed the accommodation; and this was the laſt public

Cic. in Orat. pro *Planc.* *Livy*, B 8. *Varro* apud Nonum. *Macrob.* Sat. 1. ch. 16.

Fragmentum *Faſt. Capit.*

ſcene in which he appeared. He died ſoon after. The Republic had conſider'd him in his life-time as a prodigy of *Roman* Valour, Prudence, and Virtue; and now upon his death the People contributed to the expence of his obſequies with ſo much emulation, that his ſon, with the victims offer'd at his funeral, gave a public entertainment to the whole City. Y. of *R.* 466. Bef. *J. C.* 286. 165 Conſul-p. Auth. de Viris Illuſtr.

Fabius, while *Dictator*, had (probably) preſided in the *Comitia*, when *M. Valerius Potitus* and *C. Ælius Pætus* were choſen *Conſuls*. Their year proved barren of remarkable events; but the Republic was never more happy than under their adminiſtration. The People having gained the higheſt pitch of their deſires, thought only of enjoying the ſweets of tranquillity. The balance of power lean'd now rather to their ſide; and the *Patricians* had no advantage over them, but in the great riches they had acquired, while they kept the aſcendant, and in that reſpect which naturally is paid to perſons of high birth. Y. of *R.* 467. Bef. *J. C.* 285. 166 Conſul-p.

CHAP. XXV.

I. *Nothing memorable happens this year, or the next, when* C. Claudius Canina *and* M. Æmilius Lepidus *are Conſuls. But in the following Conſulate of* C. Servilius Tucca *and* L. Cæcilius Metellus *the* Tarentines *endeavour privately to ſtir up both old and new enemies againſt* Rome. *The* Gauls *called* Senones *murder ſome* Roman *Ambaſſadors, who had been ſent to perſuade them to deſiſt from the ſiege of* Aretium *in* Hetruria; *and they ſoon after give the* Roman *army, under the conduct of* Cæcilius, *a terrible overthrow.* Curius Dentatus *revenges this defeat by leading an army into the country of the* Gauls, *and laying it waſte.* §. II. *The next year the* Romans, *under the Conſuls* P. Cornelius *and* Cn. Domitius, *vanquiſh in battle the* Senones, *the* Boii, *and the* Hetrurians. *The* Samnites *revolt. In the ſucceeding Conſulate of* C. Fabricius *and* Q. Æmilius Papus, *almoſt all* Italy *riſes in arms againſt the Republic.* Fabricius *defeats the confederate forces of the* Lucanians, Bruttians, *and* Samnites. *The* Romans *imagine that the God* Mars *had fought in perſon for them.* §. III. *The* Tarentines, *who had not yet openly appear'd againſt* Rome, *fall in a hoſtile manner upon a* Roman *fleet, which chances to come into their port. The* Romans *ſend to demand ſatisfaction. The* Tarentines *inſult the Ambaſſadors in the moſt outragious manner, and then turn their thoughts to ſeek an alliance with* Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus, *and to invite him into* Italy. [*A ſhort account of this Prince, and the ſtate of his affairs at this time.*] §. IV. *The Senate of* Rome *having long debated, whether to begin a war immediately with the* Tarentines, *or to defer it, determine for the firſt, and the People confirm their Decree.* L. Æmilius (*who, with* Q. Marcius, *is now in the Conſulate*) *marches an army directly for* Tarentum. *The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the Citizens on his approach. They reſolve to invite* Pyrrhus *to their aſſiſtance.* Æmilius *endeavours to make them lay aſide this deſign,*

by

by generouſly releaſing ſome Tarentine *priſoners he had taken.* §. V. Pyrrhus *accepts the invitation, and ſends before him to* Tarentum *the famous* Cyneas *with* 3000 *men, who takes poſſeſſion of the Citadel.*

§. I. *ROME* was now not only in perfect tranquillity at home, but in a flouriſhing condition with reſpect to her affairs abroad. The *Latines*, *Sabines*, *Hernici*, *Æqui*, *Marſi*, and *Campanians* were all brought into ſubjection to her. The *Volſci* were no more a people. The terror of the *Roman* arms reached to *Apulia*, and kept it in awe. A part of *Lucania* on one hand, and on the other *Umbria* and *Picenum*, quite up to the frontiers of the *Senones*, were all either obedient to the *Romans*, or awed by *Roman Colonies* near them. On the other ſide of the *Tyber* one part of *Hetruria* was ſubdued, and that which was more diſtant obſerved the truce which had been granted it. *Samnium*, in all appearance, was quieted; and the *Gauls*, both *Senones* and *Boii*, lived in peace with the Republic, always ready however to fight for thoſe who would employ them. Such was the ſtate of *Rome*, when *C. Claudius Canina* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* enter'd upon the *Conſulſhip*. Nothing memorable happen'd during their adminiſtration; and the *Faſces* were tranſmitted to *C. Servilius Tucca* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. In their year the *Tarentines* (formerly a Colony of auſtere *Spartans*, but now ſunk into idleneſs and vice) growing jealous of the proſperity of the *Romans*, and fearing an interruption in their Pleaſures, as much as the loſs of their Liberty, employ'd all their *Grecian* ſubtlety to ſtir up both old and new enemies againſt the Republic; and this without appearing to be concerned.

Caſſiodorus, Tabulæ Græcæ, & Cuſpinian. Y. of *R.* 468. Bef. *J. C.* 284. 167 Conſul-p. Y. of *R.* 469. Bef. *J. C.* 283. 168 Conſul-p. *Zonaras*, B. 8.

At the ſame time the *Senones* prepared to beſiege *Aretium*, a City of *Hetruria*, about forty leagues from *Rome*, not far from the river *Arno*, and which was in truce with the Republic. The *Romans*, at the requeſt of the *Aretini*, raiſed an army to defend them; but before any act of hoſtility, they ſent a deputation to the *Senones*, to perſuade them to deſiſt from their deſign. Theſe proud *Gauls*, inſtead of liſtening to the mediation of the *Romans*, killed the Ambaſſadors, and then immediately brought their troops before *Aretium*. The *Conſul Cæcilius* haſten'd to the relief of the place, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himſelf was killed, with ſeven *Legionary Tribunes*, the beſt part of the *Roman Knights*, and thirteen thouſand private men. Upon the news of this terrible defeat, *Curius Dentatus* (probably *Prætor* at this time) was diſpatched from *Rome*, at the head of ſome new levies, to ſupply the *Conſul*'s place. But this able and experienced Commander, inſtead of attacking the army of the *Gauls* fluſh'd with ſucceſs, or of attempting to ſuccour *Aretium*, marched along the confines of *Hetruria*, and enter'd the enemies country, where he took ample vengeance for the murder of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors. With fire and ſword he laid waſte and deſtroyed all before him, ſo that in a little time he reduced it to a vaſt deſert, in which there ſcarce remained any appearances of its having been

Polyb. B. 2. *Appian.* apud *Fulv. Urſinum. Flor.* Epit. 12. *Oroſ.* B. 3. ch. 22. *Polyb.* B. 2. *Dion* apud *Fulv. Urſinum.*

been cultivated or inhabited; all the men that were found were put to the ſword, and the women and children carried into ſlavery.

§. II. IN the mean time, and in the beginning of the adminiſtration of *P. Cornelius Dolabella* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Republic began to feel the effects of the ſecret negotiations of the *Tarentines*. The *Boii*, *Hetrurians*, and *Samnites*, all declared againſt her at once, and ſhe had already the army of the *Senones* before *Aretium* to deal with. Theſe *Gauls*, to revenge the devaſtation made in their country, left the ſiege of that Town, and were advancing ſtrait to *Rome*, when *Domitius* met them in *Hetruria*, and gave them a total overthrow with great ſlaughter. After this, *Cornelius* came to a pitch'd battle with the united *Hetrurians* and *Boii*; the troops of the former were almoſt all ſlain, and thoſe of the latter, who eſcaped, being vanquiſhed a ſecond time, ſued for peace. As for the *Senones*, they were ſo utterly deſtroyed, that there ſcarce remained any footſteps of them in *Italy*.

Y. of *R.* 470. Bef. *J. C.* 282. 169 Conſul-p. *Appian.* apud *Fulv. Urſinum.* *Polyb.* B. 2.

In the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, almoſt all *Italy*, through the ſecret intrigues of the *Tarentines*, roſe up in arms againſt the *Robbers*, as the *Romans* were then called. On one ſide the remains of the *Hetrurians* and *Boii*, on the other the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*, in conjunction with the *Samnites*, all conſpired together for the deſtruction of the imperious Republic. It fell to *Æmilius* to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to *Fabricius* to command in *Lucania*. The latter marched to the relief of *Thurium*, a city on the Gulph of *Tarentum*, and beſieged by the *Lucanians*, *Bruttians*, and *Samnites*. He defeated this confederate army, but found it a difficult enterprize to force their camp. The means by which he ſucceeded in it, and which had ſomething of the air of a miracle, was probably a ſtratagem of his own contriving. Whilſt he ſeem'd to be in ſuſpenſe what meaſures to take, a young man full of ſtrength and vigour, wearing feathers in his helmet, appear'd on a ſudden in the midſt of the Legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their country, and then ſeizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a ſhower of darts, planted his ladder againſt it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inſpired the *Romans* with ſuch intrepidity, that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of the camp. Twenty five thouſand of the enemy, with their General *Statilius*, were ſlain. After the victory the *Conſul* ordered the young man who had firſt mounted the rampart to be ſought for, in order to reward him; and becauſe he was not to be found, the *Romans* preſently imagined, that it was the God *Mars* himſelf, and returned him ſolemn thanks for his aſſiſtance, by public *Supplications*.

Y. of *R.* 471. Bef. *J. C.* 281. 170 Conſul-p. *Plin.* B. 34. ch. 6. *Ammian. Marc.* B. 24. *Val. Max.* B. 1. ch. 8. *D. Hal.* in Legation. *Val. Max.* B. 1. ch. 8.

§. III. AS for the *Tarentines*, the real authors of this war, they had not yet openly declared againſt *Rome*. An accident at length made them throw off the maſk. *Valerius* one of the *Maritime Duumvirs*, or Admirals of the *Roman* fleet, happen'd to come with ten ſhips to the mouth of their port, while they were celebrating their Games in the Theatre,

Y. of *R.* 471. Bef. *J. C.* 281. 170 Conſul-p.

Theatre, which look'd towards the harbour. The ſudden appearance of the *Roman* ſhips interrupted their diverſions; the *Tarentines* imagining that the *Romans* were come with hoſtile intentions, they all with one conſent ran down to the port, fell upon the fleet with the fury of mad-men, ſunk one ſhip, and took four, the other five eſcaping. All the priſoners fit to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the reſt ſold to the beſt bidder. Upon the news of this unexpected inſult, the Republic ſent a deputation to *Tarentum* to demand ſatisfaction. *Poſthumius Megellus*, who had been thrice *Conſul*, was at the head of the Embaſſy. He was admitted to an audience in the Theatre, where he harangued the aſſembly in *Greek*. The *Tarentines*, heated with wine, inſtead of liſtening to his diſcourſe with that ſeriouſneſs which the importance of the matter required, burſt into loud laughter, or hiſſed him, whenever he heſitated, was incorrect in his expreſſion, or even pronounced a word with a foreign accent; but when he began to ſpeak of *Reparation of Wrongs*, they flew into rage, called him *Barbarian*, and, in a manner, drove him out of the aſſembly. Nor was this all: As he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, a buffoon named *Philonides* coming up to him, urined upon his robe; a new ſource of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude; ſome of them even clapp'd their hands for extreme joy at the outragious inſolence. *Poſthumius* turning about to the aſſembly, only ſhewed them the ſkirt of his garment ſo defiled; but when he found that this had no effect but to encreaſe the loudneſs of their contumelious mirth, *Laugh on*, TARENTINES, *laugh on now while you may. The time is coming, when you will weep*; *yes*, TARENTINES, *you will long weep. It is not a* little *blood that muſt waſh and purify this garment.* This ſaid, he ſtrait withdrew, left the city, and embark'd for *Rome*.

Flor. B. 1. *Oroſius*, B. 4. ch. 1. *D. Hal.* in Legat.

When the *Tarentines* came to themſelves, and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, never to be forgiven, and at the ſame time on the inability of their neighbours in *Italy* to defend them, they concluded it abſolutely neceſſary to look for ſuccours from beyond-ſea; and they caſt their eyes on *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, who, for perſonal bravery and martial ſkill, was renown'd above all the *Grecian* Commanders of that time.

Plut. Life of *Pyrrhus*.

This Prince was deſcended from *Achilles* by his ſon *Neoptolemus* (or *Pyrrhus*) who conquer'd *Epirus*, reigned there himſelf, and left the throne to his poſterity. Being yet an infant at the breaſt, when his father *Æacides* was dethroned by his ſubjects, he was conveyed through variety of dangers into *Illyricum*, where *Glaucias* the King of that country took care of him, and educated him with his own children. When *Pyrrhus* had attain'd to 12 years of age, *Glaucias* at the head of a great army enter'd *Epirus*, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors; but when he was 17 years old, the *Epirots*, rebelling again, drove him from his kingdom, and forced him to ſeek refuge in the dominions of *Demetrius*, the huſband of his ſiſter *Deidamia*. *Demetrius* was then maſter of *Greece* and a great part of *Aſia*. *Pyrrhus* ſerved under him in his wars againſt

Ptolomy

Ptolomy King of *Ægypt*, and gained great applauſe by his courage and conduct at the famous battle of *Ipſus* in *Phrygia*, where ſo many Kings were preſent; and when a peace was made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, *Pyrrhus* was ſent to *Ægypt*, as one of the hoſtages to ſecure the performance of the Treaty. Here he behaved himſelf with ſo much prudence and addreſs as to gain univerſal eſteem and admiration; and he made his court ſo ſucceſsfully to *Berenice* the favourite Queen, that ſhe gave him in marriage *Antigone*, her daughter by a former huſband. Having by this alliance engaged *Ptolomy* to aſſiſt him with money and troops, he recover'd his own Kingdom; after which he made himſelf maſter of *Macedon*; but being diſpoſſeſſed of it again by *Lyſimachus*, retired into *Epirus*, and was at this time in peace with all the neighbouring States. However, as he naturally loved action, and the buſtle and hurry of war, the ambaſſadors whom the *Tarentines* ſent to him (at firſt, perhaps, only to try his pulſe and obſerve the ſtate of his affairs) found him in a diſpoſition to hearken to any propoſal, which would furniſh him with employment worthy of his ambition. Y. of *R.* 471. Bef. *J.C.* 281. 170 Conſul-p.

§. IV. THE *Tarentines* to amuſe the *Romans* till it could be known what might be expected from *Pyrrhus*, beſieged *Thurium*, that was defended by a *Roman* Garriſon, and took it. This news was brought to *Rome* ſoon after the return of *Poſthumius*, and the other ambaſſadors who had been ſo ill treated at *Tarentum*. The Republick had juſt raiſed *L. Æmilius Barbula* and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, to the *Conſulate*. Theſe Magiſtrates having aſſembled the Conſcript Fathers repreſented to them on one hand the ſhameful indignity offer'd to their ambaſſadors, which required vengeance; and, on the other, the danger of engaging in a new war, when the Republick had already ſo many enemies to contend with: For the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* were ſtill in arms, and the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* were grown more confident, ſince the taking of *Thurium*. The Senate were unanimous as to the neceſſity of chaſtiſing the *Tarentines*; the Hoſtilities they had committed againſt the Republick, the inſult offered to *Poſthumius*, whoſe robe was produced in the aſſembly, left no room for deliberation upon that point; but the time *when* was the queſtion; and this was debated in the Senate from Sun-riſing to Sun-ſet for ſeveral days together, the Fathers being divided in opinion. Some were for deferring the war with the *Tarentines*, till the intermediate Provinces ſhould be ſubdued; others for beginning it immediately. The queſtion being put to the vote, the latter opinion prevailed by a majority of voices; and the Senate's Decree was confirmed by the people. Hereupon, *Æmilius*, who had intended to make the campaign in *Samnium*, was order'd to lay aſide that Expedition, and march directly to *Tarentum*. Y. of *R.* 472. Bef. *J.C.* 280. 171 Conſul-p. *Appian.* *D. Hal.* in Legation. *Zon.* B. 8. & *Appian.*

The approach of the *Romans* made the *Tarentines* carry on their deliberations with a little more ſeriouſneſs than formerly; and when the *Conſul* ſent once again to demand ſatisfaction, before he began Hoſtilities, the oldeſt and richeſt declared for peace: but the populace, who had *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrhus.*

Y. of *R.* 472. Bef. *J.C.* 281. 171 Conſul-p. *Diod.* in Ecclog.

little to loſe, inſiſted upon a war; and what put an end to the debate was a ſpeech of one of the common citizens, who renewed the propoſal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, a motion highly applauded by the multitude. The wiſer part of the citizens finding themſelves overborn by numbers came no more to the aſſemblies. Only one *Meton*, a very ſober worthy man, the day that a public Decree was to paſs for inviting *Pyrrhus* to *Tarentum*, and when the people were all placed in the Theatre, putting a wither'd garland on his head, and having a flambeaux in his hand, as was the manner of drunken debauchees, and being accompanied by a woman playing on a flute, came dancing into the midſt of the aſſembly. This ſilly ſight was ſufficient to divert the *Tarentines* from their moſt important deliberations. They made a Ring, and call'd out to *Meton* to ſing, and to the woman to play; but when they, expecting to be entertained with a ſong, were all ſilent, the wiſe citizen aſſuming an air of great ſerioufneſs, "You do well, *Tarentines*, not to hinder thoſe from "diverting themſelves, who are diſpoſed to mirth; and if you are wiſe "you will yourſelves make advantage of the preſent liberty you enjoy to "do the ſame. When *Pyrrhus* comes, you muſt change your way of life; "your mirth and joy will be at an end." Theſe words made an impreſſion upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had ſpoken well: but thoſe who had ſome reaſon to fear that they ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans* in caſe of an accommodation, being enraged at what he had ſaid, reviled the aſſembly for ſuffering themſelves to be ſo mocked and affronted, and crowding together, they thruſt *Meton* out of the Theatre. After this the Decree was paſſed, and ambaſſadors were ſent into *Epirus*, not only from the *Tarentines*, but from all the *Italick Greeks*, with magnificent preſents for the King, and with inſtructions to ſay, that they only wanted a General of fame and experience; that as for troops, they could themſelves furniſh a numerous army, 20000 horſe, and 350000 foot, made up of *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, *Samnites*, and *Tarentines*.

Plut. Life of *Pyrrhus*.

Oroſ. B. 4. & *Zon.* B. 8.

As ſoon as the news came to the *Roman* camp, that a deputation to *Pyrrhus* was decreed, *Æmilius* ſtraight began Hoſtilities, burnt and deſtroy'd all before him, and forced the *Tarentines* in the field to take refuge within their walls. However, not to drive them to deſpair, and to induce them to lay aſide the deſign of receiving *Pyrrhus*, he uſed ſome moderation, and ſent back the priſoners he had taken. Theſe highly extoll'd the generoſity of the *Conſul*; inſomuch, that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the *Roman* party; and they all in general began to repent of their rejecting a peace, and ſending for *Pyrrhus*. This was evident by their chuſing *Agis*, a friend of the *Romans*, to be their General, and the Governour of the City.

§. V. IN the mean while the *Tarentine* ambaſſadors, purſuant to the powers they had received, made an abſolute treaty with the King of *Epirus*. He was very ready to accept the invitation into *Italy*, his head being turned with the exploits of *Alexander the Great* in the Eaſt,

East, which he thought to imitate by mighty conquests in the West. Y. of *R.* 472. Bef. *J.C.* 280. 171 Consul-p. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrhus.*

There was then at the court of *Epirus*, a *Thessalian*, named *Cyneas*, a man of sound understanding, and who had been a Disciple of *Demosthenes*. He was thought to approach nearer than any other orator of this time to the vehement and forcible eloquence of that great master. *Pyrrhus* usually employed him, as his ambassador to those cities with whom he had any affair to transact, and the able minister succeeded so well in these negotiations, that the King was wont to say, *He had made more conquests by the tongue of Cyneas, than by his own sword.* And for this reason he not only held him in the highest esteem, but loaded him with honours, making him his chief minister and favourite.

Cyneas perceiving that *Pyrrhus* was eagerly bent to pass into *Italy*, and finding him one day at leisure, and in a humour for free conversation, thus began: *The* ROMANS, SIR, *are reported to be great warriors, and to rule over many brave and warlike nations. Should God grant us, nevertheless, to vanquish them, what use shall we make of our victory? The thing speaks of itself,* answered Pyrrhus; *the* Romans *once conquered, there is no city,* Barbarian *or* Greek, *that will dare to resist us. We shall be immediately masters of all* Italy, *a countrey whose extent, wealth, and power, no body is better apprized of than yourself.* Cyneas, after a short silence, *And when we have conquered* Italy, Sir, *What are we to do next?* Pyrrhus not yet perceiving his drift, *Next? Why, there is* Sicily *just by, She opens her arms to receive us, a rich and populous Island, and easily subdued; for since the death of* Agathocles, *the cities are all in confusion and anarchy. What you say,* SIR, replied Cyneas, *seems very probable indeed. But is the conquest of* Sicily *to put an end to our expeditions? Certainly no,* cried the King, *these successes will be only preludes to greater enterprises. Who is there, that in such a case, could forbear passing into* Africk, *and to* Carthage? *It is but a step thither. And when we have subdued these, what think you? Will any of those enemies, who now give us uneasiness, have once the boldness to withstand our arms? We shall then easily recover* Macedon, *and not only so, but in a little time be masters of all* Greece. *Very true,* said Cyneas, *Nothing can be clearer: But when we have compleated all these conquests, What shall we do then? Do then?* said Pyrrhus smiling, *Why, then we'll live at our ease, my Good Friend, and drink, and feast, and spend our days in agreeable conversation. Ah, Sir,* replied the Philosopher, *What hinders you from immediately possessing that happiness, which you propose to purchase at the expence of so much danger?* *

These

* *The celebrated Monsieur* Rollin *having inserted in the* text *of his seventh Volume of Ancient History, a much admired* reflection *of the famous Monsieur* Pascal *on this advice of* CYNEAS *to* PYRRHUS, *it is presumed that the inserting in the* margin *of this work, the same* reflection (*tho' of a turn, I confess, to suit better with Sacred than Profane History*) *will not require any apology: Nor shall I scruple to give some preceding* Thoughts *of the same Mr.* Pascal, *which serve to introduce that reflection, and make the truth of it more conspicuous.*

Monsieur Pascal (*as he is elegantly translated by Dr.* Basil Kennet) *in his discourse of the* Misery of Man, *speaks to this effect.*

Y. of *R.* 471. Bef. *J.C.* 280. 171 Conſul-p.

Theſe words rather vex'd the King, than diverted him from his deſign; for

THERE is nothing more capable of letting us into the knowledge of human miſery, than an enquiry after the real cauſe of that perpetual hurry and confuſion, in which we paſs our lives.

The ſoul is ſent into the body, to be the ſojourner of a few days. She knows that this is but a ſtop, till ſhe may embark for eternity; and that a ſmall ſpace is allowed her to prepare for the voyage. The main part of this ſpace is raviſhed from her by the neceſſities of nature; and but a ſlender pittance left to her own diſpoſal: And yet this moment which remains, does ſo ſtrangely oppreſs and perplex her, that ſhe only ſtudies how to loſe it: She feels an intolerable burthen, in being obliged to live with herſelf, and think of herſelf; and therefore, her principal care is to forget herſelf, aud to let this ſhort and precious moment paſs away without reflection, by amuſing herſelf with things which prevent her notice of its ſpeed.

This is the ground of all the tumultuary buſineſs, of all the trifling diverſions amongſt men; in which our general aim is to make the time paſs off our hands without feeling it, or rather without feeling ourſelves; and, by getting rid of this ſmall portion of life, to avoid that inward diſguſt and bitterneſs, which we ſhould not fail to meet with, if we found leiſure to deſcend into our own breaſts. For 'tis undeniably certain, that the ſoul of man is here incapable of reſt and ſatisfaction. And this obliges her to expand herſelf every way, and to ſeek how ſhe may loſe the thoughts of her own proper being in a ſettled application to the things about her. Her very happineſs conſiſts in this forgetfulneſs: and to make her exquiſitely miſerable, nothing more is required but the engaging her to look into herſelf, and to dwell at home.

WE charge Perſons from their very infancy with the care of their own fortunes and honours, and no leſs of the eſtates and dignities belonging to their kindred and friends. We burthen them with the ſtudy of languages, of exerciſes, and of arts. We enter them in buſineſs, and perſuade them that they can never be truly bleſſed, unleſs by their induſtry and caution they in ſome meaſure ſecure the intereſt and glory of themſelves, their families, and their dependents; and that unavoidable unhappineſs is entailed upon the failure of any one particular in this kind. Thus we teach them to wear out their ſtrength, and to rob themſelves of their reſt. A ſtrange method (you'll ſay) of making them happy! What could be done with more effect towards the inſuring them in miſery? Would you know what? Why, only to releaſe them from theſe cares, and to take off theſe burthens. For then their eyes and their thoughts muſt be turned inward, and that is the only hardſhip which they eſteem inſupportable. Hence, if they gain any relaxation from their labours, we find them eager to throw it away upon ſome ſport or diverſion, which takes up their whole activity, and pleaſantly robs them of themſelves.

'Tis for this reaſon, that when I have ſet myſelf to conſider the various agitations of human life, the toil and danger, to which we expoſe ourſelves in the court, in the camp, in the purſuits of ambition, which give birth to ſo much paſſion and contention, to ſo many deſperate and fatal adventures, I have often ſaid that the univerſal cauſe of men's misfortunes, was their not being able to live quietly in a chamber. A perſon who has enough for the uſes of this world, did he know the art of dwelling with himſelf, would never quit that repoſe and ſecurity for a voyage or a ſiege; nor would take ſo much pains to hazard his life, had he no other aim than barely to live.

But, upon ſtricter examination I found, that this averſion to home, this roving and reſtleſs diſpoſition, proceeded from a cauſe, no leſs powerful than univerſal; from the native unhappineſs of our frail and mortal ſtate, which is incapable of all comfort, if we have nothing to divert our thoughts and to call us out of ourſelves.

I ſpeak of thoſe alone who ſurvey their own nature, without the views of faith and religion. 'Tis indeed one of the miracles of Chriſtianity, that by reconciling man to God, it reſtores him to his own good opinion; that it makes him able to bear the ſight of himſelf; and in ſome caſes, renders ſolitude and ſilence more agreeable, than all the intercourſe and action of mankind. Nor is it by fixing man in his own perſon, that it produceth theſe wonderful effects; 'tis by carrying him to God, and by ſupporting him under the ſenſe of his miſeries, with the hopes of an aſſured and compleat deliverance in a better life. But

for he could not part with the pleaſing hopes he had entertained. To Y. of *R.* 472. Bef. *J. C.* 280. 171 Conſul-p.

But for thoſe who do not act above the principles of meer nature, 'tis impoſſible they ſhould without falling into an incurable chagrine and diſcontent, undergo the lingring torment of leiſure. Man who loves nothing but his own perſon, hates nothing ſo much as to be confined to his own converſation. He ſeeks nothing but himſelf, and yet flies and avoids nothing more than himſelf; becauſe when he is obliged to look within, he does not ſee himſelf ſuch as he could wiſh; diſcovering only a hidden ſtore of inevitable miſeries, and a mighty *void* of all real and ſolid good, which 'tis beyond his ability to repleniſh.

Let a man chuſe his own condition, let him embelliſh it with all the goods and all the ſatisfactions he can poſſeſs or deſire; yet, if in the midſt of this glory and pride he is without buſineſs, and without diverſion, and has time to contemplate on his fortunes, his ſpirits muſt unavoidably ſink beneath the languiſhing felicity. He will of neceſſity torment himſelf with the proſpect of what's to come; and he that boaſted to have brought home all the ingredients of happineſs, muſt again be ſent abroad, or condemned to domeſtick miſery.

IS *Majeſty* itſelf ſo truly great, and ſufficient, as to ſupport thoſe whom it adorns and encircles, under the bare thought of their own grandeur? Is it neceſſary that this thought ſhould be here likewiſe diverted, as in the common herd of men? A vulgar perſon will be abundantly happy, if he may eaſe himſelf of his ſecret troubles, by applying all his care to excel in the perfection of dancing. But dare we ſay this of a King? Or, will he be more charm'd with ſo vain and petty amuſements, than with the contemplation of his royal dignity and eſtate? What nobler, what more ſublime object than himſelf, to engage and to ſatisfy his ſpirit? Might it not ſeem an envious leſſening of his content, to interrupt his princely thought, with the care of meaſuring his ſteps by an air of muſick, or of exactly ordering a *ball*, inſtead of leaving him to ſurvey the glories of his throne, and to rejoice in the excellence of his power? Let us preſume to make the experiment: Let us ſuppoſe a prince in ſolitude, without any entertainment of ſenſe, any engagement of mind, any relief of converſation; and we ſhall find that a prince with his eyes upon himſelf, is a man full of miſeries, and who feels them with as quick and piercing a reſentment as the loweſt among his ſlaves. And therefore, it has been a ſtanding maxim, to baniſh theſe intruding and importunate reflections from court, and to keep about the *Royal Perſon* thoſe who ſhall conſtantly purvey for the amuſement of their maſter, by laying a train of divertiſements to ſucceed after buſineſs, and by watching his hours of leiſure, to pour in immediately a freſh ſupply of mirth and ſport, that no vacancy may be left in life, that is, the court abounds with men, who have a wonderful activity in taking care that *His Majeſty* ſhall not be alone, well-knowing that ſolitude is but another name for miſery, and that the ſupreme pitch of worldly greatneſs is too nice and weak, to bear the examination of a thought.

—WHENCE comes it to paſs, that men are tranſported to ſuch a degree with gaming, hunting, or other diverſions, which ſeem to have taken an abſolute poſſeſſion of their ſouls? not becauſe there is any real and intrinſick good to be obtained by theſe purſuits; not becauſe they imagine that true happineſs is to be found in the money which they win at play, or in the beaſt which they run down in the chace: For ſhould you preſent them beforehand with both theſe, to ſave their trouble, they would be unanimous in rejecting the propoſal. 'Tis not the gentle and eaſy part which they are fond of, ſuch as may give them leiſure and ſpace for thought; but 'tis the heat and the hurry, which divert them from the mortification of thinking.

—A MAN, that by gaming every day for ſome little ſtake, paſſeth away his life without uneaſineſs or melancholy, would yet be render'd unhappy, ſhould you give him every morning the ſum which he could poſſibly win all day, upon condition to forbear. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that 'tis the amuſement of the play which he ſeeks, and not the gain. Yet if he plays for nothing, his gaiety is over, and the ſpleen recovers full poſſeſſion. Bare amuſement, therefore, is not what he propoſeth; a languiſhing amuſement without heat or paſſion, would but diſpirit and fatigue him: He muſt be allowed to raiſe and chaff himſelf, by propoſing a happineſs in the gaining of that which he would deſpiſe, if

Y. of R. 472. Bef. J. C. 280. 171 Conſul-P.

To conceal his deſign of making himſelf maſter of *Tarentum*, as well given him not to venture, and by creating a fictitious object, which ſhall excite and employ his deſire, his anger, his hope, and his fear.

—WE have ſeen the utmoſt that human invention can do, in projecting for human happineſs. Thoſe who content themſelves barely with demonſtrating the vanity and littleneſs of common diverſions, are indeed acquainted with one part of our miſeries; for a conſiderable part it is, to be thus capable of taking pleaſure in things ſo baſe and inſignificant. But they apprehend not the cauſe and principle which renders theſe miſeries even neceſſary to us, ſo long as we remain uncured of that inward and natural infirmity of not being able to bear the ſight of our own condition. The hare which men buy in the market cannot ſcreen them from this view; but the field and the chaſe afford an approved relief. And therefore when we reproach them with their low and ignoble aim, and obſerve to them how little ſatisfaction there is in that which they follow with ſo much contention and ardour, did they anſwer upon mature judgment, they would acknowledge the equity of our cenſure, and would ingenuouſly declare, that they propoſed nothing in theſe purſuits but the bare violence of the motion, ſuch as might keep them ſtrangers to the ſecrets of their ſoul; and that therefore they made choice of objects, which, how worthleſs ſoever in reality, were yet of an engaging and attractive nature, and able to engroſs the activity of all their powers. And the reaſon why they don't anſwer in this manner, is the want of this acquaintance with their own boſom. A gentleman believes with all ſincerity that there's ſomewhat great and noble in Hunting, and will be ſure to tell you, that 'tis a Royal Sport. You may hear the like defence and encomium of any other exerciſe or employment, which men affect or purſue. They imagine that there muſt needs be ſomewhat real and ſolid in the objects themſelves. They are perſuaded, that could they but gain ſuch a point, they ſhould then repoſe themſelves with content and pleaſure; and are under an inſenſibility of the inſatiable nature of this deſire. They believe themſelves to be heartily engaged in the attainment of reſt, while they are indeed employ'd in nothing elſe but the ſearch of continual and ſucceſſive drudgery.

Men have a ſecret inſtinct, prompting them to ſeek employment or recreation; which proceeds from no other cauſe but the ſenſe of their inward pain, and never-ceaſing torment. They have another ſecret inſtinct, a relique of their primitive nature, which aſſures them, that the ſum of their happineſs conſiſts in eaſe and repoſe. And upon theſe two oppoſite inſtincts they form one confuſed deſign, lurking in the receſſes of their ſoul, which engages them to proſecute the latter by the intervention of the former, and conſtantly to perſuade themſelves, that the ſatisfaction they have hitherto wanted will infallibly attend them, if by ſurmounting certain difficulties, which they now look in the face, they may open a ſafe paſſage to peace and tranquillity.

Thus our life runs out. We ſeek reſt, by encountering ſuch particular impediments, which if we are able to remove, the conſequence is, that the reſt which we have obtained becomes itſelf a grievance. For we are ruminating every moment either on the miſeries we feel, or on thoſe we fear. And even when we ſeem on all ſides to be placed under ſhelter, the affections, which are ſo naturally rooted in us, fail not to regret their loſt dominion, and to diffuſe their melancholic poiſon through the ſoul.

AND therefore when *Cyneas* ſo gravely admoniſh'd *Pyrrhus*, who propoſed to enjoy himſelf with his friends after he ſhould have conquer'd a good part of the world, that he would do much better to anticipate his own happineſs, by taking immediate poſſeſſion of this eaſe and quiet, without purſuing it thro' ſo much fatigue: The counſel he gave was indeed full of difficulty, and ſcarce more rational than the project of that young ambitious Prince. Both the one and the other opinion ſuppoſed that which is falſe, that a man can reſt ſatisfied with himſelf and his preſent poſſeſſions, without filling up the void ſpace in his heart with imaginary expectations. *Pyrrhus* muſt inevitably have been unhappy, either without or with the conqueſt of the world; and perhaps that ſoft and peaceful life which his miniſter adviſed him to embrace, was leſs capable of giving him ſatisfaction, than the heat and tumult of ſo many expeditions, and ſo many battles, which he was then forming and fighting in his mind.

as

as of the reſt of *Italy*, he artfully inſerted a clauſe in the treaty with his allies, *That when he had delivered them from their dangers, he ſhould not be hinder'd from returning to* Epirus. And to ſecure their fidelity, he detained ſome of their ambaſſadors under pretence of wanting their aſſiſtance. After theſe precautions, he ſent away *Cyneas* with three thouſand men to *Tarentum*. This eloquent miniſter ſoon found means to depoſe *Agis* from the Government, and to get poſſeſſion of the Citadel. Y. of *R.* 472. Bef. *J. C.* 280. 171 Conſul-p. *Zonaras*, B. 8. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrh.* *Zonaras*, B. 8.

In the mean time *Æmilius*, the *Roman Conſul*, finding that there was no poſſibility of attempting any thing with ſucceſs againſt *Tarentum* this campaign, reſolved to march his army into winter quarters in *Apulia*. Being obliged to paſs thro' certain defiles, ſtraiten'd by the ſea on one ſide and high hills on the other, he was there attack'd by the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* from great numbers of barks fraught with *Balliſtæ* [Engines for throwing ſtones of a vaſt weight) and from the hills which they had cover'd with archers and ſlingers; nevertheleſs by placing, between him and the enemy, his *Tarentine* priſoners, whom they were unwilling to hurt, he preſerved his Legions from ſuffering any conſiderable loſs. Having quarter'd his troops, he himſelf repair'd to *Rome*, where his collegue *Marcius* had a Triumph for ſome conqueſts he had made in *Hetruria*. *Faſt. Capit.*

CHAP. XXVI.

§. I. P. Valerius Lævinus *and* Tib. Coruncanius *are choſen* Conſuls *at* Rome. Pyrrhus (whoſe Character is given) *being arrived at* Tarentum (*after eſcaping ſhipwreck by a ſtorm which diſperſed his Fleet*) *takes meaſures to turn the* Tarentines *from the purſuit of* Pleaſures, *to which they are entirely addicted*; *and he makes himſelf abſolute maſter in the place. In the mean time the* Romans *ſend* Fabricius *to viſit their Colonies and Allies, with whom they are fallen into ſome diſcredit, through the villainous behaviour of a Legion of* Campanian *Soldiers, which had been ſent by the Republic to garriſon* Rhegium *at the requeſt of the inhabitants, and which had maſſacred the Citizens by ſurprize, and ſeized the City for themſelves.* §. II. Pyrrhus *hearing at* Tarentum *that the Conſul* Lævinus *has march'd an army into* Lucania, *takes the field. He ſends a letter to the Conſul encamp'd near* Heraclea, *requiring him to ſubmit the quarrel between* Rome *and* Tarentum *to his arbitration.* Lævinus, *in anſwer, returns a defiance.* Pyrrhus *takes a view of the* Roman *camp, and admires the order of it*; *and his confidence of ſucceſs in the war being thereby abated, he reſolves to wait for the junction of his allies before he hazards a battle*; *but the* Romans *force him to fight. He gains the victory by means of his Elephants.* §. III. *After this ſucceſs* Pyrrhus *forms Deſigns upon* Capua *and* Naples. *Diſappoin'ed in theſe Deſigns he marches towards* Rome *with an intention to beſiege it. But hearing that the Conſul* Coruncanius, *who had* ſubdued all HETRURIA, *is coming with his victorious army againſt him, he*

marches back into Campania, *where* Lævinus *having recruited his forces, offers him battle once more. The King declines it, and returns to* Tarentum. §. IV. *Hither* Fabricius, *and two other Senators from* Rome, *come to treat with him concerning the ranſom of Priſoners. He has ſome private converſation with* Fabricius. *The King reſolves to ſend* Cyneas *to* Rome *with propoſals of Peace, one of the conditions of which is to be, a releaſe of the* Roman *Priſoners without Ranſom.* Cyneas *comes to* Rome, *and employs all his arts to effect his deſires; but the Senate, moved chiefly by a warm ſpeech of* Appius Claudius, *the Civilian (now blind) unanimouſly refuſe to enter into any treaty of Peace with the King while he continues in* Italy. Cyneas *returns to* Tarentum, *full of admiration of the* Romans.

Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J.C.* 279. 172 Conſul-p. *Tab. Claud. Cæſar.* apud Lugdunenſes.

§. I. THE *Conſuls* for the new year were *P. Valerius Lævinus* and *Tib. Coruncanius*, the latter not a *Roman* by birth, but raiſed to the Conſulate purely for his merit. He was of *Camerium*, one of the *Roman Municipia* in *Latium*. It fell to him by lot to carry on the war in *Hetruria*, and to his Collegue to conduct that againſt the *Tarentines*. *Æmilius* was continued in the command of his own Troops in quality of *Proconſul*, and was order'd to march againſt the *Salentines* (in *Japygia*,) who had declared for the *Tarentines*. The preſent exigence of affairs obliged the *Romans* to inliſt the *Proletarii*. Theſe (as has been formerly obſerved) were the meaneſt of the People, and eſteemed not capable of doing the State any ſervice, except that of peopling the city; hitherto they had never been ſuffer'd to bear arms: A wiſe part of *Roman* Policy, to make it an ignominy to be excluded from ſerving their country in war.

Juſtin, B. 17, 18. *Zon.* B. 8. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrr.*

Pyrrhus was now arrived at *Tarentum*, having narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck. The *Tarentines*, ſoon after the arrival of *Cyneas*, had ſent to the King a great number of Galleys, flat-bottom Veſſels, and other Tranſports, whereon to embark his forces; and he had ſail'd from *Epirus* with 20 Elephants, 3000 Horſe, 20000 heavy-arm'd Foot, 200 Archers, and 500 Slingers. When he was got out to ſea, the wind riſing ſuddenly at North, and blowing hard, he was driven out of his courſe. Nevertheleſs, by the great ſkill and diligence of the pilots and ſeamen, the King's ſhip bore with the land, and kept the *Italian* coaſt; but the reſt of the fleet could not get up; ſome of the ſhips were driven into the *Libyan* and *Sicilian* ſeas; others, not being able to double the Cape of *Japygia*, and a very boiſterous ſea throwing them in the night upon a rocky ſhore, they all ſuffer'd great damage. The Admiral, by her ſtrength and bulk, reſiſted the violence of the weather; but the wind coming about, and blowing directly in her teeth from the ſhore, and the veſſel keeping up her head againſt it, ſhe was in danger of opening at every ſhock ſhe ſuſtained from the huge billows that broke over her. On the other hand, to be driven off again to ſea in a raging tempeſt, and when the wind was continually ſhifting about, ſeemed the greateſt of all evils. In this extremity,

tremity, the veſſel not being far from land, *Pyrrhus* without heſitation threw himſelf into the ſea. His friends and guards inſtantly follow'd him, ſtriving with emulation to aſſiſt and ſave him, which the darkneſs of the night and the impetuoſity of the waves, that were repelled with a roaring noiſe from the ſhore, made extremely difficult. However, by day-break, the wind being then quite laid, he got aſhore, much fatigued and weakened in body, but with undaunted courage, and a ſtrength of mind ſuperior to the moſt adverſe fortune. The *Meſſapians*, upon whoſe coaſt the King was caſt, haſtened to give him all the aſſiſtance in their power; and they alſo went out to meet and ſuccour ſome of his veſſels which were not far off, and in which were found a few Horſe, two Elephants, and about 2000 Foot. *Pyrrhus* having drawn theſe together, marched with them directly towards *Tarentum*. *Cyneas*, upon the news of the King's approach, led out his troops to meet him, and conducted him into the city, where he was received with the acclamations of all the People.

Y. of R. 473. Bef. J. C. 279. 172 Conſul-p.

PYRRHUS (as we learn from *Plutarch*) had in his countenance a Majeſty that was rather terrible than auguſt. In a day of battle he was thought to reſemble *Alexander* in look, agility, impetuoſity, and ſtrength of arm. His conſummate knowledge in the art of war appeared even from the books he wrote upon that ſubject. *Antigonus* being aſk'd, *Who was the greateſt Captain (of that time)* anſwer'd, PYRRHUS, *if he lives to be old:* But *Hannibal* afterwards, ſpeaking of great Commanders in general, gave *Pyrrhus* the firſt[a] place in the whole liſt. War was indeed his only ſtudy, and the only ſcience he thought worthy of a Prince. Nevertheleſs he had a great ſhare of humanity in his natural temper, was affable and familiar to his friends, not eaſily provoked to anger, and the moſt ardent of all men living to requite obligations. For which reaſon when *Æropus* died, who had done him important ſervices, he could not bear it with any moderation: *Not becauſe his friend had paid the indiſpenſible tribute to nature, (to die,* he ſaid, *was common to all) but becauſe he himſelf, by delays, had loſt the opportunity of requiting the kindneſſes he had received from him:* For, *as* PLUTARCH *adds*, tho' money-debts may be diſcharged by payment to the heirs of the creditor when he is dead, a debt of kindneſs can never be ſatisfy'd but by a return of kindneſs to the friend himſelf; and, if he dies unrequited, it will always be a pungent grief to the perſon obliged, if he have a good and honeſt heart. *Plut.* in *Pyrrh.*

His chief faults were boundleſs ambition, and a ſtrange inconſtancy in the purſuit of its objects. Fond of a new enterprize, he was always ready to quit it, how ſucceſsfully ſoever begun, the moment that a newer preſented itſelf to his imagination. Whatever, *ſays* PLUTARCH, he acquired by his exploits, he loſt by his vain hopes; his impatience to purſue what he had not yet attained would not let him ſecure what he had already won; which made *Antigonus* compare him to a man at Dice, who has admirable fortune, but plays ill.

While *Pyrrhus* was waiting for the arrival of his ſcatter'd forces, he obſerved the diſpoſitions of the *Tarentines*, and was ſurprized to ſee how

[a] *Plutarch*, in his life of *Flaminius*, makes *Hannibal* give *Alexander* the firſt place, and *Pyrrhus* the ſecond.

Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J. C.* 279. 172 Conſul-p.

their minds were entirely bent to pleaſures, in which they thought to indulge themſelves as uſual, while he and his *Epirots* were to fight in their defence. To remedy this miſchief, which muſt otherwiſe naturally end in the ruin of themſelves and their defenders, he, as ſoon as his troops had joined him, ſhut up the public gardens and walks, where the inhabitants uſed to meet to talk of news and politics; he forbad public feaſting, plays, and maſquerades, and incorporated the beſt bodied men of the people in his *Phalanxes*. The effeminate *Tarentines* groan'd under theſe wholſome regulations, in the execution of which the King was very rigorous. They found they had got a Maſter inſtead of an Ally; many of them, rather than endure ſuch ſtrict diſcipline, withdrew from the city, while others expreſſed their diſcontent by ſecret murmurs and loud complaints. *Pyrrhus* had his ſpies in the city, who inſinuated themſelves into all companies, and brought him an account of the diſcourſes of the malcontents. One day ſome young debauchees, heated with wine, gave their tongues an unbounded liberty in talking againſt the King's meaſures. *Pyrrhus* being informed of it, order'd them to be brought before him: *Is it true*, ſaid he, *that you have utter'd againſt me thoſe outragious things you are accuſed of? It is very true*, anſwered one of them; *and we ſhould have ſaid more, if our wine had not fail'd us.* *Pyrrhus* ſmiled and diſmiſſed them.

Frontin. in Stratag.

Val. Max. B. 5. ch. 1. in extern.

Zon. B. 8.

But (if we may believe *Zonaras*) he was not ſo moderate with regard to ſome of the Citizens, whoſe intrigues he ſuſpected and fear'd; he cauſed the moſt factious of them to be diſpatched by private aſſaſſinations. To get rid of one *Ariſtarchus*, a great Orator, and much in credit with the People, he commiſſion'd him to go to his ſon in *Epirus*, on ſome buſineſs, which he pretended to be of great importance. *Ariſtarchus* ſaw through the artifice; and, the maſter of the veſſel in which he was to ſail being at his devotion, inſtead of going to *Greece*, he ſteer'd to a port of *Italy*, and went thence to *Rome*. What advice he gave the *Romans* is uncertain: But *Fabricius* was diſpatched away to viſit the *Colonies* and allies of the Republic. Nor was the precaution unneceſſary at a time when a Prince, ſo illuſtrious for his exploits in the Eaſt, undertook to deliver the *Italians* from the domination of the Republic.

Dion. apud *Fulv. Urſinum.*

An extraordinary event, which had happen'd a little before, had alſo given the *Romans* much uneaſineſs, and brought a great diſcredit on them in their *Colonies* and among their *Allies*. While *Pyrrhus* was coming to *Tarentum*, and the *Carthaginians* infeſted all the coaſts of the *Ionian* ſea, the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, ſituated in the ſouthern extremity of *Italy*, near *Sicily*, applied to the Republic for a *Roman* Garriſon to defend them from an Invaſion. A *Legion* was raiſed in *Campania* for that purpoſe, and ſent to them under the command of one *Decius Jubellus*. Theſe ſoldiers, who had been uſed to a laborious life, began ſoon to envy the inhabitants the pleaſures and eaſe in which they lived, and it was not long before they formed and executed a ſcheme to make thoſe advantages their own. They forged letters from the *Rhegians* to *Pyrrhus*, importing an offer to put the place into his hands; and under this pretext they maſ-

Polyb. B. 1. *Flor.* Epit. 12.

ſacred

facred all the chief men of the place at a banquet, and then fell upon the reſt, whom they either put to the ſword, or drove out of the city. As for the women, they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and huſbands. This news was brought to *Rome* at a time when the circumſtances of the Republic would not allow the *Romans* to take vengeance on the perfidious *Legion*. Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J. C.* 279. 172 Conſul. p.

§. II. *PYRRHUS* hearing at *Tarentum* that the *Conſul Lævinus* was come with an army into *Lucania*, a province in alliance with the *Tarentines*, and was committing hoſtilities there, thought it ſhameful to continue longer ſhut up within walls; and though he had not received any reinforcements from the *Samnites* and *Meſſapians*, or other allies of the *Tarentines*, he took the field. But firſt he wrote the following letter to *Lævinus*. PYRRHUS *to* LÆVINUS *Health. I am informed that you command an army which is to make war againſt the* Tarentines. *Diſband it without delay, and then come and expoſe your pretenſions before me. When I have heard both parties, I will give judgment, and I know how to make my ſentence be obey'd.* To this LÆVINUS anſwer'd: *Know*, Pyrrhus, *that we neither admit you for a Judge, nor fear you as an Enemy. Does it become you to aſſume the character of a Judge over us, you who have yourſelf injured us by landing in* Italy *without our conſent? We will have no Arbitrator but* Mars, *the author of our race, and the protector of our arms.* The King, who expected no other kind of anſwer, march'd his army without delay into the plain between the cities of *Pandoſia* and *Heraclea*; and underſtanding that the *Romans* were encamp'd not far from him on the other ſide the *Siris*, (a river which waters the country then called *Lucania*, and which empties itſelf into the Gulph of *Tarentum*) he rode up to the banks of it to take a view of their camp. When he had conſider'd it well, its form and ſituation, with the manner in which the *Romans* poſted their advanced guards, and had obſerved ſome other parts of their diſcipline, he was much ſurpriſed, and turning to one of his friends who ſtood near him, *Megacles*, ſaid he, *this* ORDER *of the* Barbarians *is not* Barbarian. *What they are able to do in* fight *we ſhall ſee hereafter.* And being now a little more anxious about the ſucceſs of the war than before, he reſolved to wait within his camp for the arrival of his confederates; and he poſted ſome troops on the banks of the river to hinder the *Romans* from paſſing it. *Lævinus* nevertheleſs, knowing of what conſequence it was to come to an engagement with the *Epirot* before he could receive the reinforcements he expected, and having exhorted his troops not to be intimidated by the reputation of *Pyrrhus*, or by his Elephants (animals which they had never yet ſeen) made his Infantry ford the ſtream in the very face of the enemy's advanced guard, while his Cavalry paſſed the river in different places, and wherever they could; ſo that the *Epirots* fearing to be ſurrounded, retired in all haſte to their main body. *Pyrrhus* upon the firſt notice of this motion, which much ſurpriſed him, directing the Officers of his Infantry to range their troops in battalia, and keep them ready to march upon the firſt ſignal, he himſelf *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrh.* *Zon.* B. 8. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrh.*

Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J.C.* 279. 172 Conſul-p. with the Horſe amounting to about 3000, advanced with all diligence to charge the *Romans*, before their whole army could recover firm footing, and get into order. But the *Roman* Cavalry being already form'd, received him as men well exerciſed in ſuſtaining furious attacks. The beauty and luſtre of the King's arms made him very conſpicuous, and his actions preſently convinced all who obſerved him, that his reputation did not exceed his merit; for in this fight, neither did his courage tranſport him beyond the duties of a careful General, nor his attention to direct others, hinder him from diſplaying his perſonal Valour.

During the heat of the combat, *Leonatus* a *Macedonian*, obſerving that an *Italian* horſeman had ſingled out the King, whoſe every motion he watch'd and follow'd, gave *Pyrrhus* notice of it, adviſing him to beware of that *Barbarian*, who, he ſaid, ſeemed to have form'd ſome great deſign. PYRRHUS anſwered; LEONATUS, *No man can avoid his Deſtiny; be aſſured, however, that neither that* Italian, *nor any other, ſhall have much ſatisfaction from an Encounter with me this day.* He had ſcarce ended theſe words, when the *Italian*, quickning his horſe, and making directly at the King, aim'd a furious ſtroke at him with his lance, but wounded only his horſe; *Leonatus*, at the ſame time, wounded that of the *Italian*, and both horſes fell to the ground with their riders. *Pyrrhus* was inſtantly ſurrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, having ſlain the *Italian*, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught *Pyrrhus* to be more cautious. Seeing his Cavalry ſhrink, he order'd his Infantry to advance; but before he put himſelf at their head to renew the charge, he gave his mantle and arms to *Megacles*, in exchange for his. The battle was obſtinately fought on both ſides, and the victory continued a long time doubtful. The King's changing his arms (tho' prudently done for the ſafety of his perſon) had like to have loſt him the day. For MEGACLES being miſtaken for the KING, was attack'd by great numbers of the enemy, and at laſt wounded and unhors'd by a *Roman* Knight, who pulling away his helmet and mantle, rode full ſpeed with them to *Lævinus*, crying out, that he had ſlain *Pyrrhus*. Theſe ſpoils being carried as in triumph through all the ranks, fill'd the *Roman* army with inexpreſſible joy, ſo that the air rung with ſhouts of victory; while the *Grecian* troops were ſtruck with conſternation and diſmay.

The King no ſooner perceived the ill effect of this miſtake, but with all diligence he flew along the Lines bare-headed, ſtretching out his hands to his ſoldiers, and by his voice confirming the evidence of their eyes. The combat was then renewed, and *Pyrrhus* bringing his elephants into the wings, quickly obtained the victory. For the *Roman* Battalions ſeeing their Cavalry put to rout by thoſe huge animals, whoſe unuſual form, noiſes, and ſmell, terrified the horſes, and finding themſelves both charged in flank, and overborne by the force and bulk of thoſe ſtrange beaſts, gave way to neceſſity, and ſaved themſelves as well as they could by haſty flight; nor did they ſtop to defend their camp, but

but ran quite beyond it, leaving both that and the honour of the day entirely to *Pyrrhus*. Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J. C.* 279. 172 Conſul-p.

Dionyſius writes, that near 15000 *Romans* were ſlain in this battle, and that *Pyrrhus* loſt 13000 of his men. But other authors leſſen the loſs on both ſides. The King treated the priſoners, amounting to about 1800, with all poſſible humanity, and eſteemed them the more for refuſing to enliſt themſelves in his ſervice. *Dio.* apud Valeſ.

The fame of this victory was ſoon ſpread over all *Italy*, much to the reputation of *Pyrrhus*; for it was a rare thing, that a *Roman* Conſul, with a ſelect army, ſhould loſe in pitch'd battle, not only the field, but the camp itſelf. And this honour was the more bravely won by the Epirot, as he had none of his *Italian* Allies to aſſiſt him, except the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well diſſemble his content in having the glory of this action ſo peculiarly his own. His ſatisfaction was viſible in his face, even while he was ſeverely reprimanding the *Lucanians* and *Samnites* (who joined him ſoon after the battle) for their tardineſs. To attach them the more firmly to him, he gave them a ſhare of the booty. *Plut.* in *Pyrr.*

§. III. BUT now the King of *Epirus*, with his victorious army, broke like a torrent into the countries in alliance with the Republic, and many cities ſurrendring to him, he advanced within 30 miles of *Rome*[b]. *Zonaras* relates, that the King being diſappointed in his deſigns upon *Capua* and *Naples*, thought to march into *Hetruria*, join the enemies of the *Roman* Republic in that country, and thence go and beſiege *Rome*; but that hearing there was an alliance juſt concluded between the *Hetrurians* and *Romans*, and that the Conſul *Coruncanius*, who by a ſucceſsful campaign had effected that alliance, was advancing againſt him, he proceeded no further in his march. It appears, indeed, by the *Capitoline Marbles* that *Tib. Coruncanius* had a Triumph for his victories this year over the *Volſinienſes* and *Volcientes* in *Hetruria*. And it is not improbable that theſe victories compleated the reduction of that country. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Pyrrhus* returned to *Tarentum*.

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained, were not ſo dejected, as to have any thought of aſking peace from the victor; nor, tho' *Fabricius* ſaid publickly, *that the* Epirots *had not vanquiſhed the* Romans, *but that* Pyrrhus *had vanquiſhed* Lævinus, did they recall the unfortunate Conſul: Their whole attention was to recruit his army, and enable him to try a ſecond engagement. *Pyrrhus*, in his return to *Tarentum*, found him in *Campania*, with a more numerous army than that which he had vanquiſhed on the Banks of the *Siris*; and hereupon he is ſaid to have cried out, *I ſee plainly I was born under the Star of* Hercules, *I have to do with a Hydra, whoſe Heads are no ſooner lopp'd off, but new ones ſpring up from its blood.* The Conſul offered him battle; *Zonaras*, B. 8. *Florus*, B. 1. *Zonaras*, B. 8.

[b] *Florus*, Book 1. in his poetic ſtrain tells us, that *Pyrrhus* from a hill near *Præneſte* took a view of *Rome*, and filled the eyes of the trembling inhabitants with ſmoke and duſt at twenty miles diſtance, *à viceſimo lapide oculos trepidæ civitatis fumo ac pulvere implevit.*

Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J. C.* 279. 172 Conſul-p.

Pyrrhus, unwilling to refuſe it, drew up his army, and commanded the conductors of his elephants to force them to make their ſtrange and dreadful noiſes, in order to frighten the *Roman* Legions; but theſe noiſes were anſwered by ſo univerſal and terrible a ſhout from the *Romans*, that the King who found his ſoldiers diſmay'd, thought fit to decline the engagement, pretending that the Omens were not favourable; and the Conſul not forcing him to fight, he purſued his march to *Tarentum*.

§. IV. WHILE *Pyrrhus* continued quiet in this city, he had time to reflect on the bravery, conduct, and ſtrength of the *Romans*. He conſider'd that they were better able to endure many ſuch loſſes as they had ſuffered, than he many ſuch victories as he had won. And he concluded therefore, that the only means to ſave his reputation, was an honourable peace. He was full of theſe reflections, when to his inexpreſſible joy he heard that an embaſſy was [c] coming to him from the Senate; he pleaſed himſelf with the imagination, that it was to aſk that peace, which he himſelf ſo much deſired. But when the three *Roman* Ambaſſadors, *Cornelius Dolabella*, *Fabricius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, after a ſplendid reception, were admitted to an audience, they propoſed nothing more than *a releaſe of the* Roman *Priſoners, either by way of exchange, or for ſuch a ranſom per head, as ſhould be agreed upon.* Pyrrhus, after a moment's ſilence, anſwer'd, *That he would conſider of the matter, and let them know his reſolution.* Accordingly he aſſembled his Council; and there *Cyneas*, who knew his maſter's inclination, propoſed that an embaſſy ſhould be immediately ſent to *Rome* to negotiate a peace, of which one of the conditions ſhould be the releaſe of the *Roman* Priſoners without ranſom. The reſt of the Council declared themſelves of the ſame opinion, and the King gave the *Romans* an anſwer conformable to it.

Zon. B. 8.

Pyrrhus after this deſired a private conference with *Fabricius*, who, he had heard, was the man moſt eſteemed, for his virtue, of any in the Republic, a brave and able warrior, and very poor. The King taking

[c] Authors are not agreed concerning the time of this embaſſy, whether it was after *Cyneas* had been at *Rome* or before. *Plutarch* (whom Mr. *Rollin* follows) makes it poſterior to *Cyneas*'s journey thither; and *Dionyſius* ſeems to do the ſame. But, if we conſider the haughty manner in which *Cyneas* was diſmiſſed by the Senate, with an abſolute refuſal of entring into any treaty with the King while he continued in *Italy*, at leaſt it is very unlikely that *Fabricius*, after ſuch a refuſal, ſhould apply himſelf to *Pyrrhus* in the manner *Dionyſius* repreſents, preaching about the inconſtancy of fortune, and as if he was aſking a favour. He is made to ſpeak more like an ambaſſador from a people who ſued for peace, than from the proud *Roman* Senate, who rejected it even upon reaſonable terms. *Hannibal*, indeed, before the battle of *Zama*, talks much to *Scipio* of the mutability of fortune, and the viciſſitudes of war; but this was in order to diſpoſe him to grant peace to the *Carthaginians*, whom he had reduced to extremity.

See *D. Hal.* in Legat.

Neither can I ſee what there was unbecoming in *Fabricius*'s propoſal, even upon the ſuppoſition that the *Romans* had rejected a peace offered. A releaſe of priſoners by way of ranſom or exchange, is what ſurely without any indecency may be propoſed to an enemy, notwithſtanding that a peace has been refuſed to that enemy upon his terms. Yet *Dionyſius* makes *Pyrrhus* reprove the ambaſſadors as guilty herein of an unworthy proceeding.—Σχέτλιόν τι πρᾶγμα ποιεῖτε, &c. —*D. Hal.* in Legat. p.711. Dr. *Hudſ.* edit.

him

him apart, told him, *He had been informed of his diſtinguiſh'd merit, and of his poverty ſo unſuitable to it; that he thought a Prince could never employ his wealth and power to a nobler purpoſe, than that of raiſing the fortune of an indigent great man; and that for this reaſon he had reſolved to beſtow ſuch riches upon* him, *as ſhould put him, at leaſt, upon an equality with the moſt opulent nobles of* Rome. *Nor yet imagine,* FABRICIUS, added the KING, *that my intention is to ask any thing, in return, that can be inconſiſtent with the regard you owe your country. I demand nothing but your aid in negotiating the peace which I am deſirous to conclude with the* Roman Senate. *You know very well, that I cannot with honour abandon the* Tarentines, *and the other* Greeks *who are ſettled in this part of* Italy, *before I have ſecured to them a peace with* Rome *upon equitable terms. Some preſſing affairs call me back into my own country, and this makes me the more ſollicitous to finiſh our war by an amicable treaty. If my being a* KING[d] *renders me ſuſpected by the Senate, becauſe other Princes have made no ſcruple to violate the faith of treaties, be you yourſelf my ſecurity. When the peace is made, come and aſſiſt me with your counſels; I will undertake nothing without your advice; you ſhall be my chief miniſter, my lieutenant in the field, nay a ſharer with me in all that I poſſeſs. I have need of an honeſt man, and a faithful friend, and you have need of a generous Prince, a Prince, whoſe munificence may enable you to make your virtues, and your talents for great affairs more conſpicuous, and more uſeful: Let us therefore mutually contribute to each other's happineſs.* Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J. C.* 279. 172 Conſul-p. *Dion. Hal.* in Legat.

FABRICIUS anſwered in words to this effect:

You have indeed, Sir, been rightly informed concerning my poverty. My whole eſtate conſiſts in a houſe of but mean appearance, and a little ſpot of ground, from which, by my own labour, I draw my ſupport. But if, by any means, you have been perſuaded to think, that this poverty makes me leſs conſidered in my Country, *or in any degree unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no reaſon to complain of Fortune. She ſupplies me with all that nature requires, and, if I am without ſuperfluities, I am alſo free from the deſire of them. With theſe, I confeſs, I ſhould be more able to ſuccour the neceſſitous, the only advantage for which the wealthy are to be envied: but as ſmall as my poſſeſſions are, I can ſtill contribute* ſomething *to the ſupport of the ſtate, and the aſſiſtance of my friends. With regard to* HONOURS, my Country *places me, poor as I am, upon a level with the richeſt: For* Rome *knows no qualifications for great employments but virtue and ability. She appoints me to officiate in the moſt auguſt ceremonies of religion; ſhe intruſts me with the command of her armies; ſhe confides to my care the moſt important negotiations: my poverty does not leſſen the*

[d] The *Greek* Hiſtorians ſeldom loſe any occaſion of letting us know their unfavourable opinion of Kings. *Plutarch*, ſpeaking of this very *Pyrrhus*, ſays, KINGS *have no reaſon to complain when inferior men change ſides, and violate faith for private advantage, ſeeing, in this, they do but imitate* them *who are the great maſters in perfidy and treachery; and whoſe* maxim *is*, that no man purſues his own intereſt with ſo much prudence, as he who has the leaſt regard to juſtice. *Plut in Pyrrh.*

Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J. C.* 279. 172 Conſul-P.

weight and influence of my Counſels in the Senate; *the* Roman People *honour me for that very poverty which you conſider as a diſgrace; they know the many opportunities I have had, in war, to enrich myſelf without incurring cenſure; they are convinced of my diſintereſted zeal for* their *proſperity; and, if I have any thing to complain of in the return they make me, it is only the* exceſs *of their applauſe. What value then can I ſet upon your gold and ſilver? What King can add any thing to* my *fortune? Always attentive to diſcharge the duties incumbent on me, I have* A MIND FREE FROM SELF-REPROACH, *and I have an* HONEST FAME.

Plut. in Pyrr.

The King perceiving by this anſwer that *Fabricius* abſolutely refuſed his offers, preſſed him no farther. The next day, knowing that he had never ſeen an elephant, and being deſirous to try whether he could ſurprize and diſcompoſe him, he commanded the largeſt he had of thoſe animals to be armed, and led to the place where he intended to converſe with the ambaſſador. The beaſt was to ſtand concealed behind ſome hangings till a ſign ſhould be made for his appearance. The King's order being punctually executed, the ſignal was given, the hangings were ſuddenly drawn aſide, and the enormous animal, ſtretching out his trunk over the head of the *Roman*, made a moſt terrifying noiſe. *Fabricius*, betrayed not the leaſt emotion, but, turning towards *Pyrrhus*, ſaid with a ſmile, *Neither your* Gold *yeſterday, nor your* great Beaſt *to day have made any impreſſion upon me.*

While they were ſitting at table in the evening, diſcourſing of various ſubjects, but eſpecially of *Greece*, and the philoſophers of that country, CYNEAS happened to mention EPICURUS; and he began to relate the principles of the *Epicurean* doctrine: *That the* DIVINITY, *far removed from love and hatred, compaſſion and anger, and wholly regardleſs of humankind, lived through all ages, without action, and without providence, totally abſorpt in an uninterrupted flow of delights. That* PLEASURE *was alſo the* SOVEREIGN GOOD *of* MAN; *and that, for this reaſon, all publick employments, all ſollicitude for the public weal ſhould be carefully ſhunn'd by the wiſe, as inconſiſtent with a life of happineſs.*——*Cyneas* was going on, when with a loud voice, *O* HERCULES, cried FABRICIUS, *May* PYRRHUS *and the* TARENTINES *be heartily of this* SECT, *while they are at war with us!* The King greatly admiring the wiſdom and virtue of the *Roman* became more deſirous than ever to conclude an alliance with his Republic. He therefore, once more, took him apart, and warmly preſſed him to employ his endeavours for a ſpeedy accommodation, earneſtly requeſting of him at the ſame time, that, as ſoon as the peace ſhould be made, he would come and live at his court, where he promiſed him the firſt place among all his friends and captains. *Fabricius* anſwer'd in a kind of whiſper, *You don't conſider,* SIR, *your own intereſt in what you propoſe; for if thoſe who now honour and admire* you, *come once to have experience of* me, *they will chuſe rather to have* me *for their King than* you. *Pyrrhus* was not in the leaſt offended with this anſwer, but to his friends highly commended the exalted ſoul of the *Roman*;

upon

upon whoſe ſingle parole he alſo ſuffer'd the [e] priſoners to go to *Rome* to celebrate the feſtival of the *Saturnalia*. Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J.C.* 279. 172 Conſul-p.

And now *Pyrrhus* having reſolved to ſend *Cyneas* to negotiate a peace with the *Roman* Senate, inſtructed him, if we may believe *Plutarch*, to aſk nothing of the *Romans* but their [f] friendſhip, and a ſufficient ſecurity for the *Tarentines*. Upon which conditions he offer'd to ceaſe all hoſtilities, releaſe the captives, and aſſiſt the Republic in the conqueſt of *Italy*.

Together with theſe inſtructions, *Pyrrhus* furniſhed his Ambaſſador with magnificent preſents for thoſe perſons whoſe aſſiſtance would be neceſſary to compaſs what he deſired; nor did he forget rare and precious toys for the *Roman* Ladies, by whoſe means he hoped to ſmooth the rugged ſpirit of their Huſbands in his favour. Some authors report, that *Cyneas* found both men and women ſo ſteady and uncorrupt, that not one of either ſex would receive any of his preſents: but *Zonaras* affirms, that many even of the Senators were gained by the liberality of *Pyrrhus*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that after *Cyneas* had had his audience in the Senate, ſeveral of the *Conſcript Fathers* diſcover'd a ſtrong inclination to accept the peace propoſed, aſſigning for reaſons the battle they had already loſt, the hazard they were in of loſing another (*Pyrrhus*'s ſtrength being now greatly augmented by the junction of his *Italian* allies) and the fatal conſequences that might attend a ſecond overthrow. A rumour of this diſpoſition in the Senate being ſpread through the city, came to the ears of *Appius Claudius* (the famous Orator and Civilian, who has been formerly ſpoken of more than once.) He had for ſome time paſt, on account of his great age and the loſs of his eyes, retired from all public buſineſs, and confined himſelf wholly to his family. Upon hearing the report of what paſs'd in the Senate, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in the arms of his domeſtics to the door of the Senate-houſe. There his ſons and his ſons-in-law met him, and led him into the aſſembly, which was huſh'd into a profound ſilence the moment he appear'd. The venerable old man was hardly enter'd, when he thus began.

Juſt. Plut. & Flor.

Plut. in *Pyrrh.*

[e] The Senate (according to *Plutarch*) careful of *Fabricius*'s honour and their own, commanded every priſoner upon pain of death to return to *Pyrrhus*, as ſoon as the feſtival ſhould be over.

With reſpect to this affair there is a great diverſity in the accounts of *Plutarch*, *Juſtin*, *Florus*, and *Zonaras*. Some ſay, the priſoners were abſolutely releaſed, and that the Senate, to puniſh them as cowards, would not ſuffer them to ſerve again in the field, but ſent them to garriſon Towns.

[f] Other writers make his demands to be more extenſive, and ſay, that he required, in favour of all the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, the enjoyment of their laws and liberty; and further, that the Republic ſhould reſtore to the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Bruttians*, whatever ſhe had conquer'd from them. Theſe demands, if they were made, may well account for the warm indignation which *Appius Claudius the Blind* expreſſed, as we ſhall preſently find, at the Senate's liſtening to *Pyrrhus*'s miniſter. But then it will be difficult to reconcile them with the offer which *Pyrrhus* at the ſame time made the *Romans*, to aſſiſt them in the conqueſt of *Italy*. The *Jeſuits*, aware of this inconvenience, have made *Cyneas* ſpeak only of the Weſt of *Italy*.

Appian. apud *Fulv.*

Y. of *R.* 473. Bef. *J.C.* 279. 172 Conſul. P.

" Hitherto, *Romans*, I have borne the loſs of my ſight with weari-
" neſs and impatience; but my great affliction now is, that I am only
" *blind*, and that I am not *deaf* too; that I am able to hear of thoſe
" ſhameful reſolutions you are taking, and of that infamous Treaty
" which is to extinguiſh the glory of the *Roman* name. What then
" is become of all thoſe brave diſcourſes, thoſe lofty, ſounding words,
" with which you are wont to make all places ring, *That if* Alexander
" *had come into* Italy *when we were young, and our Fathers in the vigour*
" *of their age*; *that if* the Great Alexander *had* dared *to cope in arms with*
" Us, *he would not now be celebrated* INVINCIBLE, *but by his death or*
" *flight have added new luſtre to the* Roman *Glory?* An idle tale! vain
" and empty boaſting! Heroes indeed! you, that are afraid of the *Cha-*
* People of *Epirus.* " *onians** and *Moloſſians*, ever the prey of the *Macedonians!* you, that are
" trembling at the name of *Pyrrhus*, an aſſiduous humble courtier of
" one of *Alexander*'s life-guards! a vagabond in *Italy*, come hither
" not ſo much to ſuccour the *Italic Greeks*, as to ſeek a ſhelter from
" his enemies at home! And yet this mighty man, this *Pyrrhus*, it
" ſeems, is to conquer *Italy*; he is to *ſubdue all Italy* to *Us* with thoſe
" very forces that were not able to *preſerve* to *Him* a *ſmall portion* of
" *Macedonia!* No, *Romans*, ſuffer not his arrogance to eſcape unpu-
" niſhed; if you condeſcend to treat with him, your glory is at an end;
" *Pyrrhus* will himſelf deſpiſe you; his allies will inſult you as a nation
" eaſy to be terrify'd; and one diſhonourable peace will involve you in
" a hundred wars.

Appius by theſe and ſome other words to the like effect, ſo awaken'd the *Roman* ſpirit in the Senators, that without farther debate they unanimouſly paſſed a decree, inſtantly to diſmiſs the Ambaſſador with this an-
Plut. Juſt. & Flor. ſwer, *That the* Romans *would enter into no Treaty with King* Pyrrhus *ſo long as he continued in* Italy; *but with all their ſtrength would purſue the war againſt him, tho' he ſhould vanquiſh a thouſand* Lævinus's.

Cyneas left *Rome* the ſame day, and return'd to *Tarentum*. 'Tis ſaid, that when *Pyrrhus* ask'd him his opinion of the *Roman* City and Senate, he anſwer'd, that ROME *was a* TEMPLE, *and the* SENATE *an* ASSEMBLY OF KINGS. His account of what he had obſerved, greatly increaſed the King's admiration of the *Romans*; but finding that there was no hopes of peace, he made all poſſible preparations for the next campaign.

CHAP. XXVII.

§. I. *The next year the* Romans, *under the conduct of their new Conſuls* P. Sulpicius Saverrio *and* P. Decius Mus, *come to a ſecond battle with King* Pyrrhus, *near* ASCULUM *in* Apulia. *The circumſtances and event of this action are not well known.* Pyrrhus *retires to* Tarentum, *and the* Conſuls *into winter-quarters.* §. II. *The year following, when* C. Fabricius *and* Q. Æmilius Papus (both a 2d time) *are Conſuls, the* Carthaginians *ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the* Romans *againſt* Pyrrhus,

who,

who, they fear, will invade their dominions in Sicily, *if he ſhould conclude a Peace with the* Romans. *(He had been invited thither by the* Sicilians.) *The Senate refuſe the aſſiſtance offer'd, yet enter into a new Treaty with* Carthage. §. III. *The* Romans *and* Epirots *having again taken the field, and the two armies lying in ſight of each other in the territory of* Tarentum, *the* Conſuls *ſend a letter to the King, giving him notice of the treachery of his Phyſician, who had offer'd to poiſon him for a reward.* Pyrrhus, *in return for their generoſity, releaſes the* Roman *Priſoners, and once more ſends* Cyneas *to* Rome *with propoſals of peace, but to no effect.* §. IV. Pyrrhus *leaving a garriſon in* Tarentum, *paſſes with his army into* SICILY.

§. I. IN the mean time the Republic choſe new *Conſuls*, *P. Sulpicius Saverrio* and *P. Decius Mus*, (whoſe father and grand-father were both famous for their *Devotements*.) The two Generals joined their armies, and march'd together into *Apulia*, where they found *Pyrrhus* encamped near a little town called *Aſculum*, and where they entrench'd themſelves in a plain at the foot of the *Apennines*. This plain was divided by a large deep ſtream, which likewiſe ſeparated the two camps. For ſome time the *Romans* and *Epirots* ſeem'd to ſtand in awe of each other. The latter had entertain'd the fooliſh belief, that the *Decii* tranſmitted from father to ſon ſome unaccountable art of Necromancy, by which they ſecured the victory to their ſide, whenever they loſt their lives in battle. *Pyrrhus* endeavour'd to deſtroy this dangerous prepoſſeſſion among his ſoldiers; and not only ſo, but he ſent a meſſage to *Decius*, *That if he attempted to* devote *himſelf, he would find the* Epirots *upon their guard, who would take him alive, and make him ſuffer the moſt cruel kind of death after the battle.* To this meſſage the *Conſuls* return'd the following anſwer: PYRRHUS *is not formidable enough to reduce us to* Devotements. *To ſhew how little we fear him, we offer him his choice: Let him paſs the river unmoleſted, or ſuffer us to do ſo, and we ſhall then ſee which of us has the more need of extraordinary methods to gain the victory.* *Pyrrhus* choſe to let the *Romans* paſs the river. The Hiſtorians are not agreed concerning the circumſtances of the battle of *Aſculum*, nor the ſucceſs of it, and ſome make two battles of it. The *Romans* had prepared, againſt the Elephants, armed Chariots filled with ſoldiers, who were to throw fire-brands and other combuſtible matter againſt thoſe huge beaſts, and the Towers on their backs It is certain that *Pyrrhus* was dangerouſly wounded in the action, and that the *Conſul Decius* loſt his life; but whether in fighting, or by a voluntary Devotement in imitation of his father and grand-father, as *Cicero* thinks, is not known. Fifteen thouſand men, including the loſs on both ſides, were left dead upon the field. *Pyrrhus* after the battle, making a march unperceived by the *Romans*, retired to *Tarentum*; whereupon the *Conſul Sulpicius* led his troops into winter-quarters in *Apulia*.

Y. of *R.* 474. Bef. *J. C.* 278. 172 Conſul-p.

Zon. B. 8.

Zonar. B. 8.

Cic. in *Tuſc.*

Zon. B. 8.

Y. of *R.* 475. Bef. *J.C.* 277. 174 Conſul-p. * 2d time. || 2d time.

§. II. AND now the Republic placed at the helm of her Government two men of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd merit, *C. Fabricius* * and *Q. Æmilius* || *Papus*. The *Carthaginians* at this time ſent *Mago* with a fleet of 120 ſail to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt *Pyrrhus*, who, they heard, would make a deſcent upon *Sicily*, after he had forced the *Roman* Republic into a peace: for the *Sicilians* had invited him thither to protect them againſt the tyranny of the *Carthaginians*, who not long before had invaded their country. *Mago* coming to *Rome*, told the Senate, *That the* Carthaginians, *full of concern to ſee the* Romans *attack'd by King* Pyrrhus, *had ſent a fleet to their aſſiſtance, that in a war with a foreign Power they might have foreign aid.* The *Fathers* return'd a compliment of thanks for the kind offer, but would by no means accept it. However, they enter'd into a new treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in which it was ſtipulated, that the *Romans* ſhould furniſh Troops to aſſiſt the *Carthaginian* Republic, in caſe *Pyrrhus* attacked it; and that the *Carthaginians* ſhould aſſiſt the *Romans*, when deſired, with their fleet. After this *Mago* ſail'd to *Tarentum*, where he had a conference with the King of *Epirus*. Finding that his intention was to paſs very ſoon into *Sicily*, he, in order to prevent it, ſailed with his fleet into the *Streights* between that Iſland and *Italy*, under pretence of beſieging *Rhegium*. This obliged *Pyrrhus* to continue at *Tarentum*, and carry on the war for ſome time longer againſt the *Romans*.

Juſt. B. 18. *Polyb.* B. 3. *Flor.* Ep. 13. *Juſt.* B. 18. *Diod.* in Eclog. B. 22.

§. III. WHEN the ſpring was ſufficiently advanced, the *Conſuls* marched their troops into the territory of *Tarentum*, and *Pyrrhus* came and encamped within ſight of them; but the high opinion he had of *Fabricius* made him avoid a battle. While the two armies were watching each other, *Fabricius* [a] received a letter from *Nicias*, the King's principal Phyſician, offering to take off his maſter by poiſon, and ſo end the war without farther hazard to the *Romans*, provided he might have a reward proportionable to the greatneſs of his ſervice. *Fabricius* deteſting the villany of the Phyſician, and finding his Collegue of the ſame ſentiment, they immediately diſpatched the following letter to the King. C. FABRICIUS *and* Q. ÆMILIUS, *Conſuls, to King* PYRRHUS, *Health. You have made an unhappy choice both of your friends and of your enemies. When you have read the letter ſent us by one of your own people, you will ſee that you make war with good and honeſt men, while you truſt and promote villains. We give you this notice of your danger, not for your ſake, nor to make our court to you, but to avoid the calumny which might be brought upon us by your death, as if, for want of ſtrength or courage to overcome you, we had recourſe to treachery.* Pyrrhus, upon receipt of this letter, is ſaid to have cry'd out, *This is that* Fabricius, *whom it is harder to turn aſide from the ways of juſtice and honour, than to divert the Sun from its courſe*; and in acknowledgment of the benefit, he immediately ſet all the *Roman* priſoners free without ranſom. *Rome* was however too

Zon. B. 8. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrhus.* *Eutrop.* B. 2.

[a] This ſtory is differently related by the Hiſtorians, as to the circumſtances, but they all agree in the ſubſtance.

generous

generous to accept a preſent from an enemy, much leſs a reward for not conſenting to an execrable deed. In return therefore ſhe releaſed an equal number of *Samnite* and *Tarentine* priſoners. But though *Pyrrhus*, more ardent than ever for a peace, diſpatch'd *Cyneas* once more to *Rome*, to try the force of his eloquence and preſents, this able miniſter had no better ſucceſs than before; the Senators were ſteady in their reſolution to enter into no treaty with the King, till he had withdrawn his troops out of *Italy*. Y. of *R.* 477. Bef. *J. C.* 275. 174 Conſul-p. *Plut.* in *Pyrr.*

§. IV. IT has been already ſaid, that the *Sicilians* had invited *Pyrrhus* into their iſland to deliver them from the grievous yoke of the *Carthaginian* tyranny. The King laid hold of this pretext to quit the war againſt the *Romans*, in which he had now but little hope of ſucceſs, having in the laſt action loſt his beſt Troops and his braveſt Commanders. Beſides, the *Sicilian* expedition was a new enterprize, and therefore very agreeable to the natural inconſtancy of his ſpirit. But juſt at this time he received intelligence, that *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, King of *Macedon*, was dead, and that the *Macedonians* wanted a King to guard them againſt an inundation of *Barbarians*. This news kept him ſome time in ſuſpenſe, and he pleaſantly complained of Fortune for loading him with too many favours at once. *Macedon* had formerly been in his poſſeſſion, and he wiſh'd to be maſter of it again; but as *Sicily* would open him a paſſage into *Africa*, and conduct him to a more ample harveſt of glory, he determin'd at length for that expedition. In conſequence of this reſolution he ſent his faithful *Cyneas* before him to treat with the cities there, and give them aſſurances of his ſpeedy arrival. Not long after, leaving in *Tarentum*, under the command of *Milo*, a ſtrong garriſon, ſufficient to keep the much diſcontented inhabitants in ſubjection, he ſet ſail from thence with thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe, on board a fleet of two hundred ſhips. His departure proved fatal to the enemies of *Rome*. *Fabricius* fell upon the united *Bruttians*, *Lucanians*, *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, defeated them, drove them out of the field, and laid waſte their countries.

CHAP. XXVIII.

§. I. *The ſtate of* Sicily *at the time of* Pyrrhus's *arrival there. He makes rapid and extenſive conqueſts in the iſland.* §. II. *In the mean time the* Romans *chuſe* Cornelius Ruffinus *and* C. Junius Brutus *to the Conſulate. Theſe Generals lead their forces againſt the* Samnites, *advantageouſly poſted in their mountains, and ſuffer a ſhameful defeat. After this,* Ruffinus *by a ſtratagem takes* Croton *from the* Bruttians. Locris *ſubmits to the* Romans, *the inhabitants having juſt maſſacred the garriſon which* Pyrrhus *had left there.* §. III. *The* Romans (*under their new Conſuls* Q. Fabius Gurges *and* C. Genucius) *continuing the war with ſucceſs againſt the* Samnites, Lucanians, *and* Bruttians, *theſe nations ſend to intreat* Pyrrhus *to return to their aſſiſtance. The King's affairs in* Sicily *being now in a bad way, he is glad of ſo honourable a pretext to leave the Iſland. His*

fleet,

fleet, in its return to Italy, *is diſperſed and partly deſtroyed by the* Carthaginian *fleet. After his landing near* Rhegium, *he is attacked in his march to* Tarentum, *by a body of* Mamertines *(who had paſſed the Streights expreſly) and ſuffers a conſiderable loſs. He lays waſte the territory of the* Locrenſes, *and plunders the Temple of* Proſerpine. §. IV. Curius Dentatus *(a 2d time) and* L. Cornelius Lentulus *are raiſed to the Conſulate at* Rome. *The People, from ſome unaccountable caprice, being unwilling to inliſt themſelves for the war,* Curius *confiſcates the goods of the firſt man who refuſes, and ſells the man himſelf for a ſlave, and by this example of ſeverity gets the better of the People's obſtinacy. Two armies are raiſed. While* Lentulus *leads one into* Lucania, Curius *leads the other into* Samnium, *where he comes to a battle with the* Epirots *in the* Tauraſian *fields, and gives them a total overthrow. He takes their camp; and the* Romans *admiring the form of it, reſolve to make it the future model of their own.* §. V. Pyrrhus *leaving a ſtrong garriſon in* Tarentum, *embarks for* Epirus *under pretence of going to fetch recruits.*

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. l. 21. §. I. WHEN *Pyrrhus* arrived in *Sicily*, this Iſland was almoſt wholly poſſeſſed by foreigners of three different nations, *Italians*, *Carthaginians*, and *Greeks*, who had ſettled there at different times. *Meſſina*, *Lilybæum*, and *Syracuſe*, were the capitals of the three dominions there eſtabliſhed. The *Mamertines*, from *Mamertum* in *Campania* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *firſt* (much in the ſame manner as the perfidious *Legion*, who followed their *Polyb.* B. 1. example, got poſſeſſion of *Rhegium*;) the *Carthaginians* were maſters of the *ſecond*; and the *third* was govern'd by two tyrants, whom common intereſt had united after a civil war, to call in the King of *Epirus* to aſſiſt them againſt the growing power of the formidable *African* Republic.

Pyrrhus ſoon after his arrival deprived the *Carthaginians* of all their conqueſts in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*. He alſo attacked the *Mamertines*, and having defeated them in a pitch'd battle, reduced them to their city of *Meſſina* only; after which he counted ſo much on the reduction of the whole Iſland, that he cauſed one of his younger ſons (whom he had *Juſtin*, B. 22. ch. 3. by a daughter of King *Agathocles*) to be ſtyled King of *Sicily*, purpoſing to make the other King of *Italy*, which he now alſo look'd upon as a certain conqueſt.

Y. of *R.* 476. Bef. *J. C.* 276. 175 Conſul-p. §. II. IN the mean time the *Centuries* at *Rome* proceeded to the choice of new *Conſuls*. *Fabricius* preſided in the *Comitia*, and the reſpect he had acquired by his virtue was ſuch, that it made him maſter of the Elections. Every body therefore was aſtoniſh'd to ſee him vote and influence the aſſembly in favour of *Cornelius Ruffinus*, a man extremely covetous and ſelf-intereſted. *Fabricius* hated him thoroughly, yet promoted his election, becauſe of the dangerous ſituation of affairs, and becauſe he knew him to be a much abler ſoldier than any of his competi-

Cic. de Orat. B. 22. ch. 66. tors. And theſe reaſons were imply'd in the ſhort anſwer he made to *Ruffinus*'s compliment of thanks; *I deſerve no thanks*, ſaid he, *for chuſing rather*

rather to be plunder'd than ſold. The Collegue given to *Ruffinus* * was *C. Junius* ‖ *Brutus*, and they both turn'd their forces againſt *Samnium*. The *Samnites* being too weak to ſuſtain the attacks of two *Conſular* armies, fled to their mountains, and there intrenched themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that it was no eaſy matter to force them. The *Romans* nevertheleſs attempted it, and were puniſh'd for their raſhneſs; many of them were killed, and a great number taken priſoners, and loaded with irons. The *Conſuls* at length aſhamed of their enterprize, threw the blame on each other, and ſeparated; *Brutus* continued in *Samnium*, while *Ruffinus* enter'd the territory of the *Lucanians* and *Bruttians*. Theſe nations continued ſteady in their adherence to *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*. *Ruffinus* therefore not only laid their country waſte with fire and ſword, but formed a deſign upon *Croton*, a conſiderable City belonging to the *Bruttians*, and ſituated on the borders of the *Ionian* ſea, at a little diſtance from Cape *Lacinium*. He found this place too well defended to be carried by force; for *Milo* having notice of his deſign, had ſent a reinforcement of *Epirots* to the garriſon, under the command of one *Nicomachus*. However, the *Conſul* took it by ſtratagem. Having been repulſed by the beſieged, who made a ſally, he exaggerated the loſs he had ſuſtained in the action, and imployed two pretended deſerters to publiſh, one, that he was going to retire into the country of the *Locrenſes*, the other, that he was actually gone, and had march'd off in a precipitate manner. *Nicomachus*, deceiv'd by theſe reports and by the *Conſul*'s decamping, haſten'd with his troops to relieve *Locris*, which he imagined the *Romans* intended to beſiege. *Ruffinus* took the advantage of his abſence, return'd with all expedition, and, by the help of a fog, got into the place almoſt before the inhabitants, who were in perfect ſecurity, diſcover'd him; and not only ſo, but he defeated *Nicomachus* alſo in the field, who, when he found himſelf cheated, would have led back his detachment to *Tarentum*. *Locris* likewiſe ſoon after ſurrender'd to the *Romans*, the inhabitants having firſt maſſacred the Governor and Garriſon that *Pyrrhus* had left in it. [The *Capitoline Marbles* aſcribe all theſe exploits to the *Conſul Brutus*.]

Y. of *R.* 476. Bef. *J.C.* 276. 175 Conſul-p. * 2d time. ‖ 2d time. *Zon.* B. 8. *Frontin.* Stratag. & *Zon.* B. 8. *Appian.* in excerptis à Valeſio.

§. III. IN the following *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Fabius* * *Gurges* and *C. Genucius*, *Rome* was afflicted with a ſtrange ſort of Plague, which chiefly affected women with child and breeding cattle. To put an end to this calamity, an unfortunate *Veſtal* was buried alive; and *Ruffinus* was created *Dictator*, to drive a nail into the wall of *Jupiter*'s Temple. In the mean time the ſickneſs did not hinder the *Romans* from continuing the war. *Fabius* by repeated victories reduced the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Bruttians* ſo low, that they could no longer keep the field without *Pyrrhus*; and they therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to him to intreat him to return, and put himſelf again at their head.

Y. of *R.* 477. Bef. *J.C.* 275. 176 Conſul-p. * 2d time. *Oroſ.* B. 4. *Euſeb.* & *Pauſan.* B. 4.

The face of *Pyrrhus*'s affairs in *Sicily* was now much changed. At his firſt arrival he gained the hearts of the *Sicilians*, by his inſinuating affable behaviour; but being afterwards elated with ſucceſs, his mild government changed into an abſolute tyranny. He treated cruelly thoſe very

Juſtin, B. 23. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrr.* *D. Hal.* in excerptis à Valeſio.

Y. of *R.* 477. very men who had been chiefly inſtrumental to his good fortune. He
Bef. *J. C.* 275. excluded the natives from the Magiſtracies, beſtowing them on his Guards
176 Conſul-p. and Courtiers, whoſe extortions and injuſtices were ſo grievous, that at length the cities enter'd into leagues, ſome with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines*, to expel him the iſland. The *African* Republic had alſo ſent a powerful army into *Sicily* to recover her former conqueſts. This being the ſituation of the King's affairs when the Am-
Juſtin. B. 23. baſſadors arrived, he was not a little pleaſed to have ſo honourable a pretence to leave a country, where he was no longer ſafe. At his departure he is reported to have turn'd his eyes back upon the iſland, and
Plut. Life of *Pyrrhus.* to have ſaid to thoſe who were near him, *What a noble field are we leaving for the* Carthaginians *and* Romans *to fight in!* In his paſſage the *Car-*
Appian. in excerpt. *thaginian* fleet attack'd him, ſunk ſeventy of his veſſels, and diſperſed all
Plut. Life of *Pyrrhus.* the reſt of his two hundred ſail, except twelve ſhips, with which he eſcaped to *Italy*. He landed near *Rhegium*; and when he had there collected the ſcatter'd remains of his forces, which had been driven on different parts of the coaſt, he marched toward *Tarentum*.

The *Mamertines*, upon the firſt report of his intended departure from *Sicily*, had detach'd 10,000 men to *Rhegium*, to moleſt him after his landing; and theſe lying in ambuſh in woods and behind rocks, attack'd the rear-guard of his army unexpectedly, and made great ſlaughter. *Pyrrhus*, on this occaſion, ſignally diſplayed his heroic bravery and ſurprizing ſtrength. In the beginning of the action he received a wound in the head, which obliged him to retire out of the battle; but returning to it again, he is ſaid with one ſtroke of his ſabre to have cleft a *Mamertine* to the waiſt,
Zon. B. 8. who defy'd him to ſingle combat. This action ſo aſtoniſh'd the enemy, that they ceaſed the fight, and the King continued his march towards *Tarentum*. It was neceſſary for him to paſs through the territory of the *Locrenſes*, who had a little before maſſacred the garriſon he had left in *Lo-*
Dio. apud Valeſ. & *Liv.* B. 29. *cris*. He not only exerciſed all ſorts of cruelties on this people, but plunder'd the Temple of *Proſerpine*, to ſupply the wants of his army. The great treaſure which he found there, he put on board his fleet to be carried to *Tarentum* by ſea, but the ſhips were all daſh'd againſt rocks by
Val. Max. B. 1. ch. 2. a tempeſt, and the mariners loſt. The hiſtorians relate, that *Pyrrhus* now repented of his ſacrilege; and as the ſea had thrown the greateſt part of the treaſure upon the ſhore, he cauſed it to be gather'd up and
Appian. replaced in the Temple with great reverence; and not only ſo, but he put to death all thoſe who had counſelled him to rob the Temple.

His army, when he arrived at *Tarentum*, conſiſted only of about twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe.

Y. of *R.* 478. §. IV. BEFORE *Pyrrhus* was in a condition to renew the war,
Bef. *J. C.* 274. *Rome* changed her *Conſuls*; and the famous *Curius Dentatus* was now
177 Conſul-p. raiſed (a ſecond time) to that dignity, with *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. Their firſt buſineſs was to raiſe two armies, which might be ſufficient to make head againſt the King of *Epirus* with his numerous allies. But when *Curius* would have begun to form the *Legions*, he found that the *Roman*

youth, from ſome unaccountable caprice, or perhaps becauſe their ſpirits were depreſs'd by the late contagious diſtemper, refuſed to inliſt themſelves. Upon this he aſſembled the *Tribes*, and put all their names into an urn. The firſt drawn was the *Pollian Tribe*; and the man of this *Tribe*, whoſe name came firſt up, being an audacious young fellow, and refuſing to lift, *Curius* order'd his effects to be ſold, and, upon his appealing to the *Tribunes*, he ſold the man too, ſaying, *The Commonwealth ſtood in no need of ſuch members as refuſed obedience.* The fellow's cauſe being too bad, the *Tribunes* did not think it for their honour to aſſiſt him; and from this time if any *Roman* refuſed to liſt himſelf in a regular muſter, when commanded, it became a cuſtom to make a ſlave of him. Y. of *R.* 478. Bef. *J. C.* 274. 177 Conſul. p. *Val. Max.* B. 6. ch. 3. *Florus*, Epit. 14.

So wholſome an inſtance of ſeverity had its due effect; and two conſiderable armies were raiſed without further oppoſition. *Lentulus* led one into *Lucania*, while *Curius* enter'd *Samnium* with the other. *Pyrrhus*, to make head againſt both, was obliged to divide his forces, which were now become very conſiderable; and eſteeming *Curius* the more formidable of the two *Roman* Generals, he march'd himſelf againſt him with the choice of his *Epirots* and of his Elephants. And tho' the *Conſul* had poſted himſelf very advantageouſly near *Beneventum*, in a place full of hollow ways, rocks, and wood, where the *Grecian Phalanx* could not act with all its ſtrength; yet *Pyrrhus*, who found it neceſſary by ſome new exploit to confirm his allies, who were much diſcontented with him, made all poſſible haſte to attack the *Romans* in their camp. He marched by night in hopes to ſurprize them; but paſſing through certain woods his lights fail'd him, and he loſt his way; and at the break of day his approach was diſcover'd by the *Romans* as he came down the hills that border'd the *Taurafian Fields*. *Curius* ſallied out of his camp, with a detachment of his *Legionaries*, and fell upon the King's van-guard with ſuch fury, that he put them to flight, kill'd a great number of them, and took ſome Elephants. This ſucceſs encouraged *Curius* to deſcend into the plain, and try a pitch'd battle with the enemy. One of his wings had the advantage in the beginning of the battle, but the other was overborn by the Elephants, and driven back to the intrenchments; but then the *Conſul* ſending for a body of troops which he had left to guard his camp, theſe ſo ply'd the huge beaſts with lighted torches, that they ran back upon the *Epirots*, bearing down and breaking all their ranks, ſo that the *Romans* obtained a compleat victory. The King is ſaid to have loſt in this action 23000 men. His army, according to *Oroſius*, had conſiſted of 80000 Foot and 6000 Horſe. *Plut.* in *Pyrrh.* *Frontin.* B. 2. *Plut.* in *Pyrrh.* *Oroſ.* B. 4. *Eutrop.* B. 6.

Pyrrhus's camp being alſo taken, proved afterwards of great ſervice to the *Romans*; for they not only admired the form of it, but made it their model for the future. Hitherto a large encloſure within a rampart and a ditch had ſerved them for a camp, in which their tents were pitch'd in a diſorderly manner; but now they got great light into the art of encamping, which by gradual improvements they at length carried to the higheſt perfection. *Frontin.* B. 4.

Y. of *R.* 478. Bef. *J.C.* 284. 177 Conſul p. *Juſtin*, B. 25. *Polynæus* Stratag. B. 8.

§. V. THE King of *Epirus*, who after his defeat had retired to *Tarentum* with a ſmall body of Horſe, reſolved to leave *Italy* as ſoon as poſſible; but he concealed his deſign, and endeavour'd to keep up the ſpirits of his allies by giving them hopes of ſuccour from *Greece*. In reality he ſent letters thither to ſeveral courts, demanding men and money; but for want of favourable anſwers, forged ſuch as might pleaſe thoſe he would deceive. When he could no longer conceal his reſolution of going, the method he took to ſave his honour, at leaſt for ſome time, was to pretend to be on a ſudden tranſported with anger againſt his friends for their dilatorineſs in ſending him the ſuccours he required. *Then*, ſaid he, *I muſt go my ſelf and fetch them.* He left a ſtrong garriſon in *Tarentum* under the command of *Milo*; and, to engage him to be faithful, one author tells us, that he made him at his departure a very extraordinary preſent, a ſeat cover'd with the ſkin of the wretch *Nicias*, that Phyſician who had offer'd *Fabricius* to poiſon the King his maſter. After theſe diſguiſes and precautions he returned into *Epirus* with only 8000 Foot and 500 Horſe.

Zon. B. 8.

Plut. in *Pyrrh.*

CHAP. XXIX.

§. I. *The Conſul* Curius *has a pompous Triumph for his victory over King* Pyrrhus, *but he refuſes what other rewards the Senate offer him.* Ruffinus (*who has been* Conſul *and* Dictator) *is by the* Cenſors *ſtruck out of the liſt of* Senators *for having too much Silver Plate.* §. II. Curius *is continued for another year in the Conſulate, and has for his Collegue* Cornelius Merenda. *The* Tarentines *beginning to deſpiſe* Pyrrhus, *force the garriſon he had left there to confine themſelves in the Citadel.* Curius *forces the* Samnites *and* Lucanians *to retire for refuge to their mountains. But they appear again in the field the next year, when* C. Fabius Dorſo *and* C. Claudius Carina *are the* Roman *Conſuls.* Claudius *defeats them in a pitch'd battle.* §. III. Ptolemy Philadelphus *ſends an Embaſſy to* Rome, *to aſk an alliance with the Republic. The* Romans *ſend Ambaſſadors into* Ægypt. §. IV. *The new year's Conſuls,* L. Papirius Curſor *and* Sp. Carvilius (both promoted a 2d time) *have ſcarce enter'd* Samnium *with two armies, when a certain account comes that* Pyrrhus *is dead.* [*The manner of his death is related.*] *This news throws the* SAMNITES *into deſpair; they put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby* totally ſubdued *by* Papirius, *after a war which had laſted 72 years. The* BRUTTIANS *and* LUCANIANS *ſubmit ſoon after; and* Papirius *by negotiation prevails with* Milo *and the* Tarentines *to put their City and Citadel into the hands of the* Romans; *after which the* Carthaginians, *whoſe fleet lay before* Tarentum, *and who ſeem to have had a deſign upon it, ſail away from the coaſt.* §. V. *The Conſular* Faſces *are transferred to* Quinctius Claudius *and* L. Genucius; *and the*

the Romans *being now in a condition to puniſh the perfidious* Campanian Legion, *which had formerly ſeized* RHEGIUM, *beſiege it, carry the place, reſtore it to thoſe of the old inhabitants who had eſcaped the maſſacre, and put all who remain of the Legion to death.* §. VI. *The following Conſulate of* C. Genucius *and* Cn. Cornelius *produces nothing of moment; and the moſt memorable thing that happens under the adminiſtration of their ſucceſſors,* Q. Ogulnius *and* C. Fabius Pictor, *is the* Coining of Silver Money *at* Rome *for the firſt time.* §. VII. *The next year, when* Appius Claudius *(ſon of* Appius the Blind) *and* P. Sempronius Sophus *are Conſuls,* Picenum *is entirely ſubdued, and the* SABINES *are made entirely* Roman, *by being admitted to the right of ſuffrage in the* Roman Comitia. §. VIII. *The Conſuls of the following year,* L. Julius *and* M. Attilius Regulus, *commence a war with the* Salentines; *and this nation, together with the* Sarcinates *in* Umbria, *being entirely ſubdued by the ſucceeding Conſuls,* Numerius Fabius *and* D. Junius Pera, Rome *becomes thereby miſtreſs of* all the Countries in ITALY *from the remoteſt part of* Hetruria *to the* Ionian Sea, *and from the* Tyrrhenian Sea *to the* Adriatic. §. IX. *The Republic is now courted by foreign States. The Ambaſſadors from* Apollonia *in* Macedon *being inſulted by ſome of the Citizens of* Rome, *the offenders are deliver'd up to the* Apolloniates, *and a law is paſſed to make this practice general in like caſes. The* Romans *regulate their* Finances.

§. I. AND now the Triumphal Proceſſion of *Curius*, for his victory over *Pyrrhus*, drew all the attention of the People at *Rome*. The *Romans* had never before ſeen ſo much magnificence, ſuch quantities of rich ſpoil; Veſſels of Gold, Purple Carpets, Statues, Pictures, and, in ſhort, all the fineries of the *Greek* Cities. *Rome*, ſays *Florus*, could hardly contain her victory. And what raiſed the admiration of the People more than all, were the Elephants, thoſe huge animals, with Towers on their backs. The Senate, to reward the victor, impower'd him to appropriate to himſelf fifty acres of the Conquer'd Lands; but he declined this favour, having firmly reſolved never to poſſeſs above ſeven acres, an Eſtate which he thought ſufficient for the ſupport of any honeſt man. *Y. of R.* 478. Bef. *J. C.* 274. 177 Conſul-p. *Florus*, B. 1. *Plin.* B. 16. *Val. Max.* B. 4.

The Triumph of *Curius* was followed by that of his Collegue *Lentulus*, who had made a ſucceſsful campaign in *Lucania*, and taken *Caudium* from the *Samnites*.

This happy Conſulſhip ended with a *Cenſus* and *Luſtrum*. The auſtere *Fabricius*, and his old Collegue in the Conſulſhip, *Æmilius Papus*, being *Cenſors* this year, they made a new liſt of Senators, and excluded all thoſe of the former liſt who led diſſolute lives; nay *Cornelius Ruffinus*, who had been *Conſul* and *Dictator*, was ſtruck out of the roll, only for having ten pounds weight of Silver Plate for his table. The number of *Roman Citizens* fit to bear arms appeared to be 271,224. *Plut.* Life of *Sylla*. *Val. Max.* B. 4.

Y. of *R.* 479. Bef. *J.C.* 273. 178 Conſul-p.

§. II. THE *Romans* being under the apprehenſion that *Pyrrhus* might ſoon appear again in *Italy*, continued *Curius* in the Conſulate for the next year, giving him for a Collegue *Cornelius Merenda*. In the mean time the *Tarentines*, who had hated *Pyrrhus* ever ſince his firſt coming among them, began now to deſpiſe him. Placing one *Nicon* at their head, they forced *Milo* and his Troops to retire into the Citadel, and confine themſelves there. The belief that by theſe diviſions *Tarentum* would ruin herſelf, and be forced in the end to ſurrender to the *Romans*, was what probably made *Curius* neglect to beſiege it. He turn'd his forces againſt the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, who not being able to keep the field, retired to their mountains. But in the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Fabius Dorſo* and *C. Claudius* * *Canina*, being encouraged, doubtleſs, by the emiſſaries from *Epirus*, who promiſed them that *Pyrrhus* (after the conqueſt of *Macedon*, which he had undertaken ſince his return home) would haſten to their aſſiſtance, they came down again into the plains to defend their Towns, and preſerve their harveſts. *Claudius* defeated them in a pitched battle, and preſerved the ſame aſcendant over them, which his predeceſſors had gained.

Zon. B. 8.

Flor. Epit. 14. Y. of *R.* 480. Bef. *J.C.* 272. 179 Conſul-p. * 2d time.

Faſt. Capit.

§. III. THE reputation of the *Romans* being now ſpread into foreign countries by the ſucceſsful war they had ſuſtained for ſix years againſt *Pyrrhus*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Ægypt*, ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome* to aſk the friendſhip of the Republic, an honour which gave the *Romans* no ſmall pleaſure. Not to be out-done in civility, they ſent away to *Ægypt* four ambaſſadors, choſen with the utmoſt circumſpection by a Senate ſtudious to preſerve their reputation abroad entire. *Fabius Gurges* was at the head of the Embaſſy, and with him were join'd three *Curule Ædiles*, two of them brothers of the *Fabian* family, and the third *Q. Ogulnius*. Their reception was magnificent, and *Ptolemy* at a ſplendid entertainment preſented each of them with a Crown of Gold, which they receiv'd, becauſe they were unwilling to diſoblige him by a refuſal; but they went the next morning and placed them on the heads of the King's ſtatues, that were erected in the public parts of the city. The rich preſents which the King offer'd them at their audience of leave they alſo accepted; but at their return to *Rome*, and before they went to the Senate, they depoſited all theſe preſents in the public Treaſury, deſiring no reward but Glory for the ſervices they did their country: However, the Senate and People ordered the *Quæſtors* to reſtore to the Ambaſſadors what had been given them for their own uſe.

Eutrop. B. 2. *Zonaras*, B. 8.

Dion. in excerpt.

Val. Max. B. 4. ch. 3.

§. IV. WHETHER the *Romans* believed or not, that *Pyrrhus* when he had conquered *Macedon*, would once more return into *Italy*, they took care to chuſe ſuch *Conſuls* for the next year as ſhould be able to cope with him if he came. Their choice fell upon *L. Papirius Curſor* and *Sp. Carvilius*, who both of them had been raiſed to that eminent ſtation before, and had ſignalized themſelves in it. Theſe Generals, with two *Conſular* armies, were already enter'd into the Territory of the *Samnites*, when an account came that *Pyrrhus* was dead. This inconſtant

Y. of *R.* 481. Bef. *J.C.* 271. 180 Conſul-p.

Prince,

Prince, when he had almoſt totally ſubdued *Macedon*, left that enterprize to undertake the protection and reſtauration of *Cleonymus* King of *Sparta*, who had been driven from his capital by the intrigues of his wife, and the ambition of his nephew. Such was the *Epirot*'s pretence; but his real deſign was to make himſelf maſter of all *Peloponneſus*, by taking advantage of the diviſions which had ſprung up there. He march'd into *Laconia*, and inveſted *Lacedæmon*, but ſoon after quitted that undertaking likewiſe to get poſſeſſion of *Argos*, whither he was invited by one of the two factions into which that City was ſplit. There he fell by the hand of a woman. The faction that favour'd him having in the night admitted him into the Town by one of the gates, and the other faction having open'd another gate to a body of *Macedonians* and *Spartans*, a bloody battle was fought, in which *Pyrrhus* receiving a ſlight wound from a young *Argian*, would have revenged it by his death. The mother of the young man, affrighted at her ſon's danger, which ſhe beheld from the top of a houſe, took up a great tile, and with both her hands threw it at the King; who receiving the blow in the nape of his neck, of which it bruiſed the *Vertebræ*, fell ſenſeleſs to the ground; and then *Zopyrus*, a *Macedonian*, who was the only perſon in the throng that knew him, ſevered his head from his body.

Y. of *R.* 481. Bef. *J. C.* 271. 180 Conſul-p. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrh.* *Juſtin*, B. 25. *Plut.* Life of *Pyrrh.*

The news of *Pyrrhus*'s death threw the *Samnites* into deſpair; they now look'd upon their liberty as gone, and, like men in ſuch a ſituation, put all to the hazard of a ſingle battle. *Florus* ſays, that the *Samnites* were ſo totally conquer'd, and the ruins of their Cities ſo ruined, that *Samnium* might in vain be ſought for in *Samnium*. And thus ended this bloody war, which had laſted ſeventy two years, and had procured the *Roman* Generals thirty one Triumphs The *Bruttians* and *Lucanians* ſoon after ſubmitted to the ſame yoke. *Tarentum* remained unpuniſhed, and thither therefore the *Conſuls* march'd and inveſted it. *Milo* ſtill poſſeſſed the Citadel. The *Tarentines* (as it is reaſonably thought) had implored the aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*; for theſe lay with a fleet before the Town, and pretended to have no deſign but againſt *Milo* and his *Epirots*. *Papirius* being deſirous to prevent the *Carthaginians* from getting any footing in *Italy*, ſignified privately to *Milo*, that if he would ſurrender up the Citadel to him, he and his garriſon ſhould not only have their lives ſpared, but be tranſported ſafe with their effects to *Epirus*. *Milo* readily liſtened to this offer, and even did more than he was aſk'd. He undertook to put the City likewiſe into the *Conſul*'s hands. Having aſſembled the *Tarentines*, he perſuaded them to depute him to the *Conſul*, promiſing to negotiate matters ſo well for them, that they ſhould loſe neither their lives nor their eſtates; and he made good his word. The *Romans* being ſoon after admitted into the Town, did no violence to the inhabitants. As for the *Carthaginians*, when they found themſelves diſappointed, they retired with their fleet, leaving the *Romans* in a well grounded ſuſpicion, that they had intended to ſeize a place which by right of conqueſt belonged to *Rome*; and though their

Flor. B. 1. *Oroſius*, B. 4. ch. 3. *Flor.* Epit. 14. *Zon.* B. 8. *Frontin.* Stratag. B. 3.

manner

Y. of *R.* 481. Bef. *J.C.* 281. 180 Conſul-p. *Faſt. Capit.*

manner of proceeding did not cauſe an open rupture, it produced a coldneſs at leaſt between the two Republics.

§. V. ALL the old enemies of *Rome*, the *Sabines*, *Volſci*, *Campanians*, and *Hetrurians* being ſubdued, and theſe, with the other nations newly conquered, being now become parts of one and the ſame State, of which *Rome* was the capital, the Republic was at leiſure to wipe off the diſhonour thrown upon her by the perfidious *Campanian Legion*, formerly ſent to *Rhegium*. As ſoon therefore as *Quinctius Claudius* and *L. Genucius Clepſina* were enter'd upon the *Conſulſhip*, the latter was order'd to lead an army to that City and beſiege it. The uſurpers, to make a better defence, not only called to their aſſiſtance the *Mamertines* (who were themſelves originally *Campanians*, and had acted the ſame part at *Meſſana* after the death of King *Agathocles*, which the other had done at *Rhegium*) but open'd an *Aſylum* for all the *Banditti* of the country. Their obſtinacy being encreaſed by this additional ſtrength, the ſiege proved a long one, and proviſions failing in the camp of the *Romans*, *Genucius* was oblig'd to have recourſe to *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe*, a generous Prince, whoſe name will hereafter be often mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory. *Hiero* furniſh'd the *Conſul* not only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of ſome *Sicilian* Troops; and by the help of theſe ſuccours the *Romans* took the town. Of about 4000 men, of which the guilty *Legion* had at firſt conſiſted, there remain'd now but 300 alive. Theſe, tho' *Campanians* by birth, having the privileges of *Roman Citizenſhip*, were ſent priſoners to *Rome* to be there try'd. The Senate condemn'd them all to be firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded; and notwithſtanding that one of the *Tribunes* made an oppoſition to this ſentence, pretending that it belonged to the People alone to pronounce upon *Roman Citizens* in capital caſes, the decree was executed, and they were put to death by fifty at a time in the *Forum Romanum*. By this execution the Republic clear'd herſelf from the ſuſpicion of having had any part in the treachery of the *Campanian Legion*. Thoſe of the old inhabitants, who had eſcaped the cruelty of the uſurpers, were re-inſtated in the poſſeſſion of their lands, liberties, and laws.

Polyb. B. 1. Y. of *R.* 482. Bef. *J.C.* 270. 181 Conſul-p. *Zon.* B. 8. *Polyb.* B. 1. *Val. Max.* B. 2. ch. 2. *Polyb.* B. 1.

Y. of *R.* 483. Bef. *J.C.* 269. 182 Conſul-p. *Faſt. Capit.* *Zon.* & D. *Aug.* B. 3. de Civ. Dei. Y. of *R.* 484. Bef *J.C.* 268. 183 Conſul-p. *Eutrop.* B. 2. *Zonar.* B. 8.

§. VI. DURING the following adminiſtration of the *Conſuls* *C. Genucius* and *Cn. Cornelius*, the former obtained a victory over the *Sarcinates*, a people of *Umbria*, who were for the moſt part *Gauls*. This year was remarkable for nothing more, except the ſeverity of the winter. The ſnow lay forty days upon the ground in the *Forum* of *Rome*, and was of a prodigious depth. The ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *Q. Ogulnius Gallus* and *C. Fabius Pictor*, were order'd to undertake the reduction of the *Picentes* and *Salentines*, (the only nation in the Eaſt of *Italy* not yet ſubject to the Republic) but they were of a ſudden call'd elſewhere, to extinguiſh a flame which a very ſmall ſpark had kindled. One *Lollius*, by birth a *Samnite*, had been delivered to the *Romans* by his countrymen, as a hoſtage for their fidelity. This man had eſcaped from *Rome*, join'd a company of rebels, ſeized a ſtrong place in *Samnium*, and was committing

mitting robberies in all the country; he had drawn alſo the *Caricini*, who were either a people of *Samnium*, or in alliance with them, into his meaſures, making their City the magazine of his booty. The *Conſuls* were therefore diſpatched to lay ſiege to that place; and by the help of ſome deſerters, who introduced the *Roman* Troops ſecretly into it, they made an eaſy conqueſt. The *Conſuls* had no Triumph for their ſucceſs in this war, becauſe it was deemed a civil war; nevertheleſs, they ſignalized their victory by more laſting monuments. Y. of *R.* 484. Bef. *J. C.* 268. 183 Conſul. p.

To this time the *Romans* had never uſed any money in commerce, except pieces of Braſs ſtamped with the figure of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar; they had been too poor to coin Silver Money. But now after the conqueſt of *Samnium*, and the ſurrendry of *Tarentum*, the riches of the State being encreaſed, and a great quantity of bars of ſilver (of no uſe to the Republic in that form) having been found among the treaſures taken from *Lollius*, the *Conſuls* thought it adviſeable to coin the ſilver, and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the Mint was the Temple of *Juno Moneta*, from whence comes the word *Money*. The new ſpecies, inſtead of being ſtamp'd with the figures of animals, was made to repreſent the exploits of the *Roman* Heroes, by ingenious hieroglyphics; but ſo ænigmatically, that the invention of our antiquaries is often put to the rack to explain them. Some of theſe pieces of ſilver money being worth ten *As of braſs*, were called *Denarii*, and mark'd with the numeral letter X; others, worth but five *As*, were called *Quinarii*, and were mark'd with the letter V. The *Seſtertii*, which were worth but two *As* and a half, were diſtinguiſh'd by the letters HS*. *Plin.* B. 33. ch. 3. *Suidas* under the word Μονήτα. *Varr.* de ling. Lat. B. 4. * *Duo & Semis tertius.*

§. VII. THE next year the new *Conſuls*, *P. Sempronius Sophus* and *Appius Claudius Craſſus* (ſon of the famous blind *Appius*, and the heir of his artfulneſs) enter'd *Picenum* jointly; but new commotions in *Umbria* obliged the latter ſoon after to march thither. He laid ſiege to *Camerinum*, a town ſituated near the *Apennines* that ſeparated *Umbria* from *Picenum*; and when he had taken it, treated the inhabitants barbarouſly: He ſold them for ſlaves, contrary to his agreement with them, put the purchaſe-money into the public treaſury, and ſeiſed their lands. The Republic, however, would not authorize ſo wicked a fraud. The Senate order'd the unhappy wretches to be ſought out, granted them the privilege of *Roman Citizens*, aſſigned them a quarter upon Mount *Aventine* for an habitation, and allotted each of them as much land as he had loſt in *Umbria*. Y. of *R.* 485. Bef. *J. C.* 267. 184 Conſul. p. *Eutrop.* B. 2. *Val. Max.* B. 6. ch. 5.

In the mean time *Sempronius Sophus* purſued the war againſt the *Picentes*. Juſt as he was going to engage with the enemy in a pitch'd battle, a ſudden earthquake greatly terrified his ſoldiers, and damped their ardour for fighting; but he telling them, *That the earth ſhook only for fear of changing its maſters*, and then vowing a Temple to the Goddeſs *Tellus*, they quickly recover'd their courage, and fell upon the *Picentes* with their uſual intrepidity. The battle muſt have been exceedingly bloody; for tho' the *Conſul* gain'd the victory, he loſt the greater part of his troops in the action. *Aſculum*, the capital of *Picenum*, ſoon after ſurrender'd *Frontin.* Strat. B 1. *Flor.* B. 1. *Oroſius*, B. 4. ch. 4. *Flor.* B. 1. ch. 19.

Y. of *R.* 485. Bef. *J.C.* 267. 184 Conſul-p. *Plin.* B. 3. ch. 13. *Vell. Paterc.* B. 1.

ſurrender'd, and the whole nation gave themſelves to the *Romans*; an important increaſe of the dominion of the Republic, becauſe this country alone was able to ſupply her armies with 360,000 ſoldiers.

To keep the newly-conquer'd nations in awe, the *Romans* at this time ſettled *Colonies* at *Ariminum* in the country of the *Picentes*, and at *Beneventum* in that of the *Samnites*; and at this time alſo the *Sabines*, whoſe right of Citizenſhip at *Rome* had hitherto extended only to the privilege of being incorporated in the *Legions*, inſtead of barely ſerving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of ſuffrage in the City, and thereby became entirely *Roman*.

§. VIII. THE *Salentines*, whoſe chief Cities were *Hydruntum*, *Aletium*, and *Brunduſium*, were now almoſt the only people in the eaſtern extremity of *Italy*, that remained unſubdued to the *Romans*. It was eaſy for the ambitious Republic to invent pretences to rob her neighbours of their liberty. The next year's *Conſuls*, *L. Julius Libo* and *M. Attilius Regulus*, took *Brunduſium*; but as the brave *Salentines* diſputed their country inch by inch, the two Generals were obliged to leave their conqueſts to be finiſhed by their ſucceſſors. Theſe were *Numerius Fabius* and *D. Junius Pera*, who, having firſt ſubdued the *Sarcinates* in *Umbria*, totally reduced the *Salentines* (though they had brought the *Meſſapians* or *Japygians* into their quarrel.) The reduction of two nations in one campaign procured each *Conſul* two Triumphs, a thing unheard of before in the Republic.

Y. of *R.* 486. Bef. *J.C.* 266. 185 Conſul-p. *Flor.* B. 1. Y. of *R.* 487. Bef. *J.C.* 265. 186 Conſul-p. *Faſt. Capit.*

Rome was now become miſtreſs of all the different nations of *Italy*, from the fartheſt part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* Sea, and from the *Tuſcan* Sea croſs the *Apennines* to the *Adriatic*. But theſe nations had not all the ſame privileges, nor were upon the ſame footing in point of ſubjection. Some were ſo entirely ſubject to *Rome*, as to have no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old cuſtoms and forms of government. Some were tributary, others barely allies, who were bound to furniſh the *Roman* army with troops, and maintain them at their own expence. Some had the privileges of *Roman Citizenſhip*, and their ſoldiers were incorporated in the *Legions*; others had likewiſe a right of ſuffrage in the elections made by the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*. Theſe different degrees of honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded in the different terms granted by the conquerors in their treaties with the vanquiſhed; and theſe honours and privileges were afterwards increaſed, according to the fidelity of the ſeveral cities and nations, and the ſervices they did the Republic.

§. IX. AFTER the great increaſe of power and dominion which the *Romans* acquired by their victories over *Pyrrhus* and his *Italian* allies, free Cities and whole Nations beyond the ſeas began to follow the example of the King of *Ægypt*, and court the friendſhip of the Republic. *Apollonia*, ſituated over-againſt *Brunduſium*, was the firſt City of *Macedon* that ſent Ambaſſadors to deſire her protection. Theſe Ambaſſadors were received with honour by the Senate; but afterwards, upon ſome

Flor. Epit. 15.

occaſion not known, were inſulted by *Fabricius* and *Apronius*, young *Romans* of great diſtinction, and at this time *Ædiles*. So grievous a breach of the law of nations required ſatisfaction; nor did the Republic refuſe it. The young men were condemned to be deliver'd up into the hands of the Ambaſſadors, in order to be tranſported to *Apollonia*, and there puniſh'd at the pleaſure of the People. This was ſhewing the *Apolloniates* all the regard poſſible; and they, in their turn, ſhew'd a prudent reſpect for the *Roman* Senate. *Fabius* and *Apronius* were hoſpitably received, and then ſent back to *Rome*. And this memorable event gave riſe to a law (which ſubſiſted ever after) *That if any Citizen, of what quality ſoever, inſulted an Ambaſſador, he ſhould be deliver'd up to the injured nation.*

Y. of *R.* 487. Bef. *J. C.* 265. 186 Conſul-p. *Val. Max.* B. 6. ch. 6.

Dig. Parag. de Legat.

And now the great affair of the Republic, under the adminiſtration of the *Conſuls Q. Fabius* * *Gurges* and *L. Manilius Vitulus*, was to regulate her Revenues. Theſe revenues aroſe from the tributes each province was to pay; from the rents of certain arable and paſture lands, which the Republic reſerved as her demeſnes, whenever ſhe divided any conquer'd lands among the Citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands dependent on her; and laſtly from the impoſts upon all merchandize imported into her dominions. It has been already obſerved, that four Officers, with the title of *Quæſtors*, had the charge of receiving and diſburſing the Public Moneys. *Valerius Poplicola*, ſoon after the birth of the Republic, deſiring to eaſe himſelf of the care of the Finances, had appointed two: To theſe *Sempronius Atratinus*, in the year 333, being then *Military Tribune with Conſular Authority*, had added two more, whoſe peculiar buſineſs was to attend the *Conſuls* in their expeditions, keep the military cheſt, pay the troops, and ſell the ſpoils and priſoners taken from the enemy. The *Quæſtors* neither of the one nor of the other inſtitution had any of the great badges of diſtinction annexed to their offices. They had neither *Curule Chairs*, nor *Lictors*, nor *Apparitors*; nor could they refuſe to appear before the *Prætor*, upon a ſummons from even the meaneſt of the Citizens. The only privileges they had were thoſe of aſſembling the *Comitia* at *Rome*, and ſpeaking to them from the *Roſtra*, and haranguing the ſoldiers in the field.

Y. of *R.* 488. Bef. *J. C.* 264. 187 Conſul-p. * 3d time.

Tacit. Annal. *Cic.* in Orat. pro *Sext.* & contr. *Rullum.* *Sueton.*

The four *Quæſtors* had been found to be hardly ſufficient to go through the buſineſs belonging to them even before the late conqueſts; but now it was abſolutely neceſſary to augment the number of theſe officers; and four new ones were therefore created, with the title of *Provincial Quæſtors*, to take charge of the four [1] provinces into which the Republic had divided her conqueſts.

[1] The ſeat or chief office of the firſt province was at *Oſtia*, a maritime city near *Rome*. This *Quæſtorſhip* reached, in all probability, from the head of the *Tyber* and the river *Arnus*, to the mouth of the *Liris*; and comprehended *Hetruria*, *Latium*, *Sabinia*, *Umbria*, and, in ſhort, all the coaſts of the *Tuſcan* ſea, and all the lands between that ſea and the *Apennines*. The ſeat of the ſecond province was at *Cale*, in the delightful country of *Campania*; and it reached from the *Liris* to the *Gulph of Tarentum*.

Y. of *R.* 488. Bef. *J. C.* 264. 187 Conſul-p.

The uſual fortune of *Rome* during any interval of tranquillity, did not fail to attend her at this time. A moſt dreadful Plague raged both in the City and in the Country. The *Sybilline* books, according to cuſtom, were hereupon conſulted; and it was there found, that ſome ſecret crimes had drawn down the wrath of Heaven upon the Republic. A veſtal, named *Caparonia*, proved the unhappy victim, ſacrificed to the prepoſſeſſions of the People. Being convicted of incontinency before the Tribunal of the *Pontifices*, they condemned her to be buried alive; and tho' to avoid ſo cruel a death ſhe ſtrangled herſelf, the ſame ceremonies of interment were performed upon the dead body, as if ſhe had been living.

Oroſ. B. 4. ch. 5.

Notwithſtanding the havock made by the Plague, the number of Citizens fit to bear arms appear'd, by a *Cenſus* taken this year, to be 292,224. Doubtleſs the *Sabines*, to whom the right of ſuffrage had been lately granted, muſt have been reckon'd in this enumeration. *C. Marcius Rutilus*, one of the *Cenſors*, had on account of his extraordinary merit been elected, contrary to cuſtom and his own earneſt remonſtrances, a ſecond time to this office; and hence probably he acquired the ſurname of *Cenſorinus*, which was perpetuated in his family. *Plutarch* tells us, that to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous a practice, *Marcius* got a law paſs'd, forbidding any perſon to hold the *Cenſorſhip* a ſecond time.

Flor. Epit. 16. *Eutrop.* B. 2. *Val. Max.* B. 4. ch. 1. *Plut.* Life of *Coriolanus.*

The preſent *Conſuls* were ſtill at *Rome*, wholly employed in civil affairs, when on a ſudden a war ſprung up in the very bowels of the Republic. *Volſinii*, a conſiderable City of *Hetruria*, had been by Treaty

This province contain'd *Campania*, *Samnium*, *Lucania*, the country of the *Bruttii*, and *Oenotria*; and within it were many rich maritime cities. The third province reached from the *Apennines* to the ſhore of the *Adriatic* ſea, and was called the *Gallic Quæſtorſhip*. It contained the countries formerly conquered by the *Gauls*, eſpecially the *Senones*, from the river *Rubicon* to the *Æſis*. But notwithſtanding its name, it contained alſo *Picenum*, the country of the *Frentani*, and all the other countries as far as *Apulia*. And laſtly, the fourth *Quæſtorſhip*, of which we have not ſo diſtinct an account as of the other three, could only comprehend *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the territories of the *Salentines*, *Meſſapians*, and *Tarentines*. A fine province, if we conſider the great number of its ſea-ports, into which merchandizes were imported from *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. For theſe four provinces *Rome* created four new *Quæſtors*; and it was then ſettled, that all the eight *Quæſtors* ſhould for the future be choſen in *Comitia by Tribes*. After the elections, which were renewed every year, the eight *Quæſtors* drew lots, in the preſence of the People, to decide which ſhould have the *Roman*, which the *Military*, and which the *Provincial Quæſtorſhips*. The four *Provincial* ones were moſtly deſired by the ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her conqueſts beyond *Italy*; but when ſhe had brought the Eaſt and Weſt into ſubjection to her, and great kingdoms were become ſo many provinces under her domination, the four *Italian* provinces were but little coveted by the *Quæſtors*, who were multiplied in proportion, as the Republic enlarged her conqueſts. The *Proconſuls* and *Propretors*, that is to ſay, the Governors of thoſe remote provinces had each his *Quæſtor*, or Superintendant of the *Finances*, for his Government: and theſe Governments being large and rich, and far out of the Senate's ſight, the *Quæſtors* were fond of going thither, where they could raiſe more money, and were more honoured and reſpected; for here they wore the *Prætexta*, and were attended by *Lictors*, as appears from *Cic.* 3d Orat. contra *Verr.* For all theſe reaſons, when the *Quæſtors* drew lots for their provinces, the man to whom any of the *Italian* ones fell became the jeſt of the people. *He goes to the waters*, ſaid they; meaning, that he was going to enjoy his repoſe near *Rome*, much as thoſe *Romans* did, who went to *Baiæ* or *Putcoli* for the waters.

allowed to enjoy her own laws and form of goverment; but the *Volſinienſes* had ſince fallen into ſloth and luxury, neglected their laws, deſpiſed the public offices, and ſuffer'd their Freed-men to uſurp them. Theſe Freed-men by degrees had made themſelves tyrants in the little Republic; and it was their whole buſineſs to mortify their old maſters. They not only with all licentiouſneſs invaded their wives, but paſs'd a law, that no Virgin-daughter of a man free-born ſhould be married to a huſband of the like condition, till ſhe had ſubmitted to the paſſion of a freed-man. And to all theſe inſolences they added Baniſhments and Proſcriptions of the moſt worthy Citizens. The *Volſinienſes* not being able to help themſelves, ſent Deputies privately to implore the protection of the Senate of *Rome*. But tho' the negotiation was thought to be carried on with perfect ſecrecy, the Freed-men got notice of it, and put the Deputies to death at their return; and when *Fabius Gurges*, who undertook with a ſmall army of voluntiers to chaſtiſe them, came near their City, he found them upon their guard; nay, the Freed-men ventured to face him in the field, and give him battle. The *Conſul* put them to the rout; but as he was entring the Town with the run-aways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand, and then the *Romans* were repulſed. After this *Decius Mus*, who had been Lieutenant to *Fabius*, beſieged the place in form; and in the year following it ſurrender'd to the *Conſul Fulvius Flaccus*. The Freed-men, who had uſurped the magiſtracies, and acted the whole ſcene of villany, were all put to death; the City was razed, and the Inhabitants tranſplanted to another.

Y. of *R.* 488. Bef. *J. C.* 264. 187 Conſul p. *Zon.* B. 8. *Florus*, B. 1. ch. 21. Auth. de Viris Illuſtr. *Val. Max.* B. 9. ch. 1.

Theſe laſt particulars are here mentioned a little before their time, that they may not hereafter interrupt the relation of more important matters; the occaſion and commencement of the FIRST PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

THE CAPITOLINE MARBLES: OR CONSULAR CALENDARS.

An ancient Monument accidentally diſcovered at *Rome* in the year 1545. during the Pontificate of *Paul* III.

KINGS OF ROME.

Year	
1.	ROMULUS. He triumphs over the Cæninenſes, Cruſtumini, and Antemnates.
5.	He makes himſelf a trophy of the ſpoils he took from King Acron whom he killed with his own hand.
16.	He triumphs over the Camerini.
17.	He triumphs over the Veientes, and Fidenates.
38.	INTERREGNUM.
40.	NUMA POMPILIUS.
83.	TULLUS HOSTILIUS.
87.	He triumphs over the Albans.
91.	He triumphs over the Sabines.
114.	ANCUS MARCIUS.
115.	He triumphs over the Veientes.
120.	He triumphs over the Sabines.
139.	TARQUIN the Firſt.
150.	He triumphs over the Latines.
160.	He triumphs over the Hetrurians.
171.	He triumphs over the Sabines.
176.	SERVIUS TULLIUS.
182.	He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

KINGS OF ROME.

Year	
186.	He triumphs over the Hetrurians a ſecond time.
200.	He eſtabliſhes the Cenſus, and Luſtrum, of which here were four in his reign.
220.	TARQUIN the Proud.
227.	He triumphs over the Volſci.
228.	He triumphs over the Sabines.
243.	He is dethroned, and driven from Rome.

CONSULS.

1. *Conſulſhip,* 244. *Year.*	L. Junius Brutus.
	L. Tarquinius Collatinus.
	Publius Valerius Poplicola, is ſubſtituted in the room of L. Tarquinius, who abdicates.
	Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus, fills Brutus's place, who was killed before his office expired.
	Horatius Pulvillus is choſen in the room of Spurius, who died in his office.
	Publius Valerius Poplicola triumphs over the Veientes and Tarquinians.

Quæſtors. P. Veturius Geminus.
M. Minucius Augurinus.

2. *Conſulſhip,* 245. *Year.* P. Valerius Poplicola, a ſecond time.
Titus Lucretius Tricipitinus.
The fifth Luſtrum.
Quæſtors. Q. Clœlius Siculus.
A. Sempronius Atratinus.

3. *Conſulſhip,* 246. *Year.* P. Valerius Poplicola, a third time.
M. Horatius Pulvillus, a ſecond time.
Quæſtors. T. Æbutius Elva.
A. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.

4. *Conſulſhip,* 247. *Year.* Spurius Lartius Flavus.
T. Herminius Aquilinus.
Quæſtors. M. Tullius Longus.
T. Virginius Tricoſtus.

5. *Conſulſhip,* 248. *Year.* M. Valerius.
P. Poſthumius Tubertus.
Marcus Valerius, and Publius Poſthumius triumph over the Sabines.
Quæſtors. T. Lartius Flavus.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

6. *Conſulſhip,* 249. *Year.* P. Valerius Poplicola, a fourth time.
T. Lucretius Tricipitinus, a ſecond time.
Valerius triumphs over the Sabines and Veientes.
Quæſtors. P. Servilius Priſcus.
A. Virginius Tricoſtus Cælimontanus.

7. *Conſulſhip,* 250. *Year.* P. Poſthumius Tubertus, a ſecond time.
Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, who triumphs over the Sabines.
Poſthumius receives only the Honours of an Ovation.
Quæſtors. T. Veturius Geminus.
Poſthumius Cominius Auruncus.

8. *Conſulſhip,* 251. *Year.* Opiter Virginius Tricoſtus.
Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus, who triumphs over the Sabines.
Quæſtors. P. Servilius Priſcus.
T. Geganius Macerinus.

9. *Conſulſhip,* 252. *Year.* Poſthumus Cominius Auruncus.
T. Lartius Flavus.
The ſixth Luſtrum.
Quæſtors. M. Minucius Augurinus.
Q. Sulpitius Camerinus Cornutus.

10. *Conſulſhip,* 253. *Year.* Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus.
M. Tullius Longus, who dies in his Conſulſhip.
Quæſtors. C. Julius Iulus.
M. Valerius Voluſus.

11. *Conſulſhip,* 254. *Year.* P. Veturius Geminus.
T. Æbutius Elva.
Quæſtors. Rufus Mamercinus Rutilus.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

12. *Conſulſhip,* 255. *Year.* T. Lartius Flavus, a ſecond time.
Q. Clœlius Siculus.
Dictator. T. Lartius Flavus.
Gen. of Horſe. Sp. Caſſius Viſcellinus.
Quæſtors. M. Claudius Craſſinus Regillenſis.
L. Geganius Macerinus.

13. *Conſulſhip,* 256. *Year.* A. Sempronius Atratinus.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
Quæſtors. C. Aquilius Tuſcus.
Virginius Tricoſtus Rutilus.

14. *Conſulſhip,* 257. *Year.* A. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
Titus Virginius Tricoſtus.
Dictator. A. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
Gen. of Horſe. T. Æbutius Elva.
A. Poſthumius triumphs over the Latines.
Quæſtors. T. Sicinius Sabinus.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

15. *Conſulſhip,* 258. *Year.* Appius Claudius Sabinus Regillenſis.
P. Servilius Priſcus.
Quæſtors. Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

16. *Conſulſhip,* 259. *Year.* A. Virginius Tricoſtus Cælimontanus.
T. Veturius Geminus Cicurinus.
Dictator. Manius Valerius.
Gen. of Horſe. Q. Servilius Priſcus.
Manius Valerius triumphs over the Sabines.

Quæſtors.

Quæſtors. C. Minucius Augurinus.
Sex Furius Fuſus.

17. *Conſulſhip,* Sp. Caſſius Viſcellinus, a ſecond
260. *Year.* time.
Poſthumus Cominius Auruncus, a ſecond time.
The ſeventh Luſtrum.
Tribunes of the L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
People. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
Plebeian C. Mucius Cordus Scævola.
Ædiles. Q. Mucius Cordus Scævola.
Quæſtors. P. Valerius Poplicola.
M. Fabius Vibulanus.

18. *Conſulſhip.* T. Geganius Macerinus.
261. *Year.* P. Minucius Augurinus.
Tribunes of the Sp. Icilius Ruga.
People. C. Licinius Calvus.
Ædiles. L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
Quæſtors. C. Julius Iulus.
Sp. Furius Fuſus.

19. *Conſulſhip,* M. Minucius Augurinus, a ſe-
262. *Year.* cond time.
A. Sempronius Atratinus, a ſecond time.
Tribunes of the L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
People. M. Decius Mus.
Ædiles. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
L. Junius Brutus.
Quæſtors. Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus.
Marc. Horatius Pulvillus.

20. *Conſulſhip,* Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.
263. *Year.* Sp. Lartius Flavus, a ſecond time.
Tribunes of the P. Mænius.
People. L. Albinius.
Ædiles. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
P. Licinius Calvus.
Quæſtors. T. Virginius Tricoſtus Rutilus.
C. Servilius Structus Ahala.

21. *Conſulſhip,* C. Julius Iulus.
264. *Year.* P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.
Tribunes of the C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
People. L. Icilius Ruga.
Ædiles. C. Icilius Ruga.
C. Junius Bubulcus.
Quæſtors. C. Cornelius Lentulus.
C. Horatius Pulvillus Eſquilinus.

22. *Conſulſhip,* Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
265. *Year.* Sex. Furius Fuſus.
Tribunes of the M. Plætorius.
People. P. Licinius Calvus.
Ædiles. L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
C. Licinius Calvus.
Quæſtors. T. Menenius Lanatus.
A. Virginius Tricoſtus Rutilius.

23. *Conſulſhip,* C. Aquilius Tuſcus.
266. *Year.* T. Sicinius Sabinus, who triumphs over the Volſci.
Aquilius defeats the Hernici, and has only the honour of an Ovation.
Tribunes of the L. Albinius.
People. P. Licinius Calvus.
Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Quæſtors. Sp. Servilius Structus.
Q. Sextius Capitolinus.

24. *Conſulſhip,* Sp. Caſſius Viſcellinus, a third
267. *Year.* time.
Proculus Virginius Tricoſtus Rutilus.
Sp. Caſſius triumphs over the Volſci and Hernici.
Tribunes of the C. Rabuleius.
People. M. Silius.
Ædiles. C. Junius Bubulcus.
M. Plætorius.
Quæſtors. C. Nautius Rutilus.
L. Furius Medullinus Fuſus.

25. *Conſulſhip,* Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
268. *Year.* Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis Coſſus.
Tribunes of the P. Mucius Scævola.
People. M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.
Ædiles. C. Licinius Calvus.
C. Rabuleius.
Quæſtors. K. Fabius Vibulanus
L. Valerius Potitus.

26. *Conſulſhip,* L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
269. *Year.* K. Fabius Vibulanus.
Tribunes of the M. Titinius.
People. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
Ædiles. L. Albinius.
M. Silius.

Quæſtors. A. Manlius Vulſo.
Vopiſcus Julius Iulus.

27. *Conſulſhip,* M. Fabius Vibulanus.
270. *Year.* L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.
Tribunes of the C. Mænius.
People. P. Licinius Calvus.
Ædiles. C. Licinius Calvus.
M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.
Quæſtors. P. Furius Fuſus.
App. Claudius Sabinus Regillenſis.

28. *Conſulſhip,* C. Julius Iulus.
271. *Year.* Q. Fabius Vibulanus, a ſecond time.
Tribunes of the L. Albinius.
People. P. Tarquitius Laurentinus.
Ædiles. C. Rabuleius.
C. Mænius.
Quæſtors. L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.
T. Æmilius Mamercinus.

29. *Conſulſhip.* K. Fabius Vibulanus, a ſecond
272. *Year.* time.
Sp. Furius Fuſus.
Tribunes of the Sp. Icilius Ruga.
People. L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Ædiles. M. Titinius.
P. Decius Mus.
Quæſtors. A Virginius Tricoſtus Cælimontanus.
Q. Servilius Priſcus.

30. *Conſulſhip,* Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus.
273. *Year.* M. Fabius Vibulanus, a ſecond time.
Tribunes of the Ti. Pontificius.
People. C. Rabuleius.
Ædiles. L. Albinus.
P. Tarquitius Laurentinus.
Quæſtors. T. Numicius Priſcus.
M. Volumnius Amintinus.

31. *Conſulſhip,* K. Fabius Vibulanus, a third
274. *Year.* time.
T. Virginius Tricoſtus Rutilus.
Tribunes of the C. Junius Bubulcus.
People. C. Icilius Ruga.
Ædiles. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
M. Decius Mus.
Quæſtors. M. Minucius Augurinus.
P. Minucius Augurinus.

32. *Conſulſhip,* L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a ſe-
275. *Year.* cond time.
Caius Servilius Structus Ahala, who did not finiſh the year, but abdicated, or died before it ended.
C. Cornelius Coſſus was put in his room.
Tribunes of the P. Decius Mus.
People. M. Flavuleius.
Ædiles. T. Pontificius.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Quæſtors. L. Volumnius Amintinus.
M. Tullius Longus.
Proconſuls. K. Fabius Vibulanus.
Sp. Furius Fuſus.

33. *Conſulſhip,* C. Horatius Pulvillus.
276. *Year.* T. Menenius Lanatus.
Tribunes of the C. Rabuleius.
People. L. Flavuleius.
Ædiles. M. Flavuleius.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Quæſtors. T. Æbutius Elva.
Sp. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
Proconſul. K. Fabius Vibulanus.

34. *Conſulſhip,* A. Virginius Tricoſtus Rutilus.
277. *Year.* P. Servilius Structus.
Tribunes of the T. Genucius Aventinenſis.
People. Q. Conſidius.
Ædiles. M. Decius Mus.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Quæſtors. Sp. Furius Medullinus Fuſus.
M. Papirius Mugillanus.

35. *Conſulſhip,* P. Valerius Poplicola.
278. *Year.* C. Nautius Rutilus.
Valerius triumphs over the Veientes and Sabines.
Tribunes of the L. Cædicius.
People. T. Statius.
Ædiles. L. Flavuleius.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
Quæſtors. C. Foſſius Flaccinator.
Q. Mucius Scævola.

36. *Conſulſhip,* L. Furius Mèdullinus Fuſus.
279. *Year.* A. Manlius Vulſo.

The

The eighth Luſtrum.
Manlius conquers the Veientes, and receives the honours of an Ovation.

Tribunes of the People. K. Atinius Longus.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
Ædiles. T. Pontificius.
Q. Conſidius.
Quæſtors. A. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
L. Æbutius Elva.

37. *Conſulſhip,* 280. *Year.* L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a third time.
Vopiſcus Julius Iulus.
Tribunes of the People. Cn. Genucius.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Ædiles. T. Genucius Aventinenſis.
L. Cædicius.
Quæſtors. P. Servilius Priſcus.
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

38. *Conſulſhip,* 281. *Year.* L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.
P. Furius Fuſus.
Tribunes of the People. Volero Publilius Philo.
C. Lætorius.
Ædiles. Q. Conſidius.
T. Statius.
Quæſtors. T. Veturius Geminus Cicurinus.
P. Volumnius Amintinus Gallus.

39. *Conſulſhip,* 282. *Year.* Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regillenſis.
T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus.
Tribunes of the People. Volero Publilius Philo.
C. Lætorius.
Ædiles. P. Mucius Scævola.
K. Atinius Longus.
Quæſtors. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
C. Claudius Sabinus Regillenſis.

40. *Conſulſhip,* 283. *Year.* L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus, a ſecond time.
T. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
L. Numitorius.
M. Duilius.
L. Mæcilius.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Ædiles. L. Cædicius.
T. Statius.
Quæſtors. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
L. Cornelius Maluginenſis.

41. *Conſulſhip,* 284. *Year.* A. Virginius Tricoſtus Cælimontanus.
T. Numicius Priſcus.
Tribunes of the People. Cn. Apronius.
P. Mucius Scævola.
K. Atinius Longus.
M. Decius.
C. Mænius.
Ædiles. Volero Publilius Philo.
C. Lætorius.
Quæſtors. L. Minucius Augurinus.
C. Horatius Pulvillus.

42. *Conſulſhip,* 285. *Year.* T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus, a ſecond time.
Q. Servilius Priſcus.
T. Quinctius triumphs over the Volſci, and Antiates.
Tribunes of the People. C. Pontificius.
C. Conſidius.
L. Romuleius.
L. Titinius.
M. Genutius Aventinenſis.
Ædiles. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
M. Duilius.
Quæſtors. Q. Minucius Augurinus.
Sp. Virginius Tricoſtus Cælimontanus.

43. *Conſulſhip,* 286. *Year.* Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus, a ſecond time.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Duilius.
C. Mævius.
T. Statius.
M. Decius.
L. Cædicius.
Ædiles. L. Numitorius.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Quæſtors. T. Romilius Rocus Vaticanus.
C. Veturius Cicurinus.

44. *Conſulſhip,* 287. *Year.* Sp. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
Q. Servilius Priſcus, a ſecond time.
Tribunes of the People. Volero Publilius Philo.
M. Pompilius.
M. Manilius.

C. Sicinnius

C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
P. Silius.
Ædiles. L. Mæcilius.
Cn. Apronius.
Quæſtors. A. Æternius Fontinalis.
Sex. Quintilius.

45. *Conſulſhip,* Q. Fabius Vibulanus, a ſecond
288. *Year.* time.
T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus, a third time.
The ninth Luſtrum.
Tribunes of the Q. Decius Mus.
People. M. Metilius.
P. Lætorius.
M. Pontificius.
M. Conſidius.
Ædiles. C. Pontificius.
L. Titinius.
Quæſtors. Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus.
P. Horatius Tergeminus.

46. *Conſulſhip,* A. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
289. *Year.* Sp. Furius Medullinus Fuſus.
Tribunes of the L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
People. L. Cædicius.
L. Mænius.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Cædicius.
Ædiles. M. Pompilius.
C. Duilius.
Quæſtors. P. Seſtius Capitolinus.
T. Menenius Lanatus.
Proconſul. Q. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus.

47. *Conſulſhip,* P. Servilius Priſcus.
290. *Year.* L. Æbutius Elva. Both die before the year of their Conſulſhip ends.
Tribunes of the C. Licinius.
People. C. Volſcius.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
M. Sellius.
P. Publilius Philo.
Ædiles. M. Metilius.
M. Pontificius.
Quæſtors. Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regillenſis.
Sp. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.

48. *Conſulſhip,* L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, who
291. *Year.* triumphs over the Volſci, and Æqui.
T. Veturius Geminus Cicurinus, who receives the honours of an Ovation.
Tribunes of the Sex. Titius.
People. C. Terentius Arſa.
M. Decius Mus.
C. Feſcennius.
M. Conſidius.
Ædiles. L. Mænius.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Quæſtors. T. Genucius Augurinus.
M. Cornelius Maluginenſis.

49. *Conſulſhip,* P. Volumnius Amintinus Gallus.
292. *Year.* Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Tribunes of the A. Virginius.
People. M. Volſcius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Ædiles. C. Terentius Arſa.
M. Sellius.
Quæſtors. M. Antonius Merenda.
M. Sergius.

50. *Conſulſhip,* M. Valerius Poplicola, a ſecond
293. *Year.* time.
C. Claudius Sabinus Regillenſis.
Valerius dies in his office.
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, ſucceeds him.
Tribunes of the A. Virginius.
People. M. Volſcius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Mæcilius.
Ædiles. Sex. Titius.
M. Decius Mus.
Quæſtors. M. Horatius Barbatus.
Lar. Herminius Aquilinus.

51. *Conſulſhip,* Q. Fabius Vibulanus, a third
294. *Year.* time.
L. Cornelius Maluginenſis Coſſus.
The former triumphs over the Æqui and Volſci. The latter over the Volſci and Antiates.

The

The tenth Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginius.
M. Volſcius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Ædiles. M. Conſidius.
C. Feſcennius.
Quæſtors. A. Cornelius Maluginenſis Coſſus.
C. Servilius Structus Ahala.

52. *Conſulſhip,* 295. *Year.* C. Nautius Rutilus, a ſecond time.
L. Minucius Augurinus, who is forced to abdicate.

Dictator. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
Gen. of Horſe. L. Tarquinius Flaccus.
Quinctius triumphs over the Æqui.
Tribunes of the People. A. Virginius.
M. Volſcius.
C. Numitorius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Mæcilius.
Ædiles. C. Volſcius.
P. Publilius Philo.
Quæſtors. M. Valerius Maximus.
T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus.

53. *Conſulſhip,* 296. *Year.* C. Horatius Pulvillus.
Q. Minucius Augurinus.
Tribunes of the People. A. Virginius.
M. Volſcius.
C. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Ædiles. Sex. Titius.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
Quæſtors. M. Fabius Vibulanus.
M. Geganius Macerinus.

54. *Conſulſhip,* 297. *Year.* M. Valerius Maximus.
Sp. Virginius Tricoſtus Capitolinus.

Secular Games.

Tribunes of the People. L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Allienius.
K. Duilius.
Q. Pætelius Libo Viſolus.
M. Oppius.
Sex. Manilius.
C. Fulcinius.
L. Roſcius.
Sp. Antius.
P. Licinius.
Ædiles. M. Claudius Cicero.
M' Marcius Rutilus.
Quæſtors. C. Julius Iulus.
Furius Fuſus.

55. *Conſulſhip,* 298. *Year.* T. Romilius Rocus Vaticanus.
C. Veturius Cicurinus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Allienius.
Q. Pætelius.
P. Licinius.
Sp. Antius.
M. Oppius.
L. Roſcius.
K. Duilius.
C. Fulcinius.
Sex. Manilius.
Ædiles. M. Silius.
C. Pompilius.
Quæſtors. M. Genucius Augurinus.
A. Sempronius Atratinus.

56. *Conſulſhip,* 299. *Year.* Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus.
A. Æternius Fontinalis.
Tribunes of the People. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
C. Claudius Cicero.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Sex. Titius.
T. Albinius.
M. Titinius.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
M' Marcius Rutilus.
M. Claudius Cicero.
M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.
Ædiles. L. Allienius.
A. Virginius.
Quæſtors. L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.
C. Curtius Philo.

57. *Conſulſhip,* 300. *Year.* Sex. Quintilius, who dies before his Conſulſhip expires.
P. Horatius Tergeminus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Apronius.
C. Memmius.
C. Mælius.
C. Mænius.
P. Furius.

P. Furius.
Q. Romuleius.
M. Silius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
M. Terentius Arſa.
N. Otacilius.

Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
Q. Pætelius Libo Viſolus.

Quæſtors. L. Atilius Longus.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.

58. *Conſulſhip,* P. Seſtius Capitolinus.
301. *Year.* T. Menenius Lanatus.

Tribunes of the People. Sex. Titius.
C. Fulinius.
L. Fulcinius.
P. Tarquitius Laurentinus.
T. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Oppius.
M. Juventius.
C. Pompilius.
C. Sextius.
C. Rabuleius.

Ædiles. K. Duilius.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.

Quæſtors. L. Sempronius Atratinus.
M' Rabuleius.

59. *Conſulſhip,* Ap. Claudius Craſſinus.
302. *Year.* T. Genucius Augurinus.
They abdicated the Conſulſhip to make way for the Decemviri.

1. *Decemvirate.* Ap. Claudius Craſſinus.
302. *Year.* T. Genucius Augurinus.
Sp. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
C. Julius Iulus.
A. Manlius Vulſo.
Sp. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
P. Seſtius Capitolinus.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
T. Romilius Rocus Vaticanus.
P. Horatius Tergeminus.

2. *Decemvirate.* Appius Claudius Craſſinus, a ſe-
303. *Year.* cond time.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
M. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
T. Antonius Merenda.
M. Sergius.
Q. Pætelius Libo Viſolus.
L. Minucius Augurinus.
M' Rabuleius.
K. Duilius.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.

3. *Decemvirate.* Appius Claudius Craſſinus, a third
304. *Year.* time, with the ſame Collegues as in the ſecond Decemvirate. Being forced to give place to new Conſuls, they abdicated.

60. *Conſulſhip,* L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.
304. *Year.* He triumphs over the Æqui.
M. Horatius Barbatus. He triumphs over the Sabines.

Tribunes of the People. M. Virginius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
P. Numitorius.
M. Duilius.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. Titinius.
C. Apronius.
C. Oppius.
M. Pomponius.
P. Villius.

Ædiles. C. Claudius Cicero.
M. Titinius.

Quæſtors. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.
L. Julius Iulus.

61. *Conſulſhip,* Lar. Herminius Aquilinus.
305. *Year.* T. Virginius Tricoſtus Cælimontanus.

Tribunes of the People, according to Livy. Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus.
A. Æternius Fontinalis.
L. Trebonius Aſper.
Q. Conſidius.
L. Allienius.
M' Marcius.
C. Fulcinius.
M. Claudius Cicero.
C. Claudius Cicero.
L. Albinius.

Ædiles. L. Volumnius Flamma.
P. Tarquinius Laurentinus.

Quæſtors. C. Sergius.
M. Papirius Craſſus.

62. *Conſulſhip,* M. Geganius Macerinus.
306. *Year.* C. Julius Iulus.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. P. Villius.
C. Oppius.
Sp. Antius.
C. Pompilius.
C. Antius.
L. Villius.
Sex. Manilius.
M. Silius.
C. Virginius.
M. Icilius Ruga.
Ædiles. M. Titinius.
M. Pomponius.
Quæſtors. M. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
C. Nautius Rutilus.

63. *Conſulſhip,* 307. *Year.* T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus, a fourth time.
Agrippa Furius Fuſus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Allienius.
P. Numitorius.
L. Trebonius Aſper.
L. Fulcinius.
M' Allienius.
M' Marcius.
M. Pomponius.
L. Roſcius.
M. Claudius Cicero.
P. Scaptius.
Ædiles. C. Sicinius Bellutus.
C. Apronius.
Quæſtors. L. Valerius Potitus.
Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

64. *Conſulſhip,* 308. *Year.* M. Genucius Augurinus.
C. Curtius Philo.
Tribunes of the People. C. Canuleius.
C. Furius.
C. Claudius Cicero.
L. Furius.
L. Oppius.
Ti. Pontificius.
M. Titinius.
C. Virginius.
Cn. Apuleius Panſa.
T. Latinius.
Ædiles. P. Villius.
C. Oppius.
Quæſtors. C. Foſlius Flaccinator.
Poſthumius Ebutius Elva.
1. *Military Tribuneſhip.* A Sempronius Atratinus.
309. *Year.* L. Atilius Longus.
T. Clœlius Siculus. They all three abdicated.

65. *Conſulſhip,* 309. *Year.* L. Papirius Mugillanus.
L. Sempronius Atratinus.
Tribunes of the People. N. Sextius Sextinus.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Pub. Numitorius.
M. Pomponius.
A. Apronius.
L. Cædicius.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
Sex. Manlius.
C. Pompilius.
Q. Mælius.
Ædiles. L. Trebonius Aſper.
M. Icilius Ruga.
Quæſtors. L. Sergius.
Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

66. *Conſulſhip,* 310. *Year.* M. Geganius Macerinus, a ſecond time.
T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus, a fifth time.
M. Geganius triumphs over the Volſci.
Firſt Cenſors. L. Papirius Mugillanus.
L. Sempronius Atratinus.
The eleventh Luſtrum.
Tribunes of the People. C. Virginius.
L. Marcius.
C. Oppius.
C. Antius.
Cn. Genutius.
P. Villius.
L. Villius.
Sp. Antius.
L. Apronius.
C. Lætorius.
Ædiles. C. Canuleius.
N. Sextius Sextinus.
Quæſtors. L. Papirius Craſſus.
L. Virginius Tricoſtus.
67. *Conſulſhip,* 311. *Year.* M. Fabius Vibulanus.
Poſthumus Ebutius Elva Cornicen.
Tribunes of the People. C. Petillius.
C. Claudius Cicero.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Trebonius Aſper.
L. Oppius.
Q. Decius Mus.
Q. Roſcius.
M. Titinius.
M. Allienius.

	Q. Terentius.
Ædiles.	C. Furius.
	L. Furius.
Quæſtors.	L. Sergius Fidenas.
	Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
68. *Conſulſhip,*	C. Furius Pacilus Fuſus.
312. *Year.*	M. Papirius Craſſus.
Tribunes of the	C. Petillius.
People.	L. Villius.
	N. Sextius Sextinus.
	M. Duilius.
	C. Volumnius Flamma.
	K. Atinius Longus.
	C. Furius.
	P. Virginius.
	L. Sicinius Bellutus.
	L. Romuleius.
Ædiles.	L. Cædicius.
	C. Lætorius.
Quæſtors.	L. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
	C. Servilius Structus Ahala.
69. *Conſulſhip,*	Proculus Geganius Macerinus.
313. *Year.*	L. Menenius Lanatus.
Tribunes of the	L. Marcius.
People.	C. Apronius.
	C. Canuleius.
	P. Mucius Scævola.
	Voler. Publilius.
	L. Titinius.
	Cn. Apronius.
	L. Petillius.
	Q. Mucius Scævola.
	Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Ædiles.	Cn. Genucius.
	Q. Decius Mus.
Quæſtors.	M. Poſtumius Albus Regillenſis.
	T. Geganius Macerinus.
70. *Conſulſhip,*	T. Quinctius Capitolinus, a ſixth time.
314. *Year.*	Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.
Dictator.	L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a ſecond time.
Gen. of Horſe.	C. Servilius Structus Ahala.
Tribunes of the	Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
People.	C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
	Sex. Titinius.
	C. Sicinius Bellutus.
	L. Cædicius.
	C. Plætorius.
	C. Conſidius.
	Q. Roſcius.
	L. Numitorius.
	L. Mæcilius.
Ædiles.	C. Petillius.
	K. Atinius Longus.
Quæſtors.	P. Horatius Tergeminus.
	C. Claudius Sabinus Regillenſis.
2. *Military*	Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Tribuneſhip.	L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
315. *Year.*	L. Julius Iulus.
Tribunes of the	N. Sextius Sextinus.
People.	M. Pompilius.
	P. Decius Mus.
	C. Racilius.
	L. Canuleius.
	C. Volumnius Flamma.
	M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
	C. Duilius.
	T. Statius.
	C. Pontificius.
Ædiles.	Voler Publilius Philo.
	L. Romuleius.
Quæſtors.	M. Foſlius Flaccinator.
	L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.
71. *Conſulſhip,*	M. Geganius Macerinus, a third
316. *Year.*	time.
	L. Sergius Fidenas.
Dictator.	M. Æmilius Mamercinus. He triumphs over the Veientes, Faliſci, and Fidenates.
Gen. of Horſe.	L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
Tribunes of the	C. Canuleius.
People.	K. Atinius.
	M. Antius.
	M. Trebonius.
	M. Albinius.
	Sex. Titinius.
	M. Mæcilius.
	L. Statius.
	A. Allienius.
	C. Ælius Pætus.
72. *Conſulſhip,*	M. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
317. *Year.*	L. Papirius Craſſus.
Tribunes of the	Sp. Mælius.
People.	C. Furius.
	C. Volumnius Flamma.
	L. Manilius.
	L. Sextius.

M. Furius

	M. Furius.
	L. Cædicius.
	M. Manilius.
	C. Apronius.
	C. Mænius.
Ædiles.	C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
	Sex. Titinius.
Quæſtors.	T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus.
	A. Poſthumius Tubertus.
73. *Conſulſhip,*	C. Julius Iulus, a ſecond time.
318. *Year.*	L. Virginius Tricoſtus.
Dictator.	Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas.
Gen. of Horſe.	Poſtumius Ebutius Elva Cornicen.
Cenſors.	C. Furius Pacilus Fuſus.
	M. Geganius Macerinus.
	The twelfth Luſtrum.
Tribunes of the People.	C. Canuleius.
	C. Conſidius.
	C. Plætorius.
	C. Titius.
	M. Trebonius.
	L. Canuleius.
	M. Conſidius.
	C. Racilius.
	M. Fulcinius.
	T. Statius.
Ædiles.	P. Decius Mus.
	C. Pontificius.
Quæſtors.	C. Julius Mento.
	A. Æternius Fontinalis.
74. *Conſulſhip,*	C. Julius Iulus, a ſecond time.
319. *Year.*	L. Virginius Tricoſtus, a ſecond time.
Dictator.	Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Gen. of Horſe.	A. Poſthumius Tubertus.
Tribunes of the People.	C. Furius.
	M. Cædicius.
	L. Mænius.
	M. Pontificius.
	C. Volſcius.
	L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
	P. Silius.
	C. Mænius.
	M. Metilius.
	L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
Ædiles.	M. Albinius.
	A. Allienius.
Quæſtors.	T. Lartius Flavus.
	Hoſtus Lucretius Tricipitinus.
3. *Military Tribuneſhip.*	M. Fabius Vibulanus.
	M. Foſlius Flaccinator.
320. *Year.*	L. Sergius Fidenas.
Tribunes of the People.	L. Canuleius.
	L. Cædicius.
	C. Volumnius Flamma.
	M. Sellius.
	L. Volſcius Fictor.
	K. Atinius Longus.
	L. Cædicius.
	M. Silius.
	L. Volſcius.
	C. Titius.
Ædiles.	Sp. Mælius.
	M. Furius.
Quæſtors.	N. Fabius Vibulanus.
	T. Genucius Augurinus.
4. *Military Tribuneſhip.*	L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.
	L. Furius Medullinus.
321. *Year.*	Sp. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
Tribunes of the People.	L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
	L. Sicinius Bellutus.
	L. Cæcilius Metellus.
	M. Decius Mus.
	L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
	Sex. Titinius.
	Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
	P. Decius Mus.
	L. Ælius Pætus.
	M' Marcius.
Ædiles.	M. Trebonius.
	T. Statius.
Quæſtors.	P. Servilius Priſcus.
	M. Claudius Sabinus Regillenſis.
75. *Conſulſhip,* 322. *Year.*	T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus.
	C. Julius Mento.
Dictator.	A. Poſthumius Tubertus. He triumphs over the Æqui and Volſci.
Gen. of Horſe.	L. Julius Iulus.
Tribunes of the People.	A. Virginius.
	T. Metilius.
	M. Metilius.
	C. Pontificius.
	C. Cæcilius.
	C. Pœtelius.

M. Pontificius.
M. Furius.
C. Petillius.
P. Plautius Proculus.
Ædiles. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
C. Volſcius.
Quæſtors. Sex. Julius Iulus.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

76. *Conſulſhip,* 323. *Year.* C. Papirius Craſſus.
L. Julius Iulus.
Tribunes of the People. Sex. Titinius.
M. Sellius.
M. Silius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
P. Lætorius.
L. Volſcius Fictor.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
C. Pompilius.
L. Cæditius.
C. Terentius Arſa.
Ædiles. L. Volſcius.
M. Decius.

77. *Conſulſhip,* 324. *Year.* L. Sergius Fidenas, a ſecond time.
Hoſtus Lucretius Tricipitinus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Petilius.
C. Pœtelius.
Sp. Mælius.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
M. Volſcius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Lætorius.
Sp. Antius.
M. Trebonius.
Ædiles. M' Marcius.
L. Ælius Pætus.
Quæſtors. Ap. Claudius Craſſus Regillenſis.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

78. *Conſulſhip,* 325. *Year.* T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus, a ſecond time.
A. Cornelius Coſſus. Some Authors place Coſſus's Triumph, and the Trophy he made of the Spoils of Tolumnius King of the Veientes, under this year.
Tribunes of the People. Cn Sicinius Bellutus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Publilius Philo, the Son of Publius.
P. Publilius Philo, the Son of Volero.
L. Virginius.
M. Furius.
M. Plætorius.
L. Publilius Philo Vulſcus.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Ædiles. P. Plautius Proculus.
T. Metellus.
Quæſtors. C. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus.

79. *Conſulſhip,* 326. *Year.* L. Papirius Mugillanus, a ſecond time.
Servilius Ahala.
Tribunes of the People. C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Sex. Mamilius.
A. Virginius.
C. Pompilius.
L. Cædicius.
M. Manilius.
M. Silius.
L. Sicinius.
P. Lætorius.
P. Licinius.
Ædiles. C. Terentius Arſa.
M. Sellius.
Quæſtors. P. Antonius Merenda.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.

5. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 327. *Year.* T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus.
C. Furius Pacilus.
M. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
A. Cornelius Coſſus.

Dictator. Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus, a third time. He triumphs over the Veientes and Fidenates.
Gen. of Horſe. A. Cornelius Coſſus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Lætorius.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus, the ſon of Spurius.
L. Ælius Pætus.
L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Publilius Philo.
Spurius Mælius Capitolinus, the Son of Caius.
M. Oppius.
M. Claudius.

M. Claudius Cicero.
K. Duilius.
Ædiles. C. Numitorius.
M. Volſcius.
Quæſtors. L. Servilius Structus.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus.

6. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 328. *Year.*
A. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Furius Medullinus, a ſecond time.
L Quinctius Cincinnatus, a ſecond time.
L. Horatius Barbatus.
Tribunes of the People.
C. Fulcinius.
L. Virginius.
P. Publilius Philo, the ſon of Volero.
C. Popilius.
P. Numitorius.
Sex. Titius.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
P. Publilius Philo, the ſon of Publius.
M. Plætorius.
M. Titinius.
Ædiles. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Quæſtors. M. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

7. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 329. *Year.*
Ap. Claudius Craſſus Regillenſis.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
L. Sergius Fidenas, a ſecond time.
Sex. Julius Iulus.
Cenſors. L. Julius Iulus.
L. Papirius Craſſus.
The thirteenth Luſtrum.
Tribunes of the People.
L. Virginius.
C. Pompilius.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
C. Claudius Cicero.
C. Numitorius.
L. Sicinius.
C. Pompilius.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
L. Roſcius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
Ædiles. Sex. Manilius.
M. Manilius.
Quæſtors. P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
C. Servilius Axilla.

80. *Conſulſhip,* 330. *Year.*
C. Sempronius Atratinus.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
Tribunes of the People.
C. Junius Bubulcus.
Sp. Mælius.
L. Albinius.
L. Trebonius Aſper.
C. Mælius.
M. Claudius Cicero.
M. Oppius.
M. Appuleius.
M. Plætorius.
P. Furius.
Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
K. Duilius.
Quæſtors. M. Papirius Mugillanus.
Sp. Veturius Craſſus.

8. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 331. *Year.*
L. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus.
Q. Antonius Merenda.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.
L. Servilius Structus.
Tribunes of the People.
L. Hortenſius.
Sex. Tempanius.
L. Antiſtius.
A. Sellius.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
T. Roſcius.
M. Terentius.
M. Silius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
Q. Romuleius.
Ædiles. C. Popilius.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
Quæſtors. T. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Cn. Cornelius Coſſus.

81. *Conſulſhip,* 332. *Year.*
T. Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus.
N. Fabius Vibulanus. He gains a victory over the Æqui, and is honoured with an Ovation.
Tribunes of the People.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
C. Trebonius Aſper.
C Rabuleius.
N. Otacilius.
L. Albinius.
L. Roſcius.
L. Allienius.
P. Silius.
C. Claudius Cicero.
Ædiles. C. Junius Bubulcus.
L. Hortenſius.
Quæſtors. C. Valerius Potitus Voluſus.
Cn. Cornelius Maluginenſis Coſſus,

9. *Military*	T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus, a second time.
Tribuneſhip.	
333. *Year.*	M. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus.
	L. Furius Medullinus, a third time.
	A. Sempronius Atratinus, a second time.
Tribunes of the	M. Antiſtius.
People.	Sex. Pompilius.
	M. Canuleius.
	Sp. Mæcilius.
	C. Plautius Proculus.
	M. Appuleius.
	L. Sicinius Dentatus.
	Q. Petilius.
	L. Marcius.
	M. Pomponius.
Ædiles.	Sex. Tempanius.
	A. Sellius.
Quæſtors of	P. Cornelius Coſſus.
Rome.	M. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Military Quæ-	Q. Cincinnatus.
ſtors.	M. Cornelius Coſſus.
10. *Military*	Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.
Tribuneſhip.	Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
334. *Year.*	P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
	C. Servilius Axilla.
Tribunes of the	C. Junius Bubulcus.
People.	L. Albinius.
	L. Allienius.
	C. Popilius.
	M' Pomponius.
	L. Hortenſius.
	C. Appuleius.
	Q. Conſidius.
	C. Marcius.
	C. Oppius.
Ædiles.	L. Antiſtius.
	Sp. Icilius.
Quæſtors of	P. Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis.
Rome.	L. Menenius Lanatus.
Military Quæ-	M. Horatius Barbatus.
ſtors.	L. Valerius Poplicola.
11. *Military*	M. Papirius Mugillanus.
Tribuneſhip.	C. Servilius Axilla, a second time.
335. *Year.*	L. Sergius Fidenas, a third time.
Dictator.	Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas, a second time.
Gen. of Horſe.	C. Servilius Axilla.
Cenſors.	L. Papirius Mugillanus.
	Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

The fourteenth Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the	Sp. Mæcilius.
People.	Sp. Metilius.
	A. Sellius.
	M. Canuleius.
	L. Villius.
	P. Silius.
	T. Pontificius.
	P. Villius.
	L. Sicinius.
	C. Pompilius.
Ædiles.	Sex. Pompilius.
	M. Antiſtius.
Quæſtors of	M. Cornelius Coſſus.
Rome.	P. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Military Quæ-	C. Sergius Nepos.
ſtors.	L. Virginius Tricoſtus.
12. *Military*	P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
Tribuneſhip.	L. Servilius Structus.
336. *Year.*	Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, all three a second time.
	Sp. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Tribunes of the	Sp. Mæcilius.
People.	Sp. Metilius.
	L. Antiſtius.
	M. Appuleius.
	Sex. Tempanius.
	Sp. Icilius Ruga.
	L. Allienius.
	M. Allienius.
	C. Plautius Proculus.
Ædiles.	C. Oppius.
	M' Pomponius.
Quæſtors of	L. Furius Medullinus.
Rome.	C. Furius Pacilus.
Military Quæ-	Cn. Furius Pacilus.
ſtors.	Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
13. *Military*	A. Sempronius Atratinus, a third time.
Tribuneſhip.	
337. *Year.*	M. Papirius Mugillanus, and Sp. Nautius Rutilus, a second time.
	Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
Tribunes of the	Sp. Mæcilius.
People.	Sp. Metilius.
	M. Canuleius.
	C. Appuleius.
	L. Oppius.
	C. Antiſtius.
	Q. Petilius.
	Cn. Appuleius.
	L. Fulcinius.
	M. Juvencius.

Ædiles.

Ædiles. C. Marcius Rutilus.
Q. Conſidius.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Nautius Rutilus.
M' Æmilius Mamercinus.
Military Quæſtors. Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Sex. Quintilius.

14. *Military Tribuneſhip.* P. Cornelius Coſſus.
Quinctius Cincinnatus.
338. *Year.* C. Valerius Voluſus.
N. Fabius Vibulanus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Junius Bubulcus.
M. Antiſtius.
C. Oppius.
Q. Mælius.
C. Sextius.
L. Hortenſius.
Sex. Pompilius.
C. Canuleius.
T. Genucius.
Ædiles. C. Apronius.
M. Antiſtius.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Julius Iulus.
Proculus Geganius Macerinus.
Military Quæſtors. C. Nautius Rutilus.
Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

15. *Military Tribuneſhip.* Q. Fabius Vibulanus., a ſecond time.
339. *Year.* Cn. Cornelius Coſſus.
P. Poſthumius Albus, who was killed by his Soldiers.
L. Valerius Potitus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Sextius.
Sex. Tempanius.
A. Tempanius.
M. Canuleius.
L. Oppius.
L. Apronius.
T. Pontificius.
P. Tempanius.
Sp. Mæcilius.
L. Canuleius.
Ædiles. C. Plautus.
M. Allienius.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Servilius Ahala.
P. Seſtius Capitolinus.
Military Quæſtors. *T. Virginius Tricoſtus Cælimontanus.*
C. Servilius Structus.

82. *Conſulſhip,* M. Cornelius Coſſus.
340. *Year.* L. Furius Medullinus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Publius.
C. Antiſtius.
L. Tempanius.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
L. Rabuleius.
Cn. Sellius.
L. Cædicius.
Sex. Sextius Sextinus.
T. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Apronius.
Ædiles. L. Oppius.
L. Fulcinius.
Quæſtors of Rome. N. Fabius Ambuſtus.
P. Cornelius Rutilus Coſſus.
Military Quæſtors. C. Furius Pacilus.
P. Cornelius Coſſus.

83. *Conſulſhip,* Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
341. *Year.* C. Furius Pacilus.
Cenſors. L. Sergius Fidenas.
Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas.

The fifteenth Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People. L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Antiſtius.
C. Canuleius.
Sex. Pompilius.
M. Canuleius.
L. Sextius.
C. Sellius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Sextius.
M. Duilius.
Ædiles. Sp. Tempanius.
Q. Petilius.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Claudius Craſſus Regillenſis.
M. Geganius Macerinus.
Military Quæſtors. M' Valerius Maximus.
Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

84. *Conſulſhip,* M. Papirius Mugillanus.
342. *Year.* C. Nautius Rutilus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Q. Silius.
Ti. Pontificius.
K. Atinius Longus.
T. Voler. Publilius Philo.
Q. Terentius.
C. Duilius.
C. Plautius Proculus.
Trebius.
L. Petilius.

Ædiles.

Ædiles. L. Cædicius.
L. Oppius.
Quæſtors of P. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
Rome. T. Veturius Geminus.
Military Quæ- M. Sergius Fidenas.
ſtors. L. Sergius Fidenas.
85. *Conſulſhip,* M' Æmilius Mamercinus.
343. *Year.* C. Valerius Potitus Voluſus. He defeats the Æqui, and receives the honours of an Ovation.
Tribunes of the M. Mænius.
People. Volero Publilius Philo.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Sex. Sextius Sextinus.
L. Tempanius.
L. Mæcilius.
A. Tempanius.
C. Apronius.
Q. Publilius.
Cn. Sellius.
Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
Trebius. He, according to *Pliny, B.* 18. diſtributed Corn among the People gratis. They, in Gratitude, erected Statues to his Memory, on the Capitol, and the Hill Palatinus; and at his Funeral, his Corps were carried on the Shoulders of Citizens.
Quæſtors of M. Furius Fuſus.
Rome. A. Manlius Vulſo.
Military Quæ- M. Quintilius Varus.
ſtors. M. Ebutius Elva.

86. *Conſulſhip,* Cn. Cornelius Coſſus.
344. *Year.* L. Furius Medullinus, a ſecond time.
Tribunes of the Sp. Icilius Ruga.
People. L. Icilius Ruga.
C. Icilius Ruga.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
Q. Decius Mus.
C. Licinius Calvus.
L. Villius.
M. Pompilius..
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
Ædiles. Volero Publilius Philo.
M. Duilius.
Quæſtors of P. Ælius Pætus.
Rome. Q. Silius.
Military Quæ- P. Puppius.
ſtors. K. Fabius Ambuſtus. The laſt of theſe four Quæſtors was the only Patrician among them; the other three, were the firſt Plebeians, who enjoyed the Quæſtorſhip.
6. *Military* C. Julius Iulus.
Tribuneſhip. P. Cornelius Coſſus.
345. *Year.* C. Servilius Ahala.

Dictator. P. Cornelius Rutilus Coſſus.
Gen. of Horſe. C. Servilius Ahala.
Tribunes of the M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
People. L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Trebius.
P. Decius Mus.
Sex. Titinius.
L. Manilius.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
K. Atinius Longus.
L. Titinius.
Ædiles. M. Mænius.
C. Duilius.
Quæſtors of Appius Claudius Craſſus.
Rome. L. Julius Iulus.
Military Quæ- M. Pomponius.
ſtors. Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.

17. *Military* C. Valerius Potitus Voluſus.
Tribuneſhip. C. Servilius Ahala, a ſecond time.
346. *Year.* N. Fabius Vibulanus, a third time.
Furius Medullinus.
Tribunes of the L. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
People. Q. Mucius Scævola.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Volero Publilius Philo.
Q. Publilius Philo.
Sex. Sextius Sextinus.
M. Manilius.
L. Cædicius
Q. Decius Mus.
C. Titinius.
Ædiles. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Q. Silius.
Quæſtors of L. Atinius Longus.
Rome. L. Publilius Philo Volſcus.
Military Quæ- Q. Sulpicius Cam[illus] Cornu-
ſtors. tus.
Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas

18. *Military*

18. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 347. *Year.*
P. Cornelius Rutilus Coſſus.
L. Valerius Potitus, a ſecond time.
Cn. Cornelius Coſſus.
N. Fabius Ambuſtus.

Tribunes of the People.
P. Ælius Pætus.
Volero Publilius Philo.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.
P. Puppius.
Trebius.
M. Pomponius.
K. Atinius.
M. Pompilius.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
C. Titius.

Ædiles.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Q. Decius Mus.

Quæſtors of Rome.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
P. Mænius.

Military Quæſtors.
L. Julius Iulus.
P. Licinius Calvus.

19. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 348. *Year.*
C. Julius Iulus, a ſecond time.
M' Æmilius Mamercinus.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Furius Medullinus, a ſecond time.
Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
A. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus.

Tribunes of the People.
C. Duilius.
L. Titinius.
L. Publilius Philo Volſcus.
L. Cædicius.
C. Popilius.
M. Duilius.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Ælius Pætus.
Cn. Pupius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.

Ædiles.
L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.

Quæſtors of Rome.
M. Metilius.
P. Curatius Nepos.

Military Quæſtors.
Sp. Furius Medullinus.
L. Virginius Tricoſtus Cælimontanus.

20. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 349. *Year.*
P. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus, a third time.
Cn. Cornelius Coſſus, a ſecond time.
C. Valerius Potitus, a third time.
K. Fabius Ambuſtus.
M' Sergius Fidenas.

Tribunes of the People.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Volero Publilius Philo.
P. Licinius Calvus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
M. Manilius.
P. Mænius.
A. Trebius.
P. Silius.
C. Titinius.
C. Apronius.

Ædiles.
P. Ælius Pætus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.

Quæſtors of Rome.
C. Lucerius.
M. Sulpicius Peticus.

Military Quæſtors.
M. Pompilius.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.

21. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 350. *Year.*
M' Æmilius Mamercinus, a ſecond time.
M. Furius Fuſus.
Ap. Claudius Craſſus.
L. Julius Iulus.
M. Quinctilius Varus.
L. Valerius Potitus, a third time.

Cenſors.
M. Furius Camillus.
M. Poſthumius Albinus Regillenſis.

The ſixteenth Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People.
Q. Silius.
L. Publilius Philo Volſcus.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Titius.
Cn. Apronius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Pomponius.
M. Pompilius.
L. Titius.
M. Cædicius.

Ædiles.
P. Pupius.
Cn. Pupius.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Sp. Papirius Craſſus.

Military Quæſtors.
M. Acutius.
M. Valerius Maximus.

22. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 351. *Year.*
C. Servilius Ahala, a third time.
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus.
Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas.
A. Manlius

A. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus, a ſecond time.
L. Virginius Tricoſtus Cælimontanus.
M' Sergius Fidenas, a ſecond time. The two laſt were forced to abdicate.

Tribunes of the People.
L. Mænius.
M. Popilius.
Sp. Antius.
A. Trebius.
C. Mænius.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Silius.
C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
M. Antius.

Ædiles.
C. Popilius.
L. Titinius.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
P. Cornelius Scipio.

Military Quæſtors.
A. Poſthumius Regillenſis.
C. Duilius.

23. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 352. *Year.*
L. Valerius Potitus, a fourth time.
L. Julius Iulus.
M. Furius Camillus.
M' Æmilius Mamercinus, a third time.
Cn. Cornelius Coſſus, a ſecond time.
K. Fabius Ambuſtus, a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People.
C. Trebonius Aſper.
C. Lucerius.
M. Acutius.
P. Curatius.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Fulcinius.
Cn. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Metilius.
L. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.
P. Silius.
P. Licinius Calvus.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. Lucretius Flavus.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Military Quæſtors.
P. Cornelius Coſſus.
P. Plautius Proculus.

24. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 353. *Year.*
P. Licinius Calvus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
P. Mænius.
Sp. Furius Medullinus.
L. Titinius.
L. Publilius Philo Volſcus.

Tribunes of the People.
P. Pupius.
M. Pontificius.
L. Volſcius.
C. Mæcilius.
C. Numitorius.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Pontificius.
M. Sellius.
C. Antius.
T. Statius.

Ædiles.
L. Mænius.
K. Atinius Longus.

Quæſtors of Rome.
T. Menenius Lanatus.
T. Sicinius Dentatus.

Military Quæſtors.
Sp. Mælius.
A. Virginius.

25. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 354. *Year.*
C. Duilius.
L. Atinius Longus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Pomponius.
Volero Publilius.
M. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.

Tribunes of the People.
M. Acutius.
L. Lucerius.
L. Statius.
C. Racilius.
M. Conſidius.
P. Licinius Calvus.
C. Volſcius.
M. Mæcilius.
M. Plætorius.
L. Allienius.

Ædiles.
C. Trebonius Aſper.
Sp. Antius.

Quæſtors of Rome.
C. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Q. Pomponius.

Military Quæſtors.
L. Papirius Curſor.
L. Valerius Poplicola.

26. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 355. *Year.*
L. Valerius Potitus, a fifth time.
L. Furius Medullinus, a third time.
M. Valerius Maximus.
M. Furius Camillus, a ſecond time.
Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas, a ſecond time.
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus, a ſecond time. *Cenſor.*

Cenſors. C. Valerius Potitus Voluſus.
M' Æmilius Mamercinus.

The ſeventeenth Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Silius.
P. Curatius.
C. Pætilius.
C. Plætorius.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
P. Publilius Philo.
M. Metilius.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
P. Plautius Proculus.
M. Popilius.

Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
C. Lucerius.

Quæſtors of Rome. M. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
M' Marcius.

Military Quæſtors. M. Æmilius Mamercinus.
L. Fulvius Corvus.

27. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 356. *Year.* L. Julius Iulus, a ſecond time.
L. Furius Medullinus, a fourth time.
L. Sergius Fidenas.
A. Poſthumius Albin. Regillenſis.
A. Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus, a third time.
P. Cornelius Maluginenſis, a ſecond time. Their election was deemed irregular, and they were forced to abdicate.

Tribunes of the People. L. Mænius.
T. Metilius.
L. Volſcius.
M. Pontificius.
P. Pupius.
L. Lucerius.
M. Volſcius Fictor.
M. Sellius.
C. Plautius Proculus.
M. Genucius.

Ædiles. M. Acutius.
C. Numitorius.

Quæſtors of Rome. Sp. Poſthumius Albin. Regillenſis.
Q. Sulpicius Longus.

Military Quæſtors. L. Valerius Potitus.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.

28. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 357. *Year.* P. Licinius.
L. Atinius Longus, a ſecond time.
P. Mælius Capitolinus, a ſecond time.
L. Titinius, a ſecond time.
P. Mænius, a ſecond time.
C. Genucius Aventinenſis, a ſecond time. He was killed in a battle with the Faliſci and Capenates.

Dictator. M. Furius Camillus. He triumphs over the Veientes.

Gen. of Horſe. P. Cornelius Scipio.

Tribunes of the People. C. Trebonius Aſper.
P. Lucerius.
M. Decius Mus.
Sp. Mælius.
M. Furius.
M. Acutius.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
C. Terentius Arſa.
P. Lætorius.
L. Virginius.

Ædiles. M. Conſidius.
M. Plætorius.

Quæſtors of Rome. K. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis.

Military Quæſtors. L. Cornelius Coſſus.
Agrippa Furius Fuſus.

29. *Military Tribuneſhip.* 358. *Year.* P. Cornelius Coſſus.
P. Cornelius Scipio.
M. Valerius Maximus, a ſecond time.
K. Fabius Ambuſtus, a third time.
L. Furius Medullinus, a fifth time.
Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas, a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People. T. Sicinius Dentatus.
A. Virginius.
Q. Pomponius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Fulvius Corvus.
C. Lætorius.
L. Cædicius.
C. Lucerius.
P. Pupius.
P. Curatius.

Ædiles. C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. Marcius Rutilius.
C. Licinius Calvus.

Military Quæſtors. C. Fabius Ambuſtus.
M. Albinius.

30. *Military Tribuneſhip.* M. Furius Camillus, a third time.
359. *Year.* L. Furius Medullinus, a ſixth time.
C. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Sp. Poſthumius Albin. Regillenſis.
P. Cornelius Scipio, a ſecond time.
L. Valerius Poplicola.
Tribunes of the People. T. Sicinius Dentatus.
Q. Pomponius.
A. Virginius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Pompilius.
L. Manilius Vitulus.
Q. Silius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
L. Cædicius.
Ædiles. C. Trebonius Aſper.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Virginius Tricoſtus.
C. Martius Rutilus.
Military Quæſtors. P. Cornelius Coſſus, the Son of Aulus.
P. Cornelius Coſſus, the Son of Publius.

87. *Conſulſhip,* 360. *Year.* L. Lucretius Flavus.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Tribunes of the People. T. Sicinius Dentatus.
C. Lucerius.
P. Curatius.
L. Ælius Pætus.
Sex. Pompilius.
M. Titinius.
C. Acutius.
C. Mænius.
M. Silius.
Sex. Manilius.
Ædiles. T. Metilius.
M. Decius Mus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
C. Sextilius.
Military Quæſtors. A. Manlius Capitolinus.
L. Poſthumius Albin. Regillenſis.

88. *Conſulſhip,* 361. *Year.* L. Valerius Potitus.
M. Manlius Capitolinus. They both abdicate.

Cenſors. C. Julius.
L. Papirius Curſor. The former died in his office, and M. Cornelius Maluginenſis was choſen in his room.

The eighteenth Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Silius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
C. Titius.
C. Curatius.
P. Furius.
K. Duillius.
C. Licinius Calvus.
M. Cædicius.
L. Virginius.
C. Lætorius.
Ædiles. P. Lætorius.
L. Fulvius Corvus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Julius Iulus.
L. Aquilius Corvus.
Military Quæſtors. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
T. Manlius Capitolinus.

31 *Military Tribuneſhip.* L. Lucretius Flavus.
Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus.
362. *Year.* M. Æmilius Mamercinus.
L. Furius Medullinus, a ſeventh time.
Agrippa Furius Fuſus.
C. Æmilius Mamercinus, a ſecond time.
Tribunes of the People. C. Trebonius Aſper.
L. Hortenſius.
C. Acutius.
Q. Romuleius.
M. Terentius.
L. Appuleius.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Q. Manlius.
L. Rabuleius.
N. Otacilius.
Ædiles. T. Sicinius Dentatius.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
Military Quæſtors. Ser. Sulpitius Rufus.
C. Sergius Fidenas.

32. *Military Tribuneſhip.* Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
363. *Year.* K. Fabius Ambuſtus.
C. Fabius Ambuſtus.

Q. Sulpitius

Q. Sulpicius Longus.
Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas, a fourth time.
Servius Cornelius Maluginenſis.

Dictator. M. Furius Camillus, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Gauls.
Gen. of Horſe. L. Valerius Potitus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Marcius Rutilus.
L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Ælius Pœtus.
M. Decius Mus.
M' Otacilius.
K. Duilius.
L. Pupius.
M. Appuleius.
M. Albinius.
C. Oppius.
Ædiles. C. Licinius Calvus.
M. Titinius.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Menenius Lanatus.
C. Cornelius Coſſus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
L. Antiſtius.

364. *Year.*
Dictator. M. Furius Camillus.
Gen. of Horſe. L. Valerius Potitus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Marcius Rutilus.
L. Hortenſius.
C. Claudius Cicero.
L. Fulvius Curvus.
L. Marcius.
C. Appuleius.
C. Sextilius.
M' Pomponius.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Q. Petilius.
Ædiles. L. Appuleius.
L. Virginius.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Horatius Pulvillus.

33. *Military Tribuneſhip.* L. Valerius Poplicola, a ſecond time.
365. *Year.* L. Virginius Tricoſtus.
P. Cornelius Coſſus.
A. Manlius Capitolinus.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
L. Poſthumius Albinus Regillenſis.

Dictator. M. Furius Camillus, a third time. He triumphs over the Volſci, Æqui, and Hetrurians.
Gen. of Horſe. C. Servilius Ahala.
Tribunes of the People. C. Trebonius Aſper.
L. Ælius Pœtus.
C. Otacilius.
M. Appuleius.
Lucius Albinius.
Q. Conſidius.
Q. Hortenſius.
N. Otacilius.
L. Allienius.
C. Acutius.
Ædiles. M. Albinius.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Fabius Dorſo.
C. Appronius.
Military Quæſtors. C. Papirius Craſſus.
M. Trebonius Flavus.

34. *Military Tribuneſhip.* T. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
L. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas, a fifth time.
366. *Year.* L. Julius Iulus.
L. Aquilius Corvus.
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Titinius.
Cn. Appuleius.
L. Sextius.
L. Numitorius.
C. Appuleius.
C. Licinius Calvus.
C. Sextilius.
M. Juventius.
L. Fulcinius.
T. Roſcius.
Ædiles. L. Hortenſius.
C. Oppius.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Publilius Philo.
M. Pœtelius Libo.
Military Quæſtors. Sp. Papirius Craſſus.
M. Mænius.

35. *Military Tribuneſhip.* L. Papirius Curſor.
C. Sergius Fidenas.
367. *Year.* L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a ſecond time.

L. Menenius

L. Menenius Lanatus.
L. Valerius Poplicola, a third time.
C. Cornelius Coſſus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
C. Trebonius Aſper.
Q. Hortenſius.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
L. Antiſtius.
C. Acutius.
L. Albinius.
Sp. Mæcilius.
M. Appuleius.
Ædiles. C. Marcius Rutilus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Papirius Craſſus.
Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas.
Military Quæſtors. Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus.
Cn. Apronius.

36. *Military Tribuneſhip.* M. Furius Camillus, a fourth time.
368. *Year.* Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas, a ſixth time.
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
L. Horatius Pulvillus.
P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola.
Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus.
Sp. Metilius.
A. Sellius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
M. Pompilius.
Sex. Tempanius.
P. Scaptius.
P. Silius.
C. Mamilius Vitulus.
Ti. Pontificius.
Ædiles. C. Sextilius.
C. Appuleius.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Furius Medullinus.
Sp. Papirius Curſor.
Military Quæſtors. M. Fabius Ambuſtus.
P. Mænius.

37. *Military Tribuneſhip.* A. Manlius Capitolinus, a ſecond time.
369. *Year.* P. Cornelius Coſſus, a ſecond time.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Papirius Curſor, a ſecond time.
C. Sergius Fidenas, a ſecond time.
Dictator. A. Cornelius Coſſus. He triumphs over the Volſci.
Gen. of Horſe. T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Hortenſius.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
C. Antiſtius.
C. Apronius.
L. Apronius.
L. Sextius.
C. Antiſtius.
M. Albinius.
A. Lucerius.
L. Cædicius.
Ædiles. M. Trebonius Flavus.
L. Numitorius.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Manlius Capitolinus.
C. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Military Quæſtors. C. Manlius Capitolinus.
A. Sempronius Atratinus.

38. *Military Tribuneſhip.* Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis, a third time.
370. *Year.* P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola, a ſecond time.
M. Furius Camillus, a fifth time.
Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, a ſecond time.
C. Papirius Craſſus.
T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a ſecond time.
Tribunes of the People. M. Mænius.
Sp. Mecilius.
Q. Hortenſius.
C. Furius.
T. Romuleius.
Q. Publilius Philo.
P. Mænius.
Cn. Apronius.
P. Mælius.
Q. Terentius.
Ædiles. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
L. Albinius.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Cloelius Siculus.
Q. Decius Mus.
Military Quæſtors. Sp. Furius Medullinus.
M. Horatius Pulvillus.

39. *Military Tribuneſhip.* L. Valerius Poplicola, a fourth time.
371. *Year.* A. Manlius Capitolinus, a third time.
Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, a third time.
L. Lucretius

L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, a third time.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a third time.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Albinius.
L. Oppius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
M. Claudius.
C. Sextilius.
T. Juventius.
C. Oppius Cornicen.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
M. Duilius.
Ædiles. C. Apronius.
C. Mamilius Vitulus.
Quæstors of Rome. L. Geganius Macerinus.
Sp. Servilius Priſcus.
Military Quæſtors. Q. Claudius Siculus.
Q. Mucius Scævola.

40. *Military Tribuneſhip.* Sp. Papirius Craſſus.
372. *Year.* L. Papirius Craſſus.
Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis, a fourth time.
Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas.
Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a fourth time.
Tribunes of the People. L. Sicilius Dentatus.
L. Albinius.
L. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
L. Petilius.
C. Canuleius.
C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mænius.
L. Publilius Philo Volſcus.
L. Canuleius.
L. Rabuleius.
Ædiles. M. Mænius.
L. Sextius.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
C. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Military Quæſtors. P. Pupius.
L. Mecilius.

41. *Military Tribuneſhip.* M. Furius Camillus, a ſixth time.
373. *Year.* A. Poſthumius Albinus Regillenſis.
L. Furius Medullinus.
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, a third time.
M. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Antiſtius.
A. Lucerius.
A. Tempanius.
Cn. Sellius.
C. Apronius.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
Sp. Metilius.
L. Tempanius.
C. Sellius.
Ædiles. Q. Hortenſius.
Q. Publilius Philo.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Licinius Calvus.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
Military Quæſtors. Ser. Sulpicius Longus.
L. Æmilius Barbula.

42. *Military Tribuneſhip.* L. Valerius Poplicola, a fifth time.
374. *Year.* P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola, a fifth time.
L. Menenius Lanatus, a ſecond time.
C. Sergius Fidenas, a third time.
Sp. Papirius Curſor.
Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis, a fifth time.

Dictator. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus. He triumphs over the Præneſtini.
Gen. of Horſe. A. Sempronius Atratinus.
Cenſors. C. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Sp. Poſtumius Albus Regillenſis. The latter dies in his Office, and the former abdicates on account of the death of his Collegue.
Tribunes of the People. M. Mænius.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Pompilius.
C. Mamilius.
Sex. Titinius.
Cn. Apronius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
Q. Marcius Tremulus.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
C. Titius.

Ædiles. M. Duilius.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Silius.
M' Sergius Fidenas.
Military Quæſtors. C. Titinius.
Q. Antonius Merenda.

43. *Military Tribuneſhip.* P. Manlius Capitolinus.
C. Manlius Capitolinus.
375. *Year.* C. Julius Iulus, a ſecond time.
C. Sextilius.
M. Albinius.
L. Antiſtius.
Tribunes of the People. C. Apronius.
L. Sextius.
C. Canuleius.
M. Titius.
M. Rabuleius.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
P. Decius Mus.
Q. Publilius Philo.
Q. Canuleius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
Ædiles. P. Mænius.
L. Canuleius.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
P. Sextius Capitolinus.
Military Quæſtors. M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
L. Virginius Tricoſtus Cœlimontanus.

44. *Military Tribuneſhip,* 376. *Year.* Sp. Furius Medullinus.
Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas, a ſecond time.
C. Licinius Calvus.
P. Cloelius Siculus.
M. Horatius Pulvillus.
L. Geganius Macerinus.
Cenſors. Sp. Servilius Priſcus.
Q. Cloelius Siculus.

The nineteenth Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mucius Scævola.
C. Ælius Pætus.
P. Ælius Pætus.
L. Petillius.
C. Ælius Pætus.
M. Duilius.
Ædiles. A. Tempanius.
C. Sellius.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Valerius Potitus.
Military Quæſtors. A. Cornelius Coſſus.
M. Cornelius Maluginenſis.

45. *Military Tribuneſhip.* L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a fifth time.
377. *Year.* Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus, a ſecond time.
P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola, a fourth time.
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a ſecond time.
C. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Stolo.
Cn. Pupius.
Voler. Publilius Philo.
L. Atinius Longus.
M. Fulcinius.
M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Popillius.
L. Villius.
A. Trebonius.
Ædiles. Q. Decius Mus.
C. Titius.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

Anarchy. 378. *Year.* L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
M. Mænius.
Cn. Lucretius.
C. Metilius.
C. Sellius.
Q. Mæcilius.
A. Acutius.
A. Tempanius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
Ædiles. Q. Canuleius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Anarchy. 379. *Year.* L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
Q. Publius Philo.
Q. Decius Mus.
C. Atinius Longus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.
L. Villius.
P. Plautius Proculus.
Q. Mamilius.
Ædiles. P. Mucius Scævola.
L. Domitus Ænobarbus.

Anarchy. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
380. *Year.*
Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Cn. Pupius.
Q. Silius.
Cn. Sicilius Bellutus.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
P. Pupius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
Ædiles. M. Fulcinius.
A. Trebius.

Anarchy. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
381. *Year.*
Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
M. Popilius Lænas.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Titinius.
Volero Publilius Philo.
K. Atinius.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Ædiles. C. Metilius.
A. Acutius.

46 *Military Tribuneſhip.* L. Furius Medullinus, a ſecond time.
382. *Year.* P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola, a fifth time.
A. Manlius Capitolinus, a fourth time.
Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus, a fifth time.
C. Valerius Potitus.
Serv. Cornelius Maluginenſis, a ſixth time.
Tribunes of the People. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Plautius Proculus, the Son of Publius.
P. Curatius.
L. Furius.
P. Plautius Proculus.
C. Atinius Longus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Ædiles. M. Atilius Regulus.
L. Villius.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Papirius Craſſus.
L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Military Quæſtors. M. Geganius Macerinus.
M. Popilius.

47. *Military Tribuneſhip.* Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas, a third time.
383. *Year.* M. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
C. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus, a ſecond time.
Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
A. Cornelius Coſſus.
M. Fabius Ambuſtus, a ſecond time.
Tribunes of the People. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Plautius Proculus.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
P. Licinius.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Popilius Lænas.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Decius Mus.
Ædiles. C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Sulpicius Peticus.
Q. Servilius Ahala.
Military Quæſtors. Sp. Furius Camillus.
Q. Pomponius.

48. *Military Tribuneſhip.* L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Sp. Servilius Structus.
384. *Year.* Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis, a ſeventh time.
L. Papirius Craſſus.
Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus, a fourth time.
L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

	Juventius Thalna.
	Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
	P. Plautius Proculus.
	C. Duilius.
	Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.
	C. Sempronius Longus
	L. Atinius Longus.
Ædiles.	K. Atinius Longus.
	C. Plautius Proculus.
Quæſtors of	L. Manlius Capitolinus Imper.
Rome.	Ap. Claudius Craſſus.
Military Quæ-	M. Aulius Cerretanus.
ſtors.	Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus.
385. *Year.*	M. Furius Camillus, a fifth time.
Dictator.	
Gen. of Horſe.	L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Dictator.	P. Manlius Capitolinus.
Gen. of Horſe.	C. Licinius Calvus.
Tribunes of the	L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
People.	C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
	C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
	C. Plautius Proculus.
	M' Marcius.
	M. Conſidius.
	C. Petillius.
	L. Allienius.
	P. Publilius Philo.
	M. Plætorius.
Ædiles.	Voler. Publilius Philo.
	Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Quæſtors of	P. Cornelius Scapula.
Rome.	P. Cornelius Scipio.
Military Quæ-	C. Carvilius Maximus.
ſtors.	Q. Decius Mus.
49. *Military*	A. Cornelius Coſſus, a ſecond
Tribuneſhip,	time.
386. *Year.*	L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus, a ſecond time.
	M. Cornelius Maluginenſis, a ſecond time.
	P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola, a ſixth time.
	M. Geganius Macerinus.
	P. Manlius Capitolinus, a ſecond time.
Dictator.	M. Furius Camillus, a fifth time. He triumphs over the Gauls.
Gen. of Horſe.	T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Capitolinus.
Tribunes of the	L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
People.	C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
	M. Popilius.
	C. Plautius Proculus.
	C. Racilius.
	C. Trebonius Aſper.
	C. Marcius Rutilus.
	C. Plætorius.
	L. Fulcinius.
	T. Statius.
Ædiles.	L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
	C. Sempronius Longus.
Quæſtors of	Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
Rome.	M. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Military Quæ-	L. Pinarius Natta.
ſtors.	M. Pomponius.
89. *Conſulſhip,*	L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
387. *Year.*	L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus. He was the firſt Plebeian who was made Conſul.
Prætor.	Sp. Furius Camillus.
Curule Ædiles.	Cn. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
	P. Cornelius Scipio.
Tribunes of the	M. Plætorius.
People.	C. Numitorius.
	C. Antius.
	M. Acutius.
	M. Pontificius.
	L. Statius.
	M. Antius.
	C. Mæcilius.
	C. Lucretius.
	L. Volſcius Fictor.
Quæſtors of	Cn. Manlius Capito. Torquatus.
Rome.	Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Military Quæ-	P. Licinius Calvus.
ſtors.	C. Terentius Arſa.
90. *Conſulſhip,*	L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
388. *Year.*	Q. Servilius Ahala.
Prætor.	L. Manlius Capitolinus Imperioſus.
Curule Ædiles.	Juventius Thalna.
	C. Licinius Calvus.
Tribunes of the	Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
People.	C. Plautius Proculus.
	L. Lucerius.
	C. Trebonius.

C. Volſciu

C. Volſcius.
M. Popilius.
T. Metilius.
M. Sellius.
T. Statius.
C. Racilius.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Popilius Lænas.
C. Martius Rutilus.

Quæſtors of Rome. C. Fabius Ambuſtus.
L. Hortenſius.

Military Quæſtors. M. Valerius Poplicola.
L. Fulvius Curvus.

91. *Conſulſhip,* 389. *Year.* C. Sulpicius Peticus.
C. Licinius Calvus.

Prætor. Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Scapula.
Ap. Claudius Craſſus Sabinus Regillenſis.

Tribunes of the People. C. Plautius Proculus.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
M. Conſidius.
L. Appuleius.
C. Sempronius Longus.
L. Racilius.
C. Plætorius.
M. Allienius.
M. Marcius.
C. Fulvius Curvus.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Fulcinius.
L. Volſcius Fictor.

Quæſtors of Rome. M. Æbutius Elva.
L. Icilius Ruga.

Military Quæſtors. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

92. *Conſulſhip.* 390. *Year.* L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a ſecond time.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.

Dictator. L. Manlius Capitolinus Imperioſus.

Gen. of Horſe. L. Pinarius Natta.

Cenſors. M. Fabius Ambuſtus, the Son of Cæſo.
L. Furius Medullinus.

The twentieth Luſtrum.

Prætor. M. Fabius Ambuſtus, the Son of Numerius.

Curule Ædiles. C. Popillius Lænas.
L. Statius.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
C. Antius.

Tribunes of the People. M. Antius.
C. Numitorius.
M. Popilius Lænas.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
L. Pupius.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
A. Allienius.
L. Ælius Pætus.
C. Carvilius Maximus.

Quæſtors of Rome. P. Valerius Poplicola.
C. Julius Iulus.

Military Quæſtors. Q. Hortenſius.
M'. Curius.

93. *Conſulſhip,* 391. *Year.* Q. Servilius Ahala, a ſecond time.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis, a ſecond time.

Dictator. Appius Claudius Craſſus Sabinus Regillenſis.

Gen. of Horſe. P. Cornelius Scapula.

Prætor. P. Cornelius Scipio.

Curule Ædiles. Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperioſus.
C. Fabius Ambuſtus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Pomponius.
Q. Decius Mus.
C. Oppius.
C. Terentius Arſa.
Q. Romuleius.
C. Mælius Capitolinus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
N. Otacilius.
M. Terentius.
L. Rabuleius.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Lucretius.
C. Volſcius.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Petillius.

Military Quæſtors. L. Mænius.
L. Aquilius Corvus.

94. *Conſulſhip,* 392. *Year.* C. Licinius Calvus, a ſecond time.
C. Sulpicius Peticus, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Hernici.

Dictator.	T. Quinctius Pennus, Capitolinus Criſpinus. He triumphs over the Gauls.
Gen. of Horſe.	Serv. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
Prætor.	M. Valerius Poplicola.
Curule Ædiles.	M. Plœtorius.
	M. Conſidius.
Plebeian	C. Plætorius.
Ædiles.	L. Allienius.
Tribunes of the	C. Plautius Hypſæus.
People.	M. Marcius.
	M' Otacilius.
	C. Lætorius, the Son of Caius.
	P. Furius.
	L. Ælius Pætus..
	P. Licinius Calvus.
	Q. Mælius.
	C. Lætorius, the Son of Publius.
	L. Virginius.
Quæſtors of	A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina.
Rome.	M. Papirius Mugillanus.
Military Quæ-	M. Duilius.
ſtors.	C. Duilius.

95. *Conſulſhip,*	M. Fabius Ambuſtus.
393. *Year.*	C. Petilius Libo Viſolus. The latter triumphs over the Gauls, and the Tiburtini. The former, after having defeated the Hernici, obtains the Honours of an Ovation.
Prætor.	Spurius Furius Camillus, a ſecond time.
Curule Ædiles.	P. Valerius Poplicola.
	C. Julius Iulus.
Plebeian	Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Ædiles.	C. Carvilius Maximus.
Tribunes of the	K. Duilius.
People.	M. Cædicius.
	C. Apronius.
	T. Sicinius Dentatus.
	C. Marcius Rutilus.
	L. Hortenſius.
	C. Curatius.
	L. Sextius.
	C. Titius.
	M. Titius.
	M. Titinius.
Quæſtors of	L. Æmilius Barbula.
Rome.	L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Military Quæ-	T. Manlius Capitolinus Torquatus.
ſtors.	C. Livius Denter.

96. *Conſulſhip,*	M. Popilius Lænas.
394. *Year.*	Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperioſus.
Prætor.	Ser. Cornelius Maluginenſis.
Curule Ædiles.	M. Pomponius.
	L. Rabuleius.
Plebeian	C. Mælius Capitolinus.
Ædiles.	C. Terentius Arſa.
Tribunes of the	M. Marcius.
People.	Sex. Manilius.
	P. Silius.
	C. Apronius.
	M. Terentius.
	L. Icilius Ruga.
	C. Plautius Hypſæus.
	Sex. Pompilius.
	P. Villius.
	C. Sextius.
Quæſtors of	P. Valerius Poplicola.
Rome.	L. Marcius Rutilus.
Military Quæ-	M. Foſlius Flaccinator.
ſtors.	C. Servius Fidenas.

97. *Conſulſhip,*	C. Fabius Ambuſtus.
395. *Year.*	C. Plautius Proculus, who triumphs over the Privernates.
Dictator.	C. Sulpicius Peticus. He triumphs over the Gauls.
Gen of Horſe.	M. Valerius Poplicola.
Prætor.	T. Quinctius Pennus Capitolinus Criſpinus.
Curule Ædiles.	T. Manlius Torquatus.
	A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina.
Plebeian	K. Duilius.
Ædiles.	L. Virginius.
Tribunes of the	C. Petilius.
People.	L. Plautius Venno.
	L. Hortenſius.
	Q. Hortenſius.
	C. Sextilius.
	M. Cædicius.
	P. Furius.
	P. Licinius.
	C. Lætorius.
	M. Menius.
Quæſtors of	L. Furius Camillus.
Rome.	P. Mænius.
Military Quæ-	C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
ſtors.	Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

98. *Conſulſh*

98. *Conſulſhip*, 396. *Year.* C. Marcius Rutilus. He triumphs over the Privernates.
Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperioſus, a ſecond time.
Prætor. M. Popilius Lænas.
Curule Ædiles. C. Duilius.
L. Sextius.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Curatius.
C. Titius.
Tribunes of the People. M. Duilius.
L. Mænius.
M. Pomponius.
M. Titinius.
C. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Claudius Cicero.
C. Apronius.
T. Sicinius.
C. Otacilius.
M' Curius.
Quæſtors of Rome. M. Papirius Mugillanus.
Ti. Coruncanus.
Military Quæſtors. Sp. Papirius Curſor.
M' Pomponius.

99. *Conſulſhip*, 397. *Year.* M. Fabius Ambuſtus, a ſecond time.
M. Popilius Lænas, a ſecond time.
Dictator. C. Marcius Rutilus. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.
Gen. of Horſe. C. Plautius Proculus.
Prætor. T. Manlius Torquatus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Scipio.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Plautius Hypſæus.
C. Sextius.
Tribunes of the People. C. Livius Denter.
P. Licinius Calvus.
Q. Hortenſius.
C. Junius Bubulcus.
M. Marcius.
P. Mænius.
K. Duilius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Antiſtius.
C. Petillius.
Quæſtors of Rome. Sex. Tullius.
M. Pætilius Libo.
Military Quæſtors. M. Fabius Dorſo.
Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus.

100. *Conſulſhip*, 398. *Year.* C. Sulpicius Peticus, a third time.
M. Valerius Poplicola.
Prætor. P. Valerius Poplicola.
Curule Ædiles. M. Duilius.
L. Mænius.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Mænius.
P. Furius.
Tribunes of the People. L. Hortenſius.
C. Antiſtius.
C. Duilius.
Cn. Appuleius.
C. Appuleius.
L. Albinius.
L. Fulcinius.
L. Albinius.
C. Conſidius.
L. Numitorius.
Quæſtors of Rome. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Q. Servilius Ahala.
Military Quæſtors. Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus.
C. Claudius Craſſus Regillenſis.

101. *Conſulſhip*, 399. *Year.* M. Fabius Ambuſtus, a third time. He triumphs over the Tiburtini.
T. Quinctius Pennus Capitolinus Criſpinus.
Prætor. C. Julius Iulus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Furius Camillus.
M. Papirius Mugillanus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Livius Denter.
Q. Hortenſius.
Tribunes of the People. C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
Sp. Mæcilius.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
Sp. Mætilius.
A. Sellius.
K. Duilius.
T. Roſcius.
Sex. Tempanius.
L. Villius.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
A. Lucerius.
Military Quæſtors. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
C. Papirius Craſſus.

102. *Conſulſhip*, 400. *Year.* C. Sulpicius Peticus, a fourth time.
M. Valerius Poplicola, a ſecond time.
Dictator. T. Manlius Imperioſus Torquatus.
Gen. of Horſe. A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina.

Prætor.

Prætor.	L. Cornelius Scipio.
Curule Ædiles.	L. Hortenſius.
	M. Marcius.
Plebeian	L. Antiſtius.
Ædiles.	C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Quæſtors of	Q. Publilius Philo.
Rome.	P. Decius Mus.
Military Quæ-	C. Mænius.
ſtors.	Cn. Cornelius Coſſus.
Tribunes of the	C. Plautius Hypſæus.
People.	L. Mænius.
	C. Sicinius Bellutus.
	C. Titius.
	C. Sextius.
	M. Duilius.
	C. Mamilius Vitulus.
	T. Sicinius Dentatus.
	C. Apronius.
	L. Sextilius.
103. *Conſulſhip,*	P. Valerius Poplicola.
401. *Year.*	C. Marcius Rutilus, a ſecond time.
Dictator.	C. Julius Iulus.
Gen. of Horſe.	L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Prætor.	Ap. Claudius Craſſus Regillenſis.
Curule Ædiles.	P. Valerius Poplicola.
	L. Pinarius Natta.
Plebeian	Cn. Appuleius.
Ædiles.	L. Albinius.
Tribunes of the	Sex. Tullius.
People.	K. Duilius.
	M' Pomponius.
	L. Cædicius.
	P. Mælius.
	P. Mænius.
	Q. Hortenſius.
	M. Mænius.
	C. Furius.
	C. Canuleius.
Quæſtors of	L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Rome.	L. Æmilius Barbula.
Military Quæ-	C. Volumnius Flamma.
ſtors.	Q. Æmilius Barbula.
104. *Conſulſhip,*	C. Sulpicius Peticus, a fifth time.
402. *Year.*	T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Capitolinus.
Dictator.	M. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Gen. of Horſe.	Q. Servilius Ahala.
Cenſors.	Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperioſus.
	C. Marcius Rutilus. The firſt Plebeian who was made Cenſor.

The twenty firſt Luſtrum.

Prætor.	M. Papirius Mugillanus.
Curule Ædiles.	C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
	C. Antiſtius.
Plebeian	C. Antiſtius.
Ædiles.	L. Villius.
Tribunes of the	M. Ovinius.
People.	C. Duilius.
	L. Canuleius.
	L. Rabuleius.
	T. Romuleius.
	M. Claudius Cicero.
	Cn. Pœtelius Libo.
	P. Mænius Capitolinus.
	Q. Terentius.
Quæſtors of	Ser. Sulpicius Longus.
Rome.	Sp. Furius Medullinus.
Military Quæ-	P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
ſtors.	Q. Cædicius.
105. *Conſulſhip,*	M. Popilius Lænas, a third time.
403. *Year.*	He triumphs over the Gauls.
	L. Cornelius Scipio.
Dictator.	L. Furius Camillus.
Gen. of Horſe.	P. Cornelius Scipio.
Prætor.	P. Valerius Poplicola.
Curule Ædiles.	M. Fabius Dorſo.
	Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Plebeian	L. Sextilius.
Ædiles.	C. Mamilius.
Tribunes of the	P. Mænius.
People.	K. Duilius.
	T. Juventius.
	L. Oppius.
	P. Decius Mus.
	C. Oppius Cornicen.
	C. Licinius Calvus.
	C. Livius Denter.
	Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
	C. Ælius Pœtus.
Quæſtors of	M. Horatius Pulvillus.
Rome.	L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
Military Quæ-	C. Claudius Hortator.
ſtors.	A. Poſthumius Albinus Regillenſis.

106. *Conſulſ.*

106. *Conſulſhip*, L. Furius Camillus.
404. *Year.* Ap. Claudius Craſſus Sabinus Regillenſis. He died in his office.

Dictator. T. Manlius Imperioſus Torquatus, a ſecond time.
Gen. of Horſe. A. Cornelius Arvina.
Prætor. L. Pinarius Natta.
Curule Ædiles. M' Pomponius.
L. Cædicius.
Plebeian Ædiles. Sex. Tullius.
C. Furius.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Publilius Philo.
C. Icilius Ruga.
M. Claudius Cicero.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Mucius Scævola.
C. Fabricius Luſcinus.
L. Antiſtius.
Pupius.
L. Publius Philo Volſcius.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Ælius Pætus.
Q. Antonius Mærenda.
Military Quæſtors. C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

107. *Conſulſhip*, M. Popilius Lænas, a fourth time.
405. *Year.* M. Valerius Corvus.

Dictator. C. Claudius Craſſus Regillenſis.
Gen. of Horſe. C. Livius Denter.
Prætor. M. Fabius Dorſo.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Q. Servilius Ahala.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Pœtelius Libo.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Tribunes of the People. K. Duilius.
A. Trebius.
Cn. Lucerius.
A. Tempanius.
Cn. Sellius.
P. Decius Mus.
C. Appuleius.
Q. Mæcilius.
Q. Marcius Tremulus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Papirius Craſſus.
L. Petilius.
Military Quæſtors. L. Poſtumius Megellus.
M. Fulcinius.

108. *Conſulſhip*, C. Plautius Hypſæus.
406. *Year.* T. Manlius Imperioſus Torquatus.
Prætor. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Curule Ædiles. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
P. Decius Mus.
Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Publilius Philo.
T. Juventius.
Tribunes of the People. Sex. Tullius.
C. Mænius.
L. Antiſtius.
M' Pomponius.
C. Duilius.
Volero Publilius Philo Volſcus.
L. Atinius Longus.
P. Mænius.
P. Pupius.
C. Antiſtius.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
L. Furius Camillus.
Military Quæſtors. C. Sulpicius Longus.
Ser. Sulpicius Saverrio.

109. *Conſulſhip*, M. Valerius Corvus, a ſecond
407. *Year.* time. He triumphs over the Antiates, Volſci, and Satricani.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.

Secular Games.

Prætor. A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Sp. Sulpicius Longus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Tribunes of the People. P. Decius Mus.
M. Claudius Cicero.
C. Ælius Pætus.
P. Licinius Stolo.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Fabricius Luſcinus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Q. Cædicius.
Quæſtors of Rome. M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Military Quæſtors. A. Sempronius Atratinus.
Q. Canuleius.

110. *Conſulſhip*, M. Fabius Dorſo.
408. *Year.* Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Dictator. L. Furius Camillus, a ſecond time.
Gen. of Horſe. Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperioſus. *Prætor.*

Prætor. Q. Servilius Ahala.
Curule Ædiles. C. Mænius.
Q. Mæcilius.
Plebeian Ædiles. A. Trebius.
Cn. Lucerius.
Tribunes of the People. C. Claudius Hortator.
Q. Publius Philo.
L. Cædicius.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
M. Titinius.
C. Duilius.
P. Ælius Pætus.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Sex. Titius.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
Quæſtors of Rome. T. Veturius Calvinus.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Military Quæſtors. Cn. Pupius.
M' Sergius Fidenas.

111. *Conſulſhip,* 409. *Year.* C. Martius Rutilus, a third time.
T. Manlius Imperioſus Torquatus, a ſecond time.

Dictator. P. Valerius Poplicola.
Gen. of Horſe. C. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Prætor. L. Furius Camillus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.
Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. P. Decius Mus.
L. Atinius Longus.
Tribunes of the People. P. Mænius.
Q. Manilius.
C Pompilius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
C. Titinius.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Q. Silius.
L. Villius.
L. Titius.
Quæſtors of Rome. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
Military Quæſtors M. Claudius Marcellus.
Cn. Fulvius Pœtinus.

112. *Conſulſhip,* 410. *Year.* M. Valerius Corvus, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.
A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina. He triumphs over the Samnites.

Cenſors. M. Fabius Ambuſtus.

The twenty ſecond Luſtrum.

Prætor. Ser. Sulpicius Longus.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Cædicius.
Plebeian Ædiles. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
Tribunes of the People. P. Ælius Pætus.
M. Antonius.
Sex. Titius.
C. Claudius Hortator.
M. Atilius Regulus.
N. Sextius Sextinus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
L. Cœdicius.
Quæſtors of Rome. M. Papirius Craſſus.
L. Papirius Curſor.
Military Quæſtors. C. Plautius Decianus.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

113. *Conſulſhip,* 411. *Year.* C. Marcius Rutilus, a fourth time.
Q. Servilius Ahala.
Dictator. M. Valerius Corvus.
Gen. of Horſe. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.
Prætor. L. Furius Camillus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Craſſus.
C. Sulpicius Longus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Titinius,
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Mænius.
L. Furius.
P. Curatius.
Q. Canuleius.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
M, Decius Mus.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Valerius Poplicola.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Military Quæſtors. P. Cornelius Rufinus.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.

114. *Conſulſhip,* 412. *Year.* C. Plautius Hyp[illegible]s, a ſecond time.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.

Prætor

Prætor. T. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Curule Ædiles. C. Titinius.
Q. Manilius.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Pompilius.
L. Villius.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Publilius Philo.
M. Atilius Regulus.
K. Atinius Longus.
C. Duilius.
K. Atinius Longus.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Cn. Pupius.
C. Sempronius Sophus.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Atinius Longus.
Quæstors of Rome. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.
Sp. Poſtumius Albinus.
Military Quæſtors. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
L. Plautius Venno.

115. *Conſulſhip,* 413. *Year.* T. Manlius Imperioſus Torquatus, a third time. He triumphs over the Latins, Campani, Sidicini, and Aurunci.
P. Decius Mus.

Dictator. L. Papirius Craſſus.
Gen. of Horſe. L. Papirius Curſor.
Prætor. L. Papirius Craſſus, who was created Dictator.
Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.
C. Claudius Craſſus Regillenſis.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Antonius.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Tribunes of the People. L. Allienius.
M. Plætorius.
M' Marcius.
C. Popilius.
C. Petillius.
C. Mæcilius.
P. Publilius Philo.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
M. Conſidius.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Sallonius Sarra.
L. Æmilius Paulus.
Military Quæſtors. C. Plautius Proculus.
L. Pinarius Natta.

116. *Conſulſhip,* 414. *Year.* T. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Q. Publilius Philo. He triumphs over the Latins.

Dictator. Q. Publilius Philo.
Gen. of Horſe. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
Prætor. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.
Curule Ædiles. M. Atilius Regulus.
P. Curatius.
Plebeian Ædiles. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
L. Furius.
Tribunes of the People. C. Lucerius.
M. Pontificius.
L. Villius.
C. Pompilius.
M. Acutius.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Volſcius Fictor.
T. Veturius Calvinus.
Q. Mamilius.
P. Silius.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Valerius Potitus.
M. Geganius Mamercinus.
Military Quæſtors. M. Duilius.
M. Mæcilius.

117. *Conſulſhip,* 415. *Year.* L. Furius Camillus. He triumphs over the Pedani and Tiburtini.
C. Mænius. He triumphs over the Antiates, Lavinians, and Velitrani.
Prætor. M. Valerius Corvus.
Curule Ædiles. T. Veturius Craſſus.
Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Atinius Longus.
Tribunes of the People. P. Sempronius Longus.
P. Sallonius Sarra.
C. Plautius Decianus.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
C. Terentius Arſa.
M. Decius Mus.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Titinius.
Q. Canuleius.
M' Juventius Thalna.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Sulpicius Peticus.
L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Military Quæſtors. P. Furius.
C. Minucius Augurinus.

118. *Conſulſhip,* 416. *Year.* C. Sulpicius Longus.
P. Ælius Pætus.

Dictator. C. Claudius Craſſus Regillenſis.
Gen. of Horſe. C. Claudius Hortator.
Prætor. T. Manlius Imperioſus Torquatus.
Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Rufinus.
M. Papirius Craſſus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Petilius.
L. Allienius.
Tribunes of the People. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
C. Sempronius Sophus.
L. Plautius Venno.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
Q. Pomponius.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Attilius Regulus.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Cornelius Scapula.
L. Julius Iulus.
Military Quæſtors. Q. Decius Mus.
C. Carvilius Maximus.

119. *Conſulſhip,* 417. *Year.* L. Papirius Craſſus.
K. Duilius.
Q. Publilius Philo. The firſt Plebeian who was raiſed to this Office.
Curule Ædiles. Sp. Poſtumius Albinus.
P. Valerius Poplicola.
Plebeian Ædiles. P. Sallonius Sarra.
P. Silius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Antonius Nepos.
C. Plautius Decianus.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M' Marcius Nepos.
C. Popillius Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Plautius Proculus.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
P. Publilius Philo.
L. Conſidius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. Sp. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Fulvius Curvus.
M. Æbutius Elva.

120. *Conſulſhip,* 418. *Year.* M. Valerius Corvus, a fourth time. He triumphed over the Inhabitants of the Territory of Cales.
M. Attilius Regulus.

Dictator. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.
Gen. of Horſe. Q. Publilius Philo.
Prætor. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
Curule Ædiles. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.
L. Valerius Potitus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Juventius Thalna.
Q. Canuleius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Plautius Venno.
L. Plætorius.
L. Fulcinius.
C. Numitorius.
M. Mecilius.
C. Plætorius.
C. Racilius.
T. Statius.
C. Antius Reſtio.
C. Lucerius.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Papirius Mugillanus.
A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina.
Military Quæſtors. L. Julius Libo.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.

121. *Conſulſhip,* 419. *Year.* T. Veturius Calvinus.
Sp. Poſtumius Albinus.

Dictator. P. Cornelius Rufinus.
Gen. of Horſe. M. Antonius.
Prætor. M. Papirius Craſſus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
M. Geganius Macerinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. P. Sallonius Sarra.
T. Metilius.
M. Scaptius.
M. Mamilius.
C. Memmius.
L. Racilius.
M. Sellius.
P. Silius.
Q. Cædicius Noctua.
P. Furius.
Quæſtors of Rome. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Ap. Claudius Craſſ. Sabin. Regillenſis.
Military Quæſtors. C. Acutius Nepos.
T. Pontificius Nepos.

122. *Conſulſhip,* 420. *Year.* L. Papirius Cursor.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
Prætors

Prætor. C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.
Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.
L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Plautius Venno.
C. Plautius Decianus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Popilius Lænas.
C. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Canuleius Nepos.
Q. Hortenſius.
C. Lætorius.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Terentius.
M' Juventius Thalna.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Military Quæſtors. C. Foſlius Flaccinator.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

123. *Conſulſhip,* 421. *Year.* A. Cornelius Coſſus, a ſecond time.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Dictator. M. Papirius Craſſus.
Gen. of Horſe. P. Valerius Poplicola.
Cenſors. Q. Publilius Philo.
Sp. Poſtumius Albinus.

The twenty third Luſtrum.

Prætor. L. Papirius Mugillanus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Plætorius.
C. Plætorius.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Racilius.
L. Fulcinius.
Tribunes of the People. L. Fulvius Curvus.
L. Hortenſius.
A. Ogulnius Gallus.
Q. Decius Mus.
L. Ælius Pœtus.
M. Lætorius.
M' Otacilius Craſſus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
C. Carvilius Maximus.
M' Curius Dentatus.
Quæſtors of Rome. M. Flavius.
A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina.
Military Quæſtors. M. Fabius Ambuſtus.
C. Aquilius Florus.

124. *Conſulſhip,* 422. *Year.* M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Valerius Potitus.
Dictator. Cn. Quintilius Varus.
Gen. of Horſe. L. Valerius Potitus.
Prætor. M. Valerius Corvus.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
M. Æbutius Elva.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Racilius Nepos.
M. Mamilius Vitulus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Aulus Cerretanus.
L. Pupius Nepos.
C. Livius Denter.
C. Fulvius Curvus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
M' Pomponius Matho.
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
M. Fulvius Centumalus.
M. Marcius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Valerius Flaccus.
Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.
Military Quæſtors. M. Æmilius Papus.
L. Plautius Venno.

125. *Conſulſhip,* 423. *Year.* L. Papirius Craſſus, a ſecond time.
L. Plautius Venno.
Prætor. P. Cornelius Scapula.
Curule Ædiles. C. Popillius Lænas.
C. Lætorius Nepos.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Manlius Capitolinus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Livius Denter.
L. Fulvius Curvus.
A. Allienius Nepos.
M. Racilius Nepos.
A. Trebonius Aſper.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
L. Apuleius Nepos.
L. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Fulcinius Nepos.
P. Numitorius Pullus.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Plautius Hypſæus.
C. Petillius Nepos.
Military Quæſtors. L. Horatius Pulvillus.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

126. *Conſulſhip,* 424. *Year.* L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas, a ſecond time.
C. Plautius Decianus. Both triumph over the Privernates.
Prætor. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Mugillanus.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M' Curius Dentatus.
Q. Decius Mus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Fescennius Nepos.
T. Pontificius Nepos.
Sex. Pompilius Nepos.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
Sp. Antius Restio.
C. Acutius Nepos.
P. Silius Nepos.
Sex. Manlius Nepos.
M. Mamilius Vitulus.
Quæstors of Rome. M. Follius Flaccinator.
L. Furius Camillus.
Military Quæstors. M. Popilius Lænas.
P. Villius Nepos.

127. *Consulship,* 425. *Year.* C. Plautius Proculus.
P. Cornelius Scapula.
Prætor. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.
C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Fulvius Curvus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Aulius Cerretanus.
M. Titinius Nepos.
Cn. Apronius Nepos.
C. Sextilius Nepos.
L. Mænius Nepos.
T. Sicinius Dentatus.
Sex. Titius Nepos.
C. Sextius Calvinus.
C. Curatius Nepos.
A. Virginius Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. L. Papirius Crassus.
Q. Æmilius Barbula.
Military Quæstors. P. Ælius Pætus.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

128. *Consulship,* 426. *Year.* L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Q. Publilius Philo, a second time.

Dictator. M. Claudius Marcellus.
Gen. of Horse. Sp. Posthumius Albinus.
Prætor. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
Curule Ædiles. M. Fabius Ambustus.
Q. Fabius Ambustus.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Fulvius Curvus.
M. Livius Denter.
Tribunes of the People. M. Flavius Nepos.
C. Lætorius Nepos.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
C. Aquillius Florus.
C. Otacilius Nepos,
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Rabuleius Nepos.
L. Hortensius Nepos.
Q. Decius Mus.
Quæstors of Rome. M. Pœtelius Libo Visolus.
M. Follius Flaccinator.
Military Quæstors. C. Julius Iulus.
L. Romuleius Nepos.

129. *Consulship,* 427. *Year.* C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus, a second time.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.
Prætor. C. Plautius Decianus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Valerius Flaccus.
A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.
Plebeian Ædiles. Sex. Manilius Nepos.
Sex. Pompilius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. C. Petillius Nepos.
M' Curius Dentatus.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
Ti. Coruncanius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
C. Fulvius Curvus.
C. Antistius Nepos.
Sex. Tullius Nepos.
T. Sempronius Blæsus.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
Quæstors of Rome. Q. Mælius Nepos.
L. Manlius Capitolinus.
Military Quæstors. P. Manlius Vulso.
Ti. Claudius Cicero.
Proconsul. Q. Publius Philo. He triumphs over the Samnites and Palæpolitani.
Pro-Quæstor. L. Romuleius.

130. *Consulship,* 428. *Year.* L. Furius Camillus, a second time.
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Dictator. L. Papirius Cursor.
Gen. of Horse. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, who abdicates; and
L. Papirius Crassus is chosen in his room.
Prætor. L. Fulvius Curvus.
Curule Ædiles. C. Follius Flaccinator.
M. Æmilius Paetus.

Plebeian M. Flavius Nepos.
Ædiles. A. Virginius Nepos.
Tribunes of the L. Plautius Venno.
People. C. Plautius Hypſæus.
C. Conſidius Nepos.
L. Numitorius Nepos.
Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.
C. Popilius Lænas.
L. Albinius Nepos.
L. Fulcinius Trio.
T. Roſcius Nepos.
A. Lucerius Nepos.
Quæſtors of L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Rome. M. Antiſtius Nepos.
Military Quæ- P. Valerius Poplicola.
ſtors. P. Plautius Hypſæus.

Dictator. L. Papirius Curſor. He triumphs
429. *Year.* over the Samnites.
Gen. of Horſe. L. Papirius Craſſus.
Cenſors. M. Valerius Corvus.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.

The twenty fourth Luſtrum.

Prætor. M. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Craſſus.
L. Furius Camillus.
Plebeian C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Ædiles. L. Hortenſius Nepos.
Tribunes of the P. Ælius Pætus.
People. C. Fulvius Curvus.
Sex. Tempanius Nepos.
L. Apronius Limo.
C. Mænius Nepos.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Sp. Metilius Nepos.
L. Villius Nepos.
L. Sextilius.
P. Virginius.
Quæſtors of Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
Rome. C. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Military Quæ- P. Decius Mus.
ſtors. T. Pontificius Nepos.

131. *Conſulſhip,* C. Sulpicius Longus.
430. *Year.* Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Prætor. Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Curule Ædiles. M. Foſlius Flaccinator.
Q. Æmilius Barbula.
Plebeian L. Marcius Rutilus.
Ædiles. T. Sempronius Blæſus.

Tribunes of the M. Flavius Nepos.
People. M. Pœtelius Libo.
C. Canuleius Nepos.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
M' Curius Dentatus.
L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Popillius Lænas.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
Q. Ælius Pætus.
Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.
Quæſtors of L. Cominius Nepos.
Rome. C. Marcius Rutilus.
Military Quæ- M. Valerius Maximus.
ſtors. A. Virginius Tricoſtus Rutilus.

132. *Conſulſhip,* Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
431. *Year.* He triumphs over the Samnites and Apulians.
L. Fulvius Curvus. He triumphs over the Samnites.

Dictator. A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina.
Gen. of Horſe. M. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Prætor. L. Plautius.
Curule Ædiles. C. Plautius Hypſæus.
A. Lucerius Nepos.
Plebeian Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.
Ædiles. L. Albinius Nepos.
Tribunes of the C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
People. Sex. Tullius Nepos.
C. Petillius Nepos.
C. Conſidius Nepos.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
A. Atilius Bulbus.
L. Albinius Nepos.
L. Fulcinius Trio.
L. Numitorius Nepos.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
Quæſtors of P. Seſtius Capitolinus.
Rome. Q. Publilius Philo.
Military Quæ- M' Sergius Fidenas.
ſtors. C. Apuleius Panſa.

133. *Conſulſhip,* T. Veturius Calvinus, a ſecond
432. *Year.* time.
Sp. Poſtumius Albinus, a ſecond time.

Dictators. Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
M. Æmilius Papus.
Generals of P. Ælius Pætus.
Horſe. L. Valerius Flaccus.

Prætor.

Prætor. M. Valerius Corvus.
Curule Ædiles. M. Popillius Lænas.
Sp. Metilius Nepos.
Plebeian Ædiles. Sex. Tempanius Nepos.
L. Villius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. M. Pœtelius Libo.
C. Mamilius Vitulus.
L. Sextilius Nepos.
C. Mænius Nepos.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
T. Roſcius Nepos.
L. Apronius Nepos.
L. Cædicius Nepos.
C. Furius Nepos.
L. Canuleius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. Cn. Furius Pacilus.
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
Military Quæſtors. Sp. Papirius Craſſus.
Cn. Lucerius Nepos.

134. *Conſulſhip,* 433. *Year.* L. Papirius Curſor, a ſecond time.
Q. Publilius Philo, a third time.

Dictators. C. Mænius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.
T. Manlius Imperioſus Torquatus.
Generals of Horſe. M. Foſlius Flaccinator.
L. Papirius Curſor.
L. Papirius Craſſus.
Prætor. Q. Æmilius Barbula.
Curule Ædiles. L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
C. Canuleius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Livius Denter.
Q. Mælius Nepos.
T. Numicius Nepos. Theſe were all three obliged to abdicate, in order to go to Caudium, as Hoſtages for the Performance of the Treaty concluded at the Caudian Forks.
P. Decius Mus.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
P. Mænius Nepos.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. Cædicius Nepos.
P. Virginius Nepos.
T. Romuleius Nepos.
C. Oppius Cornicen.
T. Juventius Nepos.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.

135. *Conſulſhip,* 434. *Year.* L. Papirius Curſor, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus, a ſecond time.
Cenſors. C. Sulpicius Longus.
C. Plautius Decianus. They both abdicate.
Prætor. M. Popilius Lænas.
Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Maximus.
C. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Volumnius Flamma.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Antiſtius Nepos.
M. Pœtelius Libo.
L. Apronius Nepos.
L. Cominius Nepos.
C. Mænius Nepos.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
L. Sextilius Nepos.
L. Cædicius Nepos.
C. Furius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Marcius Tremulus.
L. Geganius Macerinus.
Military Quæſtors. Q. Clœlius Siculus.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

136. *Conſulſhip,* 435. *Year.* L. Plautius Venno.
M. Foſlius Flaccinator.
Cenſors. L. Papirius Craſſus.
C. Mænius.

The twenty fifth Luſtrum.

Prætor. L. Furius Camillus.
Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.
M' Sergius Fidenas.
Plebeian Ædiles. P. Decius Mus.
T. Roſcius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Mælius Nepos.
C. Claudius Hortator.
C. Fabricius Luſcinus.
P. Pupius Nepos.
Q. Publilius Philo.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Mucius Sævola.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Sex. Tullius Nepos.
C. Plautius Hypſæus.

Quæſtors

Quæſtors of Rome. L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Ap. Claudius Cæcus.
Military Quæſtors. M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus.
T. Minucius Augurinus.

137. *Conſulſhip,* 436. *Year.* Q. Æmilius Barbula.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Prætor. L. Papirius Craſſus.
Curule Ædiles. M. Pœtelius Libo.
L. Livius Denter.
Plebeian Ædiles. T. Numicius Nepos.
M. Antiſtius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Cominius Nepos.
C. Appuleius Panſa.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
Q. Mæcilius Nepos.
Cn. Sellius Nepos.
A. Trebius Nepos.
Cn. Lucerius Nepos.
Sp. Metilius Nepos.
L. Villius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Cornelius Arvina.
L. Papirius Maſo.
Military Quæſtors. C. Lutatius Catulus.
M. Fulcinius Nepos.

138. *Conſulſhip,* 437. *Year.* Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
M. Popilius Lænas.

Dictator. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.
Gen. of Horſe. L. Fulvius Curvus.
Prætor. M. Valerius Maximus.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Mælius Nepos.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Apronius Limo.
L. Sextilius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. P. Decius Mus.
M. Titinius Nepos.
Sex. Titius Nepos.
L. Cædicius Nepos.
P. Mænius Nepos.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
Q. Fundanius Fundulus.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Cædicius Nepos.
C. Furius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. Ti. Cornelius Lentulus.
L. Atilius Regulus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Volumnius Flamma.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

139. *Conſulſhip,* 438. *Year.* L. Papirius Curſor, a fourth time.
Q. Publilius Philo, a fourth time.

Dictator. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
Gen. of Horſe. Q. Aulius Cerretanus, who was killed in a Battle, and
C. Fabius Ambuſtus choſen in his room.
Prætor. M. Valerius Corvus.
Curule Ædiles. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.
M. Fabius Dorſo.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Cominius Nepos.
Q. Publilius Philo.
Tribunes of the People. L. Livius Denter.
M. Antiſtius Nepos.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens
Q. Canuleius Nepos.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
T. Numicius Nepos.
Q. Marcius Tremulus.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
P. Licinius Nepos Stolo.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Decius Mus.
Military Quæſtors. M. Livius Denter.
L. Æmilius Barbula.

140. *Conſulſhip,* 439. *Year.* M. Pœtelius Libo.
C. Sulpicius Longus, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.

Dictator. C. Mænius.
Gen. of Horſe. M. Foſſius Flaccinator.
Prætor. M. Valerius Maximus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Geganius Macerinus.
Q. Cloelius Siculus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Appuleius Panſa.
A. Trebius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Mælius Nepos.
Ti. Minucius Augurinus.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Claudius Hortator.
P. Mucius Scævola.
M. Trebius.
M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus.
M. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Fabricius Luſcinus.

Quæſtors of Rome. P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus.
Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Sempronius Longus.

141. *Conſulſhip,* 440. *Year.* L. Papirius Curſor, a fifth time.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus, a ſecond time.

Dictator. C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
Gen. of Horſe. M. Pœtelius Libo.
Prætor. C. Marcius Rutilus.
Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Arvina.
Ap. Claudius Cæcus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Titinius Nepos.
Scx. Titius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Cominius Nepos.
M. Marcius Tremulus.
Cn. Pupius Nepos.
Q. Publilius Philo.
Q. Petilius Nepos.
L. Livius Denter.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Plautius Decianus.
C. Lutatius Catulus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Poſtumius Megellus.
L. Furius Nepos.
Military Quæſtors. P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
M. Titinius Nepos.

142. *Conſulſhip,* 441. *Year.* M. Valerius Maximus. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Sorani*.
P. Decius Mus.

Dictator. C. Suplicius Longus.
Gen. of Horſe. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Cenſors. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.
C. Plautius Venox.

The twenty ſixth Luſtrum.

Prætor. M. Foſſius Flaccinator.
Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.
L. Papirius Maſo.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
A. Trebius Nepos.
L. Villius Nepos.
Q. Silius Nepos.
Q. Manilius Nepos.
M. Fulcinius Nepos.
A. Acutius Nepos.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
C. Pompilius Nepos.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
Quæſtors of Rome. M. Papirius Craſſus.
Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.
Military Quæſtors. Cn. Sempronius Graccus.
Q. Appuleius Panſa.

143. *Conſulſhip,* 442. *Year.* C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.
Q. Æmilius Barbula, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.
Prætor. M. Valerius Maximus.
Curule Ædiles. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.
Ti. Cornelius Lentulus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Fabricius Luſcinus.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Tribunes of the People. L. Atilius Regulus.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Decius Mus.
T. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Trebius Nepos.
M. Antonius Nepos.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Livius Denter.
L. Titius Nepos.
N. Sextius Sextinus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Ogulnius Gallus.
M. Fulvius Pætinus.
Military Quæſtors. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.

144. *Conſulſhip,* 443. *Year.* Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, a ſecond time.
C. Marcius Rutilus, who was afterwards called Cenſorinus.
Prætor. P. Cornelius Arvina.
Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus.
L. Æmilius Barbula.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Lutatius Catulus.
Q. Petillius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. P. Sempronius Sophus.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus.
P. Curatius Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
Q. Poſtpone

Q. Pomponius Nepos.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Anicius Præneſtinus.
M. Minucius Feſſus.
Military Quæſtors. T. Popillius Nepos.
Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.

Dictator. L. Papirius Curſor. He triumphs over the Samnites.
444. *Year.*
Gen. of Horſe. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Proconſuls. Q. Fabius Max. Rullianus. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.
P. Cornelius Arvina.
Prætor. M. Valerius Corvus.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Marcius Tremulus.
L. Atilius Regulus.
Plebeian Ædiles. T. Minucius Augurinus.
Q. Manilius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. C. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Titinius Nepos.
C. Atinius Labeo.
P. Publilius Philo.
C. Plautius Decianus.
M. Livius Denter.
C. Atinius Longus.
M' Marcius Nepos.
C. Popilius Nepos.
L. Allienius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Valerius Falto.
L. Cornelius Blaſio.
Military Quæſtors. P. Licinius Varus.
M. Duilius Nepos.

145. *Conſulſhip,* 445. *Year.* P. Decius Mus, a ſecond time.
C. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, a third time.
Prætor. M. Valerius Maximus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Poſtumius Megellus.
P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Decius Mus.
M. Antonius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Furius Nepos.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Q. Appuleius Panſa.
M. Plætorius Nepos.
M. Trebius Nepos.
M. Conſidius Nepos.
M. Fulcinius Nepos.
M. Mæcilius Tullus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Cornelius Scipio.
M. Atilius Regulus.
Military Quæſtors. Q. Papirius Turdus.
M. Æmilius Paulus.

146. *Conſulſhip,* 446. *Year.* Appius Claudius Cæcus.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
Cenſors. M. Valerius Maximus.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

The twenty ſeventh Luſtrum.

Proconſul. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
Prætor. T. Minucius Augurinus.
Curule Ædiles. C. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Titinius Nepos.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Q. Pomponius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
M. Livius Denter.
L. Lucerius Nepos.
L. Volſcius Fictor.
P. Silius Nepos.
Q. Anicius Præneſtinus.
Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.
M. Acutius Nepos.
P. Villius Nepos.
Q. Mamilius Turinus.
Quæſtors of Rome. Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
Military Quæſtors. T. Manlius Torquatus.
A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina.

147. *Conſulſhip,* 447. *Year.* Q. Marcius Tremulus. He triumphs over the Samnites, and the inhabitants of Anagnia.

Dictators. P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus.
Gen. of Horſe. P. Decius Mus.
Prætor. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.
Curule Ædiles. M. Cornelius Corvus.
P. Valerius Falto.
Plebeian Ædiles. P. Sempronius Sophus.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Tribunes of the People. Cn. Flavius Nepos.
M. Decius Mus.
M. Fulvius Pætinus.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
P. Furius Nepos.
L. Furius Nepos.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Antonius Nepos.
P. Curatius Nepos.
Quæſtors of C. Carvilius Maximus.
Rome. L. Julius Libo.
Military Quæ- Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
ſtors. L. Julius Iulus.

148. *Conſulſhip,* L. Poſtumius Megellus.
448. *Year.* Ti. Minucius Augurinus, who is killed fighting with the Samnites; and
M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus choſen in his room. The latter triumphs over the Samnites.
Prætor. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.
Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Paulus.
L. Cornelius Blaſio.
Plebeian M. Livius Denter.
Ædiles. Q. Appuleius Panſa.
Tribunes of the C. Marcius Rutilus.
People. C. Minucius Augurinus.
L. Ogulnius Gallus.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Duilius Nepos.
M. Minucius Feſſus.
M' Juventius Thalna.
P. Licinius Varus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Q. Pomponius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
Rome. M. Mamilius Vitulus.
Military Quæ- C. Sergius Fidenas.
ſtors. M. Geganius Macerinus.

149. *Conſulſhip,* C. Sempronius Sophus. He triumphs over the Æqui.
449. *Year.* P. Sulpicius Saverrio. He triumphs over the Samnites.
Cenſors. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
P. Decius Mus.

The twenty eighth Luſtrum.

Prætor. P. Valerius Falto.
Curule Ædiles. Cn. Flavius Nepos.
Q. Anicius Præneſtinus.
Plebeian Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
Ediles. L. Furius Nepos.
Tribunes of the Cn. Flavius Nepos.
People. Q. Papirius Turdus.
D. Junius Pera.
M' Pomponius Matho.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
T. Popilius Nepos.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Proculus.
Quæſtors of L. Papirius Curſor.
Rome. M' Curius Dentatus.
Military Quæ- L. Ælius Pætus.
ſtors. P. Junius Brutus Scæva.

150. *Conſulſhip,* Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.
450. *Year.* L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Prætor. M. Valerius Corvus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Scipio.
A. Cornelius Coſſus Arvina.
Plebeian L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Ædiles. P. Furius Nepos.
Tribunes of the Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
People. L. Publicius Malleolus.
M. Allienius Nepos.
L. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Racilius Nepos.
Sex. Statius Nepos.
L. Conſidius Nepos.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Apuſtius Fullo.
C. Numitorius Nepos.
Quæſtors of L. Cornelius Scipio.
Rome. C. Fulvius Curvus.
Military Quæ- M. Valerius Flaccus.
ſtors. Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

151. *Conſulſhip,* M. Livius Denter.
451. *Year.* M. Æmilius Paulus.

Dictator. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus. He triumphs over the Æqui.
Gen. of Horſe. M. Titinius Nepos.
Prætor. Q. Apuleius Panſa.
Curule Ædiles. L. Poſtumius Megellus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
Plebeian M. Fulvius Pætinus.
Ædiles. C. Minucius Augurinus.
Tribunes of the L. Furius Nepos.
People. Sp. Carvilius Maximus
M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Metilius Nepos.
A. Sellius Nepos.
Q. Papirius Turdus.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
Ti. Pontificius.
M. Volſcius Fictor.

L. Anton[illegible]

L. Antonius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Cædicius Noctua.
C. Acutius Nepos.
Military Quæſtors. C. Foſſius Flaccinator.
Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.

Dictators. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
452. *Year.* M. Valerius Corvus. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.
Generals of Horſe. M. Æmilius Paulus.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
Prætor. L. Cornelius Scipio.
Curule Ædiles. C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
D. Junius Pera.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Proculus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Anicius Præneſtinus.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Lætorius Plancianus.
M. Minucius Feſſus.
C. Memmius Nepos.
P. Furius Nepos.
C. Lætorius Nepos.
C. Mælius Copitolinus.
M. Terentius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. M' Sergius Fidenas.
Q. Hortenſius Nepos.
Military Quæſtors. C. Cædicius Noctua.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

152. *Conſulſhip,* 453. *Year.* Q. Apuleius Panſa.
M. Valerius Corvus, a fifth time.
Prætor. Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Julius Iulus.
L. Julius Libo.
Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Papirius Turdus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
M. Mamilius Vitulus.
T. Juventius Thalna.
C. Otacilius Craſſus.
C. Carvilius Maximus.
Q. Terentius Arſa.
M. Otacilius Craſſus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Fabius Gurges.
M. Aquilius Florus.
Military Quæſtors. C. Ælius Pætus.
L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus.

153. *Conſulſhip,* 444. *Year.* M. Fulvius Pætinus. He triumphs over the Samnites and Nequinates.
T. Manlius Torquatus, who dies in his office. And to ſupply his room,
M. Valerius Corvus is choſen Conſul a ſixth time.
Cenſors. P. Sempronius Sophus.
P. Sulpicius Saverrio.

The twenty ninth Luſtrum.

Prætor. L. Poſtumius Megellus.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
L. Papirius Curſor.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Antonius Nepos.
C. Metilius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Ælius Pætus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
D. Junius Pera.
C. Fulvius Curvus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
L. Pupius Nepos.
M. Volſcius Fictor.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
Quæſtors of Rome. P. Cornelius Rufinus.
M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus.
Military Quæſtors. M. Livius Denter.
C. Claudius Canina.

154. *Conſulſhip,* 455. *Year.* L. Cornelius Scipio.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. He triumphs over the Samnites and Hetrurians.
Prætor. M. Livius Denter.
Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Scipio.
L. Valerius Flaccus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Lætorius Plancianus.
C. Lætorius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. M' Curius Dentatus.
Q. Papirius Turdus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
A. Atilius Calatinus.
M. Marcius Nepos.
C. Plautius Proculus.
M. Flavius Nepos.

M. Atilius Regulus.
M. Popilius Lænas.
L. Plautius Venno.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Trebonius Aſper.
M. Scantius Nepos.
Military Quæſtors. L. Cæcilius Metellus.
A. Manlius Vulſo Longus.

155. *Conſulſhip,* 456. *Year.* Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, a fourth time.
P. Decius Mus, a ſecond time.
Prætor. L. Julius Iulus
Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
M' Sergius Fidenas.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Atilius Regulus.
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Hortenſius Nepos.
Q. Cædicius Noctua.
C. Plautius Hypſæus.
C. Petillius Nepos.
A. Allienius Nepos.
C. Cædicius Noctua.
M. Æmilius Regulus Serranus.
M. Pœtelius Libo.
L. Apuleius Saturninus.
C. Pontificius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. M. Fulvius Pætinus.
Ti. Sempronius Blæſus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Manlius Capitolinus.
Ser. Cornelius Rufinus.

156. *Conſulſhip,* 457. *Year.* Ap. Claudius Cæcus, a ſecond time.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens, a ſecond time.
Prætor. P. Sempronius Sophus.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Ælius Pætus.
C. Fulvius Curvus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
Q. Papirius Turdus.
P. Numitorius Pullus.
Q. Sallonius Sarra.
M' Curius Dentatus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
M. Racilius Nepos.
Sp. Antius Reſtio.
M. Acutius Nepos.
M. Metilius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Nautius Rutilus.
M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.

Military Quæſtors. L. Flaminius Chilo.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Proconſuls in Samnium. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
P. Decius Mus.

157. *Conſulſhip,* 458. *Year.* Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, a fifth time. He triumphs over the Samnites, the Hetrurians, and the Gauls.
P. Decius Mus, a third time.
Prætor. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Gurges.
L. Veturius Craſſius Cicurinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Hortenſius Nepos.
L. Plautius Venno.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Cædicius Noctua.
P. Villius Nepos.
Sex. Pompilius Nepos.
L. Sicinius Dentatus.
Sex Titius Nepos.
C. Ælius Pætus.
P. Silius Nepos.
C. Manilius Nepos.
Q. Titinius Nepos.
Cn. Apronius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
Cn. Æmilius Papus.
Military Quæſtors. C. Ælius Pætus.
C. Fabricius Luſcinus.
Proconſuls. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
L. Cornelius Scipio.
Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus.
L. Poſthumius Megellus.
M. Livius Denter.

158. *Conſulſhip,* 459. *Year.* L. Poſtumius Megellus, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Samnites and Hetrurians.
M. Atilius Regulus. He triumphs over the Volſcinienſes and the Samnites.
Cenſors. P. Cornelius Arvina.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

The thirtieth Luſtrum

Prætor. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus.
P. Cornelius Rufinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M' Curius Dentatus.
M. Claudius Marcellus

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People.	C. Trebonius Aſper.
	M. Livius Denter.
	C. Claudius Canina.
	C. Sextilius Nepos.
	L. Mænius Nepos.
	A. Virginius Nepos.
	C. Sextius Calvinus.
	C. Curatius Nepos.
	T. Memmius Nepos.
	M. Lætorius Plancianus.
Quæſtors of Rome.	L. Opimius Panſa.
	Q. Marcius Philippus.
Military Quæſtors.	M. Æmilius Lepidus.
	C. Servilius Tucca.
159. *Conſulſhip,* 460. *Year.*	L. Papirius Curſor.
	Sp. Carvilius Maximus. They both triumph over the Samnites
Prætor.	M. Atilius Regulus.
Curule Ædiles.	C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
	Q. Cædicius Noctua.
Plebeian Ædiles.	P. Numitorius Pullus.
	Sp. Antius Reſtio.
Tribunes of the People.	M. Scantius Nepos.
	Q. Hortenſius Nepos.
	C. Canuleius Nepos.
	C. Aquilius Florus.
	Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
	Ti. Claudius Cicero.
	L. Cæcilius Metellus.
	L. Romuleius Nepos.
	C. Ogulnius Gallus.
	C. Aurelius Cotta.
Quæſtors of Rome.	Ti. Coruncanius.
	L. Furius Camillus.
Military Quæſtors.	Q. Mælius Nepos.
	C. Furius Pacilus.
160. *Conſulſhip,* 461. *Year.*	Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges.
	D. Junius Brutus Cæva.
Dictator.	Appius Claudius Cæcus.
Gen. of Horſe.	C. Marcius Rutilus.
Prætor.	L. Papirius Curſor.
Curule Ædiles.	C. Ælius Pætus.
	C. Claudius Canina.
Plebeian Ædiles.	C. Apronius Nepos.
	P. Silius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People.	C. Rabuleius Nepos.
	M. Claudius Marcellus.
	M. Pupius Nepos.
	M. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.
	L. Flaminius Chilo.
	L. Hortenſius Nepos.
	L. Icilius Ruga.
	Sex. Tullius Nepos.
	C. Flavius Nepos.
	M. Atilius Nepos.
	Theſe ten abdicated becauſe their election was deemed defective; and in their room were choſen
	L. Tullius Nepos.
	M. Antiſtius Nepos.
	L. Albinius Nepos.
	C. Conſidius Nepos.
	M. Racilius Nepos.
	C. Junius Pullus.
	P. Plautius Hypſæus.
	L. Allienius Nepos.
	M. Plætorius Nepos.
	L. Fulcinius Trio.
Quæſtors of Rome.	Q. Aurelius Papus.
	L. Aurelius Cotta.
Military Quæſtors.	C. Cornelius Scapula.
	P. Decius Mus.
161. *Conſulſhip,* 462. *Year.*	L. Poſtumius Megellus, a third time.
	C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
Prætor.	M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus.
Curule Ædiles.	C. Nautius Rutilus.
	M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M. Livius Denter.
	C. Trebonius Aſper.
Tribunes of the People.	Q. Cædicius Noctua.
	Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
	M. Trebonius Flavus.
	T. Roſcius Nepos.
	Sex. Tempanius.
	Q. Hortenſius.
	C. Fabricius Luſcinus.
	L. Numitorius Pullus.
	Cn. Lucerius Nepos.
	C. Scaptius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome.	P. Cornelius Dolabella Maximus.
	L. Æmilius Barbula.
Military Quæſtors.	L. Antius Reſtio.
	Sp. Mælius Nepos.
Proconſul in Samnium.	Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges. He triumphs over the Samnites.
Pro-Quæſtor.	L. Aurelius Cotta.

162. *Conſulſhip,* 463. *Year.*	P. Cornelius Rufinus. M' Curius Dentatus. The latter triumphs over the Samnites and Sabines at two different times.
Prætor.	M. Claudius Marcellus.
Curule Ædiles.	Sp. Nautius Rutilus. Cn. Æmilius Papus.
Plebeian Ædiles.	L. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Aurelius Cotta.
Tribunes of the People.	C. Ælius Pætus. Q. Marcius Philippus. C. Mamilius Vitulus. L. Apronius Nepos. L. Cominius Nepos. A. Atilius Bulbus. C. Volumnius Flamma. Cn. Apronius Nepos. C. Sextius Calvinus. M. Cædicius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome.	P. Valerius Lævinus. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
Military Quæſtors.	C. Genucius Clepſina. Q. Fundanius Fundulus.
163. *Conſulſhip,* 464. *Year.*	M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus. Q. Cædicius Noctua.
Cenſors.	M. Æmilius Paulus. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

The thirty firſt Luſtrum.

Prætor.	C. Nautius Rutilus.
Curule Ædiles.	M. Æmilius Lepidus. C. Servilius Tucca.
Plebeian Ædiles.	Cn. Domitius Calvinus. C. Fabricius Luſcinus.
Tribunes of the People.	L. Papirius Turdus. C. Ælius Pætus. Ti. Coruncanius Nepos. P. Virginius Nepos. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. L. Canuleius Nepos. C. Claudius Canina. P. Curatius Nepos. C. Furius Aculeo. T. Numicius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome.	P. Sulpicius Saverrio. Sp. Papirius Curſor.
Military Quæſtors.	L. Papirius Curſor. C. Mænius Nepos.
Proconſul in Lucania.	M' Curius Dentatus. He enjoys the honours of an Ovation, after having ſubdued the Lucani.
Pro-Quæſtor.	C. Genucius Clepſina.
164. *Conſulſhip,* 465. *Year.*	Q. Marcius Tremulus. P. Cornelius Arvina. Both the ſecond time.
Prætor.	M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.
Curule Ædiles.	L. Furius Camillus. C. Furius Pacilus.
Plebeian Ædiles.	Q. Marcius Philippus. M. Trebonius Flavus.
Tribunes of the People.	L. Cæcilius Metellus. Q. Romuleius Nepos. C. Aurelius Cotta. C. Ælius Pætus. P. Mucius Scævola. P. Decius Mus. M. Oppius Cornicen. Q. Cæcilius Metellus. C. Claudius Hortator. C. Icilius Ruga.
Quæſtors of Rome.	M. Licinius Calvus. M. Fabius Dorſo.
Military Quæſtors.	L. Domitius Ænobarbus. T. Antonius Merenda.
165. *Conſulſhip,* 464. *Year.*	M. Claudius Marcellus. C. Nautius Rutilus.
Dictator.	Q. Hortenſius Nepos. He dies in his office.
Gen. of Horſe.	M. Livius Denter, who abdicated after the death of Hortenſius.
Dictator.	Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
Gen. of Horſe.	L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
Prætor.	C. Claudius Canina.
Curule Ædiles.	Q. Æmilius Papus. C. Cornelius Scapula.
Plebeian Ædiles.	Ti. Coruncanius Nepos. P. Decius Mus.
Tribunes of the People.	P. Mænius Nepos. P. Pupius Nepos. C. Fabricius Luſcinus. L. Livius Denter. Q. Marcius Tremulus. C. Lutatius Catulus. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. L. Antiſtius Nepos. L. Aurelius Cotta. L. Publilius Philo.

Quæſtors

Quæſtors of Rome. M. Fulvius Curvus.
L. Atilius Regulus.
Military Quæſtors. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
P. Quinctilius Varus.

166. *Conſulſhip,* 467. *Year.* M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.
C. Ælius Pætus.
Prætor. C. Servilius Tucca.
Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Dolabella Maximus.
L. Æmilius Barbula.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Papirius Turdus.
C. Furius Aculeo.
Tribunes of the People. L. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Genucius Cleſina.
M. Plætorius Nepos.
A. Trebius Nepos.
Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.
Q. Marcius Philippus.
M. Albinius Nepos.
C. Antius Nepos Reſtio.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
M. Mæcilius Tullus.
Quæſtors of Rome. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
M. Metilius Nepos.
Military Quæſtors. M. Foſſius Flaccinator.
C. Fabius Ambuſtus.

167. *Conſulſhip,* 468. *Year.* C. Claudius Canina.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Prætor. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Curule Ædiles. P. Valerius Lævinus.
T. Geganius Macerinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Oppius Cornicen.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Fabricius Luſcinus.
P. Decius Mus.
M. Titinius Nepos.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
C. Mænius Nepos.
L. Coruncanius Nepos.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
C. Fundanius Fundulus.
C. Claudius Hortator.
P. Curatius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
L. Papirius Maſo.
Military Quæſtors. L. Sextius Lateranus.
M. Antonius Nepos.

168. *Conſulſhip,* 469. *Year.* C. Servilius Tucca.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
Prætor. C. Æmilius Papus.

Curule Ædiles. P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
Sp. Papirius Curſor.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Genucius Cleſina.
L. Aurelius Cotta.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Marcius Philippus.
Q. Canuleius Nepos.
M. Licinius Calvus.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Ti. Minucius Augurinus.
P. Licinius Stolo.
C. Ælius Pætus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Quæſtors of Rome. Ser. Cornelius Merenda.
C. Fabius Dorſo Licinus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Genucius Cleſina.
M. Decius Mus.

169. *Conſulſhip,* 470. *Year.* P. Cornelius Dolabella Maximus.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Prætor. L. Cæcilius Metellus. He was killed in a battle with the Hetrurians; and
M' Curius Dentatus was choſen in his room.
Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Curſor.
M. Fabius Dorſo.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Albinius Nepos.
M. Plætorius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.
C. Junius Pullus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Atinius Longus.
Q. Petillius Nepos.
P. Decius Mus.
M. Fulvius Curvus.
L. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Decianus.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
Quæſtors of Rome. Sp. Furius Purpureo.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Military Quæſtors. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
A. Poſtumius Albinus.

170. *Conſulſhip,* 471. *Year.* C. Fabricius Luſcinus. He triumphs over the Samnites, Lucani, and Brutii.
Q. Æmilius Papus.
Prætor. M. Livius Denter Druſus.
Curule Ædiles. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
P. Quinctilius Varus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Fundanius Fundulus.
L. Genucius Aventinenſis.
Tribunes of the People. C. Genucius Clepſina.
L. Trebius Nepos.
L. Villius Nepos.
Q. Silius Nerva.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. Trebius Nepos.
C. Acutius Nepos.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
C. Pompilius Nepos.
M. Titinius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
Q. Valerius Falto.
Military Quæſtors. Ti. Claudius Nero.
P. Cloelius Siculus.

171. *Conſulſhip,* 472. *Year.* L. Æmilius Barbula.
Q. Marcius Philippus. He triumphs over the Hetrurians.
Prætor. P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
Curule Ædiles. M. Foſſius Flaccinator.
C. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Plebeian Ædiles. T. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Titius Nepos.
P. Licinius Varus.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
C. Sempronius Gracchus.
P. Publilius Philo.
M. Genucius Aventinenſis.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
Cn. Pupius Nepos.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
T. Popillius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Quinctius Claudus.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
Military Quæſtors. Q. Servilius Cæpio.
C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.

172. *Conſulſhip,* 473. *Year.* P. Valerius Lævinus.
Ti. Coruncanius Nepos. He triumphs over the Volſinienſes, and Volcientes.
Cenſors. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges.

The thirty ſecond Luſtrum.

Prætor. L. Papirius Curſor.
Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
L. Papirius Maſo.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Fulvius Curvus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Genucius Clepſina.
C. Atinius Longus.
Q. Petilius Nepos.
Q. Apuleius Panſa.
M. Plætorius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
C. Plautius Decianus.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
M. Albinius Nepos.
Q. Anicius Præneſtinus.
Quæſtors of Rome. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
Sp. Carvilius Ruga.
Military Quæſtors. M. Atilius Regulus.
L. Publicius Malleolus.
Proconſul againſt the Samnites, Tarentini, *and* Salentini. L. Æmilius Barbula. He triumphs over the Tarentini, Samnites, and Salentini.
Pro-Quæſtor. Q. Servilius Cæpio.

173. *Conſulſhip,* 474. *Year.* P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
P. Decius Mus.
Prætor. Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.
Curule Ædiles. Ser. Cornelius Merenda.
C. Fabius Dorſo Licinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Trebius Nepos.
Q. Silius Nerva.
Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Clepſina.
P. Sallonius Sarra.
L. Villius Nepos.
Q. Silius Nerva.
Q. Manilius Nepos.
L. Trebius Nepos.
A. Acutius Nepos.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
C. Pompilius Nepos.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Fabius Pictor.
D. Junius Pera.
Military Quæſtors. Q. Mamilius Turinus.
Cn. Cornelius Blaſio.

174. *Conſulſhip,* 475. *Year.* C. Fabricius Luſcinus, a ſecond time: He triumphs over the Lucani, Brutii, Tarentini, and Samnites.
Q. Æmilius Papus, a ſecond time.
Prætor. C. Genucius Clepſina.
Curule Ædiles. L. Titius Nepos.
T. Popillius Nepos.

Plebeian

Plebeian Ædiles. P. Licinius Varo.
C. Sempronius Gracchus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Titinius Nepos.
N. Sextius Sextinus.
L. Furius Nepos.
T. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Aulus Cerretanus.
M. Titius Rufus.
C. Curatius Nepos.
T. Veturius Calvinus.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Quæstors of Rome. Ap. Claudius Craſſus.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Mamilius Vitulus.
T. Cloelius Siculus.

175. *Conſulſhip,* 476. *Year.* P. Cornelius Rufinus, a ſecond time.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Lucani and Brutii.
Prætor. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Curule Ædiles. P. Cloelius Siculus.
Q. Valerius Falto.
Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Apuleius Panſa.
C. Plautius Decianus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Q. Pomponius Nepos.
M. Fulvius Curvus.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Cn. Pupius Nepos.
M. Livius Denter.
Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.
C. Atinius Labeo.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Papirius Maſo.
A. Poſtumius Albinus.
Military Quæſtors. Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus.
M. Duilius Nepos.

176. *Conſulſhip.* 477. *Year.* Q. Fabius Max. Gurges, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Lucani and Brutii.
Dictator. P. Cornelius Rufinus.
Gen. of Horſe. C. Ælius Pætus.
Prætor. Ser. Cornelius Merenda.
Curule Ædiles. C. Quinctius Claudus.
C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Genucius Clepſina.
P. Sallonius Sarra.
Tribunes of the People. P. Sempronius Sophus.
C. Atinius Longus.
T. Popilius Nepos.
C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
Cn. Apuleius Panſa.
M. Fulvius Pætinus.
M' Marcius Nepos.
Q. Petillius Nepos.
Q. Lutatius Catulus.
L. Alienus Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. M. Fulvius Flaccus.
N. Fabius Pictor.
Military Quæſtors. L. Julius Libo.
Cn. Apronius Limo.

177. *Conſulſhip.* 478. *Year.* M' Curius Dentatus, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Samnites and King Pyrrhus.
L. Cornelius Lentulus, who has the Surname of Caudinus given him. He triumphs over the Samnites and Lucani.
Cenſors. C. Fabricius Luſcinus.
Q. Æmilius Papus.

The thirty third Luſtrum.
Prætor. C. Fabius Dorſo Licinus.
Curule Ædiles. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
Q. Servilius Cæpio.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Titius Rufus.
N. Sextius Lateranus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Atilius Regulus.
Q. Conſidius Nepos.
L. Trebius Nepos.
L. Lucerius Nepos.
L. Volſcius Fictor.
L. Publicius Malleolus.
L. Anicius Præneſtinus.
M. Trebius Nepos.
M. Acutius Nepos.
Ti. Villius Tappulus.
Quæſtors of Rome. C. Otacilius Craſſus.
M' Otacilius Craſſus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Papirius Craſſus.

178. *Conſulſhip,* 479. *Year.* M' Curius Dentatus, a third time.

Ser. Cornelius Merenda.
Prætor. L. Genucius Clepſina.
Curule Ædiles. C. Fabius Pictor.
Cn. Cornelius Blaſio.
Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
Tribunes of the People. D. Junius Pera.
M. Minucius Feſſus.
C. Curatius Nepos.
Q. Papirius Turdus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
Q. Mamilius Turinus.
M. Titinius Nepos.
P. Furius Nepos.
T. Veturius Calvinus.
C. Minucius Rufus.
Quæſtors of Rome. Ap. Claudius Caudex.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Flaminius Chilo.

179. *Conſulſhip,* 480. *Year.* C. Fabius Dorſo Licinus.
C. Claudius Canina, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Lucani, Samnites, and Brutii.
Prætor. C. Quinctius Claudius.
Curule Ædiles. T. Clœlius Siculus.
Ap. Claudius Craſſus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Fulvius Petinus.
Q. Lutatius Catulus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Mamilius Vitulus.
M' Juventius Thalna.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
L. Pomponius Nepos.
Cn. Flavius Nepos.
M. Aquilius Florus.
Sp. Carvilius Max. Ruga.
L. Ælius Petus.
M. Pomponius Matho.
Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.
Quæſtors of Rome. M' Cornelius Cethegus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
Military Quæſtors. T. Otacilius Craſſus.
Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

180. *Conſulſhip,* 481. *Year.* L. Papirius Curſor, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Tarentini, Samnites, Lucani, and Brutii.
Sp. Curvilius Maximus, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Lucani, Brutii, Samnites, and Tarentini.
Cenſors. M. Curius Dentatus.
L. Papirius Curſor.

The thirty fourth Luſtrum.

Prætor. Cn. Cornelius Blaſio.
Curule Ædiles. L. Poblicius Malleolus.
Q. Conſidius Nepos.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Atilius Regulus.
D. Junius Pera.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
T. Sempronius Gracchus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Proculus.
M. Alienus Nepos.
M. Duilius Nepos.
Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.
M' Marcius Nepos.
Q. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus.
L. Conſidius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
M' Valerius Maximus.
Military Quæſtors. Cn. Minucius Feſſus.
C. Duilius Nepos.

181. *Conſulſhip,* 482. *Year.* C. Quinctius Claudus.
L. Genucius Clepſina.
Prætor. C. Fabius Pictor.
Curule Ædiles. L. Julius Libo.
N. Fabius Pictor.
Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Mamilius Turinus.
M. Minucius Feſſus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
C. Otacilius Craſſus.
C. Racilius Nepos.
Sex. Statius Nepos.
L. Flaminius Chilo.
Cn. Apronius Limo.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Apuſtius Fullo.
C. Numitorius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Poſtumius Megellus.
L. Valerius Flaccus.
Military Quæſtors. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
C. Aquilius Florus.

182. *Conſulſhip,* 483. *Year.* C. Genucius Clepſina, a ſecond time.
Cn. Cornelius Blaſio. He triumphs over the Sarſinates.

Prætor.

Prætor. Ap. Claudius Craſſus.
Curule Ædiles. L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Papirius Craſſus.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Mamilius Vitulus.
M. Aquilius Florus.
Tribunes of the People. D. Junius Pera.
A. Acutius Nepos.
C. Volſcius Fictor.
A. Silius Nepos.
Q. Racilius Nepos.
M' Otacilius Craſſus.
Ti. Pontificius Nepos.
C. Metilius Nepos.
C. Sallonius Sarra.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. M. Junius Brutus.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio Aſina.
Military Quæſtors. C. Atilius Calatinus.
Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.

183. *Conſulſhip,* 484. *Year.* Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Fabius Pictor.

Silver firſt coined at *Rome.*

Prætor. M. Atilius Regulus.
Curule Ædiles. Ap. Claudius Caudex.
L. Sempronius Atratinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Duilius Nepos.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
Q. Conſidius Nepos.
M. Allienus Nepos.
C. Plautius Proculus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Conſidius Nepos.
L. Poblicius Malleolus.
M' Marcius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Longus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Apuſtius Fullo.
C. Atilius Regulus Serranus.
Military Quæſtors. L. Manlius Torquatus.
L. Pinarius Natta.

184. *Conſulſhip,* 485. *Year.* P. Sempronius Sophus. He triumphs over the People of Picenum.
Appius Claudius Craſſus. He triumphs over the ſame Nation.
Prætor. N. Fabius Pictor.

Curule Ædiles. M. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Apuſtius Fullo.
Plæbeian Ædiles. C. Otacilius Craſſus.
C. Volſcius Fictor.
Tribunes of the People. T. Otacilius Craſſus.
M' Pomponius Matho.
M' Curius Dentatus.
C. Ælius Pætus.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
M. Flavius Nepos.
L. Acilius Glabrio.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Lælius Nepos.
L. Carvilius Maximus.
Quæſtors of Rome. L. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Sulpicius Paterculus.
Military Quæſtors. M. Lætorius Plancianus.
Q. Cædicius Nepos.

185. *Conſulſhip,* 486. *Year.* M. Atilius Regulus.
L. Julius Libo. They both triumph over the Salentini.
Prætor. L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Curule Ædiles. M' Valerius Maximus.
L. Poſtumius Megellus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Otacilius Craſſus.
C. Sallonius Sarra.
Tribunes of the People. Cn. Minucius Feſſus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Q. Terentius Arſa.
C. Æbutius Carus.
C. Duilius Nepos.
Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
T. Juventius Thalna.
M. Minucius Feſſus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Quæſtors of Rome. Ti. Sempronius Blæſus.
Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.
Military Quæſtors. Q. Hortenſius Nepos.
A. Sempronius Atratinus.

186. *Conſulſhip,* 487. *Year.* N. Fabius Pictor. He triumphs twice. 1ſt. Over the Saſſinates. 2dly. Over the Salentini, and Meſſapii.
D. Junius Pera. He triumphs twice. 1ſt. Over the Saſſinates. 2dly. Over the Salentini, and Meſſapii.
Prætor. Ap. Claudius Caudex.

Curule Ædiles.	L. Valerius Flaccus.
	Q. Fabius Ambuſtus.
Plebeian	Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
Ædiles.	Cn. Apronius Limo.
Tribunes of the	M. Fulvius Flaccus.
People.	D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
	C. Cædicius Noctua.
	C. Manilius Nepos.
	C. Antonius Nepos.
	C. Aquilius Florus.
	L. Memmius Nepos.
	M. Antonius Nepos.
	L. Mamilius Nepos.
	M. Aquilius Florus.
Quæſtors of	L. Manlius Vulſo Longus.
Rome.	C. Sempronius Blæſus.
Military Quæ-	A. Manlius Vulſo Longus.
ſtors.	Q. Marcus Philippus.

187. *Conſulſhip,* Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges. A third time.
488. *Year.* L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Cenſors.	Cn. Cornelius Blaſio.
	C. Marcius Rutilus, who was then ſurnamed Cenſorinus.

The thirty fifth Luſtrum.

Prætor.	M' Otacilius Craſſus.
Curule Ædiles.	Cn. Cornelius Scipio Aſina.
	Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.
Plebeian	T. Otacilius Craſſus.
Ædiles.	C. Attilius Calatinus.
Tribunes of the	C. Titius Nepos.
People.	M. Junius Brutus.
	Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
	L. Carvilius Maximus.
	C. Ælius Pætus.
	M. Claudius Marcellus.
	A. Atilius Calatinus.
	C. Oppius Cornicen.
	C. Lælius Nepos.
	Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Quæſtors of	C. Aurelius Cotta.
Rome.	Q. Æmilius Papus.
Military Quæ-	C. Claudius Canina.
ſtors.	M. Horatius Pulvillus.

Four new *Quæſtors* created for the Provinces in Italy, which were become ſubject to the Republick.

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